

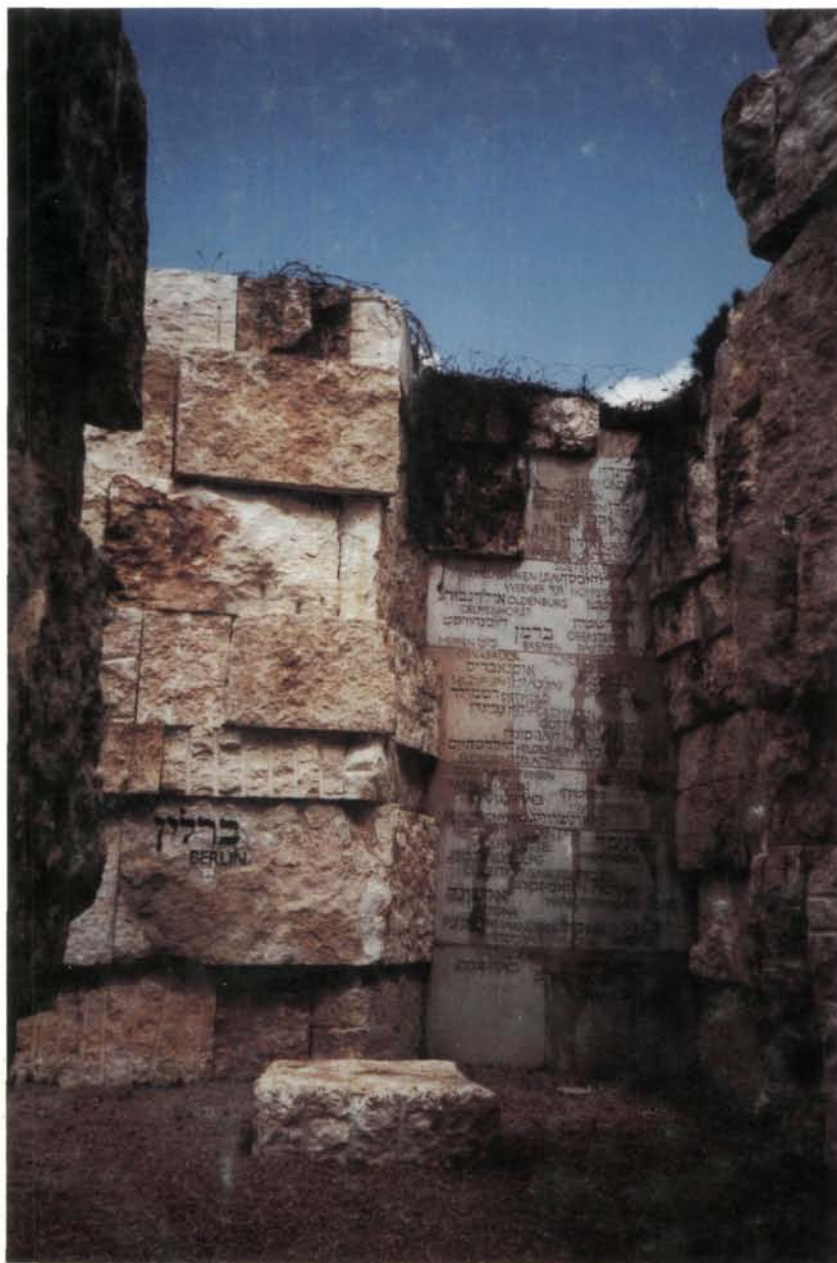
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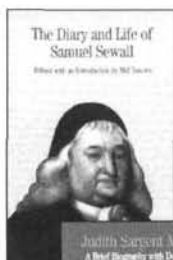
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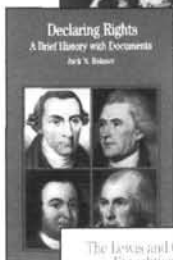
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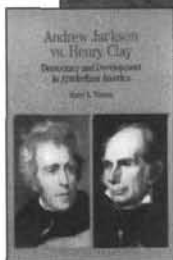
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The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Journal Services, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

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## In This Issue

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This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum Essay*, and a review essay. The articles include an analysis of changing approaches to medieval history by historians in the United States, a reexamination of the liberalism and republicanism in early modern England, and an assessment of racial violence in World War I France. The *Forum* uses the Holocaust to raise questions about the emergence of a modern discourse of enemies and victims. It also presents a new format that we call a *Forum Essay*. Instead of commissioning comments on the essay, as is our usual practice with *Forums*, we are opening up the commentary process to readers by soliciting their reactions to the article. We will send all of the comments that we receive to the author and will print the three or four that seem the most trenchant and compelling along with an author's response in the forthcoming October issue. Details can be found in the *Forum* introduction. The article section concludes with a wide-ranging review essay on gender, consumption, and commodity culture. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

### Articles

**Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel** look at changes in American views of the Middle Ages, especially during the twentieth century. They argue that until recently the prevailing opinion among United States medievalists was that the founding of modern ideas and institutions could be located in the Middle Ages. Freedman and Spiegel credit Charles Homer Haskins with developing the professional study of the Middle Ages among United States historians and with making the creation of the modern state and its constitutional and institutional structures the primary subjects of medieval history. Other American medievalists, especially after World War II, continued this intellectual project by portraying the Middle Ages as progressive, particularly in economics and science, and as an era that nurtured the Western idea of individuality. However, Freedman and Spiegel contend that in recent years historians have begun to depict the Middle Ages in quite different and more disturbing and grotesque terms. A destabilized portrayal of the medieval period has emerged as a result of wider changes in the outlook on the past brought about by both the direct and indirect influence of postmodernism on historiography. Historians and other medievalists are now more inclined either to regard the Middle Ages as radically disconnected from the present or, seeing modernity itself

in more disturbing terms, to consider the medieval centuries as the originating negative characteristics of European history such as colonialism and intolerance. Freedman and Spiegel's wide-ranging and insightful analysis not only helps us understand intellectual trends among twentieth-century United States medieval historians, it also illuminates the impact of some of the common and most significant recent developments in the scholarship of historians studying very different times and places.

**Steve Pincus** asserts that contemporary political theorists, literary critics, and historians have exaggerated the differences between the liberal and classical republican traditions in constructing their historical narratives. He does so in a close examination of the pamphlet literature produced in a crucial period and place for defenders of both traditions, early modern England and particularly the middle of the seventeenth century. Pincus argues that the majority of the defenders of the English Commonwealth in fact melded republican concepts of liberty with a commitment to a new political economy—a political economy positing that power was based on wealth, and that wealth itself was created by human labor—and a contingent conception of interest. As a result, he contends, the liberal tradition is able to embrace both commercial society and a commitment to the common good. Pincus concludes that the fundamental political legacy of John Milton and James Harrington, central figures in the classical republican account, is in fact a defense of liberty, resistance, and the popular good and not, as too many others have argued, rejection of commercial society and popular political deliberation. A compelling example of intellectual history, his essay also makes a significant contribution to debates about the development of political theory and the sources of contemporary political discourse.

**Tyler Stovall** examines racial violence between citizens and workers from the French Empire in World War I France. Looking over the history of race and people of color in France, he presents the years from 1914 to 1918 as a critical intersection between colonial and postcolonial racial encounters. At the same time, Stovall argues that racial violence, which includes a wide range of aggressive behaviors from gestures to riots, must be considered in historical context as a reaction to certain situations rather than merely a consequence of racial prejudice. When viewed from these perspectives, the racial violence that erupted during 1917 and 1918 in France should be understood as part of a larger crisis of morale that brought military mutinies and civilian strikes to the wartime nation. It also had long-term consequences according to Stovall. He asserts that the racial violence chronicled in his essay is an example of militant and racist working-class behavior that contributed to racialized definitions of working-class identity, and French identity in general, in the twentieth century. His sophisticated cross-regional analysis of racial conflict demonstrates how approaches that emphasize the cultural construction of identity and the material sources of conflict can be

melded together, and it underscores the importance of considering race in cross-national terms.

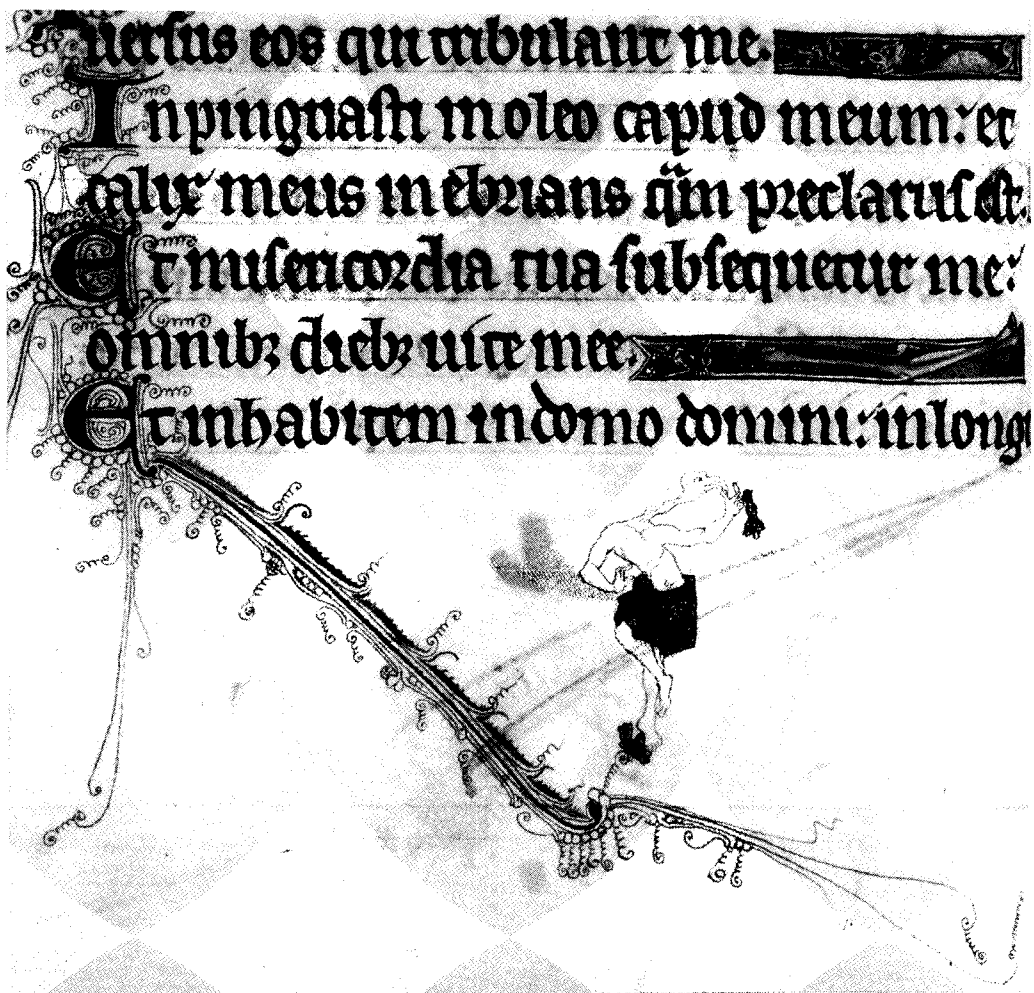
### ***Forum Essay***

**Omer Bartov** launches a new format for *AHR Forums* with a provocative essay on genocide in the twentieth century. He contends that modern discourses on enemies and victims are the basic sources of the enactment, representation, and commemoration of twentieth-century genocide. Using the Holocaust as an example, he proposes a new way of viewing the relationship between the nation-state and genocide by synthesizing discrete and often compartmentalized bodies of scholarship on Germany, European Jewry, Zionism, and Israeli history. In the first part of the essay, Barton examines the way in which Germans became preoccupied with the presence of Jews as elusive enemies in their midst. He asserts that this development was a crucial component in preparing for the perpetration of mass murder. Bartov then discusses postwar Germany's "coming to terms" with the Holocaust by way of perceiving itself as the main victim of Nazism while relegating the perpetrators to the status of elusive enemies. In the second part of the essay, he analyzes the Zionist discourses on Diaspora Jewry as the elusive enemy of Jewish nationalism and outlines the appropriation of victimhood as a central component in the creation of Israeli national identity. Bartov concludes his essay with a discussion of other instances of twentieth-century genocide and "ethnic cleansing" that suggest the relevance of the German-Jewish case for understanding modern atrocity. Bartov's goal for the essay is to contribute to discussions on the nature of modern society and to act as a guide in teaching the larger context of the Holocaust and the insidious potential of nationalism. Rather than commission commentators for this *Forum*, we invite interested readers to send us their responses to Bartov's argument. Details can be found in the introduction to the *Forum*.

### ***Review Essay***

**Mary Louise Roberts** offers a wide-ranging and insightful assessment of recent historical studies of gender and consumerism in Western Europe, particularly France, North America, and Africa. A double relationship lies at the heart of her analysis. According to Roberts, the prostitute and the kleptomaniac—two figures that dominated the nineteenth-century Western landscape of female depravity—encapsulate the double relationship that women held to the new consumer culture of the modern era. In the "specularized" urban culture of arcades, boulevards, and department stores, woman was inscribed both as consumer and commodity, purchaser and purchase. From this analytical perspective, Roberts cautions historians to think carefully about the ways that they use relatively new forms of evidence, such as advertisements, pornography, and other products of visual culture. She also urges us to rethink the connections between gender, consumerism, and power. By enlarging our notion of the power operative in commodities beyond

just the “power of the purse,” Roberts asserts that historians can explore a fuller range of ways that they shaped subjectivity and experience. Equally important, she explains why examinations of consumerism should not be confined to the literal act of consumption. Instead, she argues that commodity culture had a destabilizing effect on notions of identity and encouraged women to act out the instability of gender identity, and thus to refashion themselves as women. Her review essay is not only a compelling critique of the recent literature on consumption, it is also a perceptive analysis of modes of explanation in cultural studies and cultural history.



An example of medieval grotesquery, a man with a bird's head. Detail of lower marginal figure, Book of Hours and Psalter, England, circa 1300, fol. 56vo. Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.



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## Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies

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THIS ARTICLE WILL EXAMINE American views of the Middle Ages during the twentieth century, in particular the recent revival of interest in strange and extreme forms of belief and behavior now perceived as characteristic of medieval civilization. The rediscovery in medieval historiography of what might, without prejudice, be called the “grotesque” comes after a period, encompassing most of the twentieth century up to the 1970s, during which historians tended to present the medieval as explicable in modern terms—demystifying its romantic, “Gothic” reputation in favor of those aspects that could be considered progressive or rational.<sup>1</sup> Thus we are especially interested in the shift over the last twenty years from a Middle Ages represented as being in tune with modernity—indeed, the very seed-bed and parent civilization of the modern West—to a more vivid and disturbing image of medieval civilization as the West’s quintessential “other,” in which the salient traits of the Middle Ages derive from its marginal and unsettling character, its “hard-edged alterity” in the words of one scholar, a view radically different from the confident foundationalism in vogue during most of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, many strands of current scholarly inquiry continue to concern social, institutional, ecclesiastical, legal, and political history. But we believe that new, emerging tendencies throughout the range of medieval studies are changing our view of the civilization of that era in ways quite unforeseen in earlier decades of this century.

To explain this transformation in the historiography of the Middle Ages, we have sought answers in a manner typical of historians—by looking at the past. In doing so, we have been struck by the ways in which the modernizing paradigms that held sway during the decades of our own graduate training (roughly, the late 1960s and early 1970s), which focused on topics such as the medieval origins of the modern

<sup>1</sup> We are using the “grotesque” here in the general sense of the odd, strange, and “Gothic,” rather than in the specific meaning Mikhail Bakhtin has given it, since Bakhtin’s use refers to a postmedieval epoch. For a Bakhtinian consideration of the grotesque in relation to the study of medieval literature, see John M. Ganim, “Medieval Literature as Monster: The Grotesque before and after Bakhtin,” *Exemplaria* 7 (1995): 27–40. On the grotesque understood more broadly as strangeness and the Gothic, see Paul Freedman, “The Return of the Grotesque in Medieval Historiography,” in *Historia a Debate: Medieval*, Carlos Barros, ed. (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 9–19.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen G. Nichols, “Modernism and the Politics of Medieval Studies,” in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, R. Howard Bloch and Nichols, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1996), 49.

state or the “discovery of the individual” in the twelfth century, have waned, even vanished, in favor of a postmodern medievalism, either celebrated or condemned, depending on one’s point of view. Moreover, we wish to explore the challenge of postmodernism not merely as a current agenda or future program but as something that has already displaced approaches and assumptions only recently dominant.

We also want to look at the particular practice of medieval studies in the United States, something not usually done, because American medievalists like to think of their discipline in terms of a global interpretive community. Nonetheless, without seeking to deny that all work in medieval history necessarily embraces the widest possible range of national scholarly traditions, we believe that there are distinctive features to the American study of the Middle Ages, just as there are distinctive features to the various European traditions of medieval historiography, despite the international character of modern scholarship. For Americans, this difference is in part generated by the fact that, like all countries formed by Western European settlement since 1492, America lacks a medieval past. Any attempt to argue the importance and relevance of medieval history in the United States, therefore, must first overcome its evident “otherness,” its lack of connection to any visible, shared national or cultural “American” past.

The “alterity” of the Middle Ages is, of course, hardly unique to the American consciousness of the era. Indeed, as Lee Patterson has repeatedly insisted, the Middle Ages has from the beginning served postmedieval Western historical consciousness as one of the primary sites of otherness by which it has constituted itself.<sup>3</sup> As constructed by Renaissance humanists, the Middle Ages comprised the West’s shadowy “other,” against which the Renaissance and modernity itself was defined, a modernity delineated above all by its difference from the pre-modern Middle Ages. As Patterson sums it up:

humanism, nationalism, the proliferation of competing value systems, the secure grasp of a historical consciousness, the idea of the individual, aesthetic production as an end in itself, the conception of the natural world as a site of colonial exploitation and scientific investigation, the secularization of politics and the idea of the state—all of these characteristics and many others are thought both to set the Renaissance apart from the Middle Ages and to align it definitively with the modern world.<sup>4</sup>

From this perspective, the “Middle” Ages is precisely that, a millennium of middlelessness, a space of empty waiting and virtual death until the reawakening of the West to its proper nature and purpose in the period of the Renaissance.

For Europeans, the Middle Ages, if not modern, is at least “there,” evident in the monuments erected during those years and the traditions that stand presumptively at the origin of modern European nation-states. It is, in fact, one of the peculiarities

<sup>3</sup> Lee Patterson, introduction, “Critical Historicism and Medieval Studies,” in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380–1530*, Patterson, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 2. See also Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, Wis., 1987); and “On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History and Medieval Studies,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 87–108.

<sup>4</sup> Patterson, “Critical Historicism and Medieval Studies,” 2.

of medieval study everywhere that it constantly hovers between the dual consciousness of the Middle Ages as a place and time of non-origin (that is, the dark period constructed in and by the Renaissance) and that of origin (the origin of the modern state).<sup>5</sup> It is, in part, this alterity of the Middle Ages that has given medievalists their sense of professional legitimacy, since the very strangeness and “difference” signified by the distant past suggests a special virtue required for its study.

The existence of this longstanding sense of medieval history as the locus of Western alterity differentiates it from other historical periods. The strangeness of the Middle Ages imparts a peculiar effect when the destabilizing moves characteristic of postmodern approaches are applied. In some sense, it is *already* destabilized. The medieval period arrives accompanied by at least a background of alterity and marginality. Unlike the Italian Renaissance, Elizabethan England, or France in the postrevolutionary era, the Middle Ages lacks a continuous tradition of representation as rational and progressive, hence inherently modern. Decentering medieval history, reclaiming its margins, therefore, has different repercussions than applying the same procedure to other epochs has, and it evokes overtones of an earlier emphasis on the grotesque.

It was, in fact, to rid the Middle Ages of its romantic overtones and all too colorful grotesqueries that the first generation of professional historians in America insisted on its relevance as the origin of the modern, hence American world. Precisely to the degree that the Middle Ages constituted an “absent other” in America, just so did its first American students insist, in an overdetermined fashion, on its place in a continuous stream of history stretching from the Teutonic past to the American present.<sup>6</sup> To overcome absence and otherness, scholars of the medieval past in America began by construing alterity as origin, that is, as identity. Given this, it is hardly surprising that the study of medieval history in the United States has from the beginning been marked by inherent paradoxes.

<sup>5</sup> As Kathleen Biddick has argued, the Middle Ages, caught in this double bind of non-origin and origin, lack and plenitude, can be “everywhere, both medieval and modern, and nowhere, sublime and redemptive.” Biddick, “Bede’s Blush: Postcards from Bali, Bombay, Palo Alto,” in *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, John Van Engen, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), 16.

<sup>6</sup> On the “Teutonic germ theory” of institutional history, which claimed that the seed of American democracy had been created in the Black Forest, taken to Anglo-Saxon England, and thence across the ocean to America, see W. Stull Holt, “The Idea of Scientific History in America,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (1940): 352–62; Dorothy Ross, “On the Misunderstanding of Ranke and the Origins of the Historical Profession in America,” *Syracuse Scholar* 9 (1988): 31–41; Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1992); Ross, “Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America,” *AHR* 89 (October 1984): 909–28. A particularly egregious example of historical work done in this vein is Herbert Baxter Adams, “The Germanic Origins of New England Towns,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* 1 (1883): 5–38, but it was equally prevalent in many writings of medievalists around the turn of the century and is a central premise of the research and writing done in Henry Adams’s seminar on Anglo-Saxon legal institutions during his seven years of teaching at Harvard. The work of the seminar was subsequently published as *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, Henry Adams, ed. (Boston, 1876), to which Adams himself contributed an article, “The Anglo-Saxon Courts of Law.” Unlike Baxter Adams, however, Henry Adams’s espousal of the theory was tepid at best and not of long duration. For a discussion of Adams’s essay, see Robin Fleming, “Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons,” in *The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Paul Szarmach, ed. (forthcoming). The authors would like to thank Professor Fleming for allowing them to read her essay prior to publication.

ALTHOUGH MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION REPRESENTED THE TRIUMPHAL PAST of Catholicism and Gothic culture, a world organized according to the dictates of a deeply traditionalistic outlook on life and social customs, in North America its first historians tended to be Protestant, enlightened, and revolutionary founders. Thomas Jefferson and other early American revolutionaries were immersed in myths of Anglo-Saxon democracy, whose laws and chronicles, they believed, foreshadowed their ambitions for democracy. So indebted did Jefferson feel to Anglo-Saxon culture and what he took to be its legacy of Germanic liberties that he planned to put the two primordial Anglo-Saxon figures, Hengist and Horsa—invited by Vortigern into Britain, according to Bede's *History of the English Church and People* (731–32) to aid in the defense of the country against enemies to the north—on the great seal of the new republic, whose obverse side would bear an image of the pillar of fire that led the Chosen People into the Promised Land (Exodus 13: 21–22). According to John Adams, to whom he had communicated his wishes, Jefferson saw Hengist and Horsa as representing “the form of government we have assumed,”<sup>7</sup> thereby tracing American democratic institutions to their origins in the social practices of the pre-Christian Germanic peoples.<sup>8</sup> Jefferson cannot have read his Bede very carefully, though, since the latter made it clear that, although Hengist and Horsa had arrived in the guise of England's protectors, “nevertheless, their real intention was to subdue it,” which, having done, Hengist become the founder of a *royal* line.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the Old Testament pillar of fire signified to Jefferson not guidance or protection but an emblem of conquest, a vivid illustration of the young country's territorial ambitions.<sup>10</sup> The underlying contradictions that marked such use of medieval figurations of American destinies would remain a characteristic feature of the American search for identity and origins in an absent and displaced medieval past.

Ultimately, however, American opinion of the Middle Ages was influenced more by nineteenth-century Romanticism and nostalgia for an intense, devout, harmonious world than by the image of the egalitarian forests of Germany, although it remains true that the “Teutonic Germ Theory” loomed large in the thought of the early generation of German-trained historians such as Henry Adams and Herbert Baxter Adams. But, as the example of Henry Adams powerfully illustrates, the

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 16. Another design formulated by a committee composed of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson—also rejected—derived from a drawing by Pierre-Eugène du Simitière (a Swiss painter living in Philadelphia) and consisted of a shield divided into six sections, on which the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland were painted. Above the shield would be the “Eye of Providence in a radiant Triangle,” below the motto *E Pluribus Unum*. As Jay Fliegelman indicates, “what is fascinating about the design is that in its first official appearance, the *E Pluribus Unum* motto refers as much to the process whereby America derived from the six ‘countries from which these states have been peopled’ as it does to America as a union of States.” Hence the insistence on continuity with the European past, despite the more radical implications of the revolution itself, was to be inscribed in America's emblematic self-representation. Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif., 1993), 161.

<sup>8</sup> Peter W. Williams, “The Varieties of American Medievalism,” *Studies in Medievalism* 1, no. 2 (1979/1982): 8.

<sup>9</sup> Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, Leo Sherley-Price, trans., rev. by R. E. Latham (New York, 1977), 55–56.

<sup>10</sup> Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*, 16.

appeal of the Middle Ages in the late Victorian period lay in its difference, in the alternative it offered to the industrializing and commercially competitive world of America's Gilded Age.<sup>11</sup>

This anti-modernist medieval was almost as strong in the United States as in England, where High Tory longing for a society of deference (as in Benjamin Disraeli's novel *Coningsby*, 1844) waned, only to be replaced by the high Victorian aesthetic dreams of John Ruskin and the socialist craft-guild version of the Middle Ages created by William Morris.<sup>12</sup> Like his English counterparts, Henry Adams embraced with emotional intensity what from the perspective of Enlightenment thinking was medieval history's most offensive aspects. Adams saw the Middle Ages as attractive precisely because of its alterity; it was, he observed, "the most foreign of worlds to the American soul."<sup>13</sup> The vital, collective, organic culture that produced the Gothic cathedrals was an exemplary counterpoint to the "anomic, dehumanized industrial world that he himself inhabited."<sup>14</sup> In a famous chapter of *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), Adams contrasted the spirit of the Virgin Mary to that of the dynamo, an image of the dehumanizing greed and technology of the modern age. The New World, Adams believed, had not inherited medieval institutions, patterns of social organization, or religious beliefs. The study of medieval history therefore offered no great lessons for the guidance of American life. Its utility, by implication, lay in the escape it provided from the increasingly harsh realities of the modern world, a realm in which to locate the anti-modernist self.<sup>15</sup>

The anti-modern Middle Ages could also represent a frightening counter-example to a freer contemporary world. Henry Charles Lea, the most important American medieval historian before Charles Homer Haskins, wrote massive works that are still consulted concerning the Inquisition, witchcraft, and judicial ordeals, all carefully researched descriptions of past superstition and repression.<sup>16</sup> Lea might have had a grimmer and more practical view of the medieval period than Henry Adams, but he too asserted its radical difference from the world of the nineteenth century.

<sup>11</sup> See the works cited in note 6, to which should be added the wonderful essay by Robin Fleming, "Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1061–94.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, Conn., 1981).

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in William J. Courtenay, "The Virgin and the Dynamo: The Growth of Medieval Studies in North America 1870–1930," in *Medieval Studies in North America: Past, Present, and Future*, Francis G. Gentry and Christopher Kleinhenz, eds. (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982), 10.

<sup>14</sup> Williams, "Varieties of American Medievalism," 10.

<sup>15</sup> As a teacher of medieval history at Harvard, however, Adams eschewed a sweeping or vivid romantic picture, confining himself to the reading of documents according to the philological manner practiced in Germany, where he had studied for two years. See Courtenay, "Virgin and the Dynamo," 6.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, Torture*, 4th edn. (Philadelphia, 1892); *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York, 1906–07); and *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft*, Arthur C. Howland, ed., 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939).



The progressive Middle Ages in its American guise is essentially the creation of Haskins, the first true professional medieval historian in this country. If Henry Adams represents medievalism's anti-modernist agenda and Lea the "écrasez l'infâme" school of medieval studies, they agreed on the unfamiliarity of the period, a view Haskins was to reject.

Trained by Herbert Baxter Adams as an American historian at Johns Hopkins, Haskins studied at the Ecole des Chartres and turned himself into a medievalist. His major publications came between 1918 and 1929 after a stint as graduate dean at Harvard that delayed the appearance of his pathbreaking work. In 1928, three years before the stroke that would incapacitate him, Haskins found his successor in Joseph Reese Strayer, who studied at Harvard before returning to his undergraduate alma mater, Princeton, to teach for the remainder of his career. Haskins and Strayer were to guide the practice of medieval history in North America from the 1920s to the 1980s, constituting what Norman Cantor in his *Inventing the Middle Ages* presents as the premier age of American medievalism.<sup>17</sup>

Haskins's formative experiences at Hopkins had an enduring impact on his career and ideas. Its department of history had graduated Woodrow Wilson but a few years earlier, and throughout his life Haskins would prove to be an ardent Wilsonian progressive, sharing with the president a deep faith in progress, rational reform, and the benefits of government, beliefs that significantly shaped his historical practice. Haskins accompanied Wilson to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and 1920 as one of three principal advisers, helping to carve out Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. On returning to Cambridge, Haskins assumed the directorship of the American Council of Learned Societies, from which position he helped to found and finance the Medieval Academy of America and its new journal, *Speculum*. Both were intended to signal the coming of age of American medieval studies by rivaling in seriousness, exacting standards of scholarship, and formality the great academies of European learning on which these American institutions were consciously modeled.<sup>18</sup>

The modernist agenda that Haskins sought to implant on American soil took in its broadest sense the form of an alliance between positivism, Idealism, naturalism, and objectivity, many of whose components derived, ultimately, from the German scientific historiography of the late nineteenth century. But Haskins cast them in a distinctly American, early twentieth-century, progressivist mold. To do so, however, Haskins had first to cover the absence of a medieval past in America. Few historians have argued the relevance of medieval history to Americans as eloquently or with as profound conviction as Haskins. While recognizing that "American history is our first business," it was not, he believed, "our sole business," and in any case, the two were ultimately part of the same story. European history, Haskins argued in a 1923 essay on "European History and American Scholarship," published in the *American Historical Review*, is

<sup>17</sup> Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), 245–86. On Haskins, see also Sally Vaughn in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, Vol. 1, *History*, Helen D'amico and Joseph B. Zavadil, eds. (New York, 1995), 168–81.

<sup>18</sup> On Haskins's role, see George R. Coffman, "The Medieval Academy of America: Historical Background and Prospect," *Speculum* 1 (1926): 5–18.



of profound importance to Americans. We may at times appear more mindful of Europe's material indebtedness to us than of our spiritual indebtedness to Europe; we may in our pharisaic moods express our thanks that we are not even as these sinners of another hemisphere; but such moments cannot set us loose from the world's history. Whether we look at Europe genetically as the course of our civilization, or pragmatically as a large part of the world in which we live, we cannot ignore the vital connections between Europe and America, their histories ultimately but one.<sup>19</sup>

Of all the available European pasts, Haskins signaled America's natural affinity with that of England, for, he declared, "English history is in a sense early American history."<sup>20</sup> This annexed an already established tradition of English constitutional history to the project of making the Middle Ages the starting point for modern authority and modern liberty.

Behind the profound passion of Haskins's statement lies, to be sure, an equally profound anxiety over just how marginal and irrelevant medieval history must have seemed to most Americans. As Karl F. Morrison has pointed out, Haskins and his contemporaries "lived in the shadow of two divisive events: the American Revolution and the Civil War. It was natural that their historical inquiries dealt so regularly with formal mechanisms by which society deliberately maintains and reconstructs itself and with those two supreme moments of transformation, the end of the Roman Empire and the Renaissance."<sup>21</sup> Indeed, in 1971, Strayer openly articulated the threat underlying the American practice of medieval history, warning a new generation of students to whom he addressed his remarks that, without concerted effort, they were in danger of being "shoved into the back corner along with Sanskrit, Assyriology and other subjects" (that is, all the *dead* languages, betraying the threat of non-being that always haunts the medievalist's imaginary). "We should never forget our greatest danger," he continued: "we began as antiquarians and we could end as antiquarians."<sup>22</sup>

The insistence on continuity and relevance marked the American appropriation of the medieval past for decades. In the presidential address "Humanistic Studies and Science," on the occasion of the fifth annual meeting of the Medieval Academy, John Matthews Manly sounded its plea once again, imploring that

the infinitely various and fascinating period we roughly call the Middle Ages must not be neglected. It lies close to *us*. In it arose many of *our* most important institutions. *Our* social life, *our* customs—*our* ideals, *our* superstitions and fears and hopes—came to *us directly from this period*; and no present-day analysis can give a complete account of *our* civilization unless it is supplemented by a profound study of the forces and forms of life, good and evil, which we have inherited from it.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Charles H. Haskins, "European History and American Scholarship," *AHR* 28 (January 1923): 215.

<sup>20</sup> Haskins, "European History and American Scholarship," 218. In 1963, S. Harrison Thomson, surveying the field, echoed Haskins's sentiment, stating that "the Middle Ages are early American history and they should be so presented." See Thomson, "The Growth of a Discipline: Medieval Studies in America," in *Perspectives in Medieval History*, Katherine Fischer Drew and Floyd Seyward Lear, eds. (Chicago, 1963), 17.

<sup>21</sup> Karl F. Morrison, "Fragmentation and Unity in American Medievalism," in *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, Michael Kammen, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 52.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Reese Strayer, "The Future of Medieval History," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new ser., 2 (1971): 179.

<sup>23</sup> *Speculum* 5 (1930): 250, italics added.

The concern with continuity was institutionalized in the founding of the Medieval Academy and *Speculum* in 1925, whose embracing purpose was to promote American study of the Middle Ages in all its varieties and subdisciplines, in order to help Americans, wrote George R. Coffman in the official report of the foundation, “to comprehend our medieval ancestors” (the operative word here being “ancestors”). Help was needed, he confessed, given the obscure and complex nature of medieval civilization, and it would require the “cooperation and the creative energy of students of art, archeology, folk-lore, government, law, literature, medicine, philosophy, theology and all other branches” of knowledge to elucidate.<sup>24</sup> Thus, from its inception, the professional study of the Middle Ages in America disclosed a durable structure of paradox in American medievalism—the sense of the absolute remove of the medieval past, its strange, difficult, occult nature, combined with an equally absolute sense of filiation with it.

Haskins was not unaware of this paradox and in his books and essays sought to resolve it in directions that would promote his modernist agenda. His enduring tribute to the modernity of the medieval past was *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, published in 1927, in which he contested the assumption that modern Western civilization began in the Renaissance. Haskins insisted,

the continuity of history rejects such sharp and violent contrasts between successive periods, and . . . modern research shows us the Middle Ages less dark and less static, the Renaissance less bright and less sudden than was once supposed. The Middle Ages exhibit life and color and change, much eager search after knowledge and beauty, much creative accomplishment in art, in literature, in institutions. The Italian Renaissance was preceded by similar, if less wide-reaching movements; indeed it came out of the Middle Ages so gradually that historians are not agreed when it began, and so would go so far as to abolish the name, and perhaps even the fact, of a renaissance in the Quattrocento.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, instead of viewing the Middle Ages as Western civilization’s pre-modernity, Haskins pushed both the revival of antiquity and the beginnings of modernity with which it was traditionally associated in Western historiography back to the twelfth century, thereby strengthening at one and the same time the continuity of the Middle Ages with the present and the centrality of its study as the parent civilization of the modern West.

Even in the seemingly improbable domain of scientific investigation, long believed to be the most backward and superstition-ridden feature of medieval intellectual life, Haskins argued for the essential continuity between the Middle Ages and the modern age. Haskins’s appreciation of the importance of science to medievalism’s modernist agenda was implemented in his important research on medieval science, published in 1924 as *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*. This aspect of Haskins’s influence was continued and amplified by Lynn White’s investigations into the history of technology, beginning in the 1950s, the effects of which were, in John Van Engen’s helpful phrasing, “to re-write medieval culture to

<sup>24</sup> Coffman, “Medieval Academy of America,” 17.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927; rpt. edn., New York, 1964), vii–viii.

approximate American dynamism.”<sup>26</sup> Haskins’s argument in *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* for the modernity of the Middle Ages began the “revolt of the medievalists,”<sup>27</sup> which sought a new legitimacy for the medievalist’s professional identity against the charges of obscurantism, irrelevance, and technical virtuosity that continually haunted the practice of medievalism in America in the face of its clear lack of connection with national identity.

Making a virtue out of necessity, Haskins argued that America’s lack of direct connection with the Middle Ages cultivated detachment on the part of its scholars; it was, he claimed, “one of America’s great advantages as regards many aspects of European history . . . enabling the historian to trace [the history of European civilization] without those national prejudices from which his European confreres cannot wholly emancipate themselves.”<sup>28</sup> In that sense, the very alterity of the Middle Ages abetted the entrenchment of positivism as *the* scientific form of scholarly method in American medieval historiography.<sup>29</sup>

Translated into the realm of historical practice, Haskins’s positivist objectivity took the form of a search for the rational basis of the political and administrative development of monarchical institutions in Europe, especially those of the Anglo-Normans and French. Like Wilson an admirer of the British constitution and political achievement, Haskins focused his attention on the Normans, whose governmental genius he believed had reconstituted the English political system after the Norman conquest of 1066, bringing to the disordered and backward Anglo-Saxon realm the peculiarly systemized and centralized form of feudalism that the Normans had first developed in France. The fruits of this research began to appear in articles after Haskins started teaching at Harvard, but his magisterial *Norman Institutions* was not published until 1918, thus expressing a reorientation in American medievalism away from the study of German/Anglo-Saxon history after World War I.<sup>30</sup> Hence one effect of Haskins’s concentration on the Normans was

<sup>26</sup> See John Van Engen, “An Afterword on Medieval Studies, Or the Future of Abelard and Heloise,” in Van Engen, *Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, 414.

<sup>27</sup> The term was popularized by Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948).

<sup>28</sup> Haskins, “European History and American Scholarship,” 224, 226.

<sup>29</sup> Space does not allow for a full discussion of the impact of positivism and philology on medieval studies in America, but its perduring effects would be difficult to overestimate. For a discussion from various points of view, see, among others, Frantzen, *Desire for Origins*; Patterson, *Negotiating the Past*; Patterson, “Critical Historicism and Medieval Studies”; and especially the wide range of essays in Bloch and Nichols, *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*. Especially useful in that volume are David Hult, “Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love,” and Stephen G. Nichols, “Modernism and the Politics of Medieval Studies.” On the alliance of philology with French and German national movements, see also R. Howard Bloch, “Naturalism, Nationalism, Medievalism,” *Romanic Review* 76 (November 1985): 341–60; and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, “Un Souffle d’Allemagne ayant passé: Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris and the Genesis of National Philologies,” *Romance Philology* 40 (October 1986): 1–37.

<sup>30</sup> According to Courtenay, the most striking effect on American scholarship of the war with Germany was to redirect both attention and training away from Germany to France, Belgium, and England (“Virgin and the Dynamo,” 14). One lamentable consequence of this shift was the virtual extinction of German medieval history as a field in North America. For an interesting discussion of the impact of World War II on German studies in the United States, see Patrick J. Geary, “Medieval Germany in America,” *Annual Lectures 1990* (The German Historical Institute) (Washington, D.C., 1991); and Edward J. Peters, “More Trouble with Henry: The Historiography of Medieval Germany in the Anglo-literate World,” *Central European History* 28 (1995): 47–72. Also relevant are aspects of Giles Constable, “The Many Middle Ages: Medieval Studies in Europe as Seen from America,” in *Bilan*

to maintain the traditional orientation of American scholars toward British history but at the same time subtly to redefine what was best in Britain as “French” (Anglo-Norman).<sup>31</sup>

It might also be pointed out that Haskins’s new focus on feudalism—a focus that was to characterize American scholarship on the Middle Ages until the 1980s—constituted an apparent revision of the Germanist thesis of Teutonism that had been a crucial explanatory principle for the preceding generation of Herbert Baxter Adams, in whose seminar Haskins had been trained. One function of the Teutonic germ theory had been to enable Americans conceptually to by-pass feudal institutions, so hated by revolutionary founders such as John Adams, who had seen the very essence of the American social experiment in its liberation from what Adams called “the feudal and Canon law.”<sup>32</sup> This was achieved by attaching America to an Anglo-Saxon, pre-feudal (indeed, anti-feudal) past. For these thinkers, feudalism represented an anti-democratic, aristocratic regime, which submerged (but left unaffected) the original seeds of democratic liberty sown by primitive Germanic customs and institutions. Interestingly, Haskins, while abandoning his mentor’s Teutonic germ theory of institutional history, remained committed to its underlying ideology, since he too sought to locate institutions in a progressively evolving, and rationalized, state that would ultimately secure constitutional government and, through it, individual liberties, now seen as embedded in the very principles of feudal organization and law that earlier generations had viewed with suspicion.

The influence of a progressive view of the state on Haskins can be seen in his focus on the inherent rationality of the Norman brand of feudalism, with its tendency to centralize, placing power in the hands of a court elite at the expense of an anarchic baronage, and its establishment of political and judicial order to bring peace and stability to the realms under Norman sway, in Sicily as well as England. The lesson that medieval monarchies thus bequeathed to the American present was the power of government to effect unity and consensus out of fragmentation and discord. And no one was to propound this lesson more clearly than Haskins’s premier student, Strayer. He shared with his mentor a dedication to investigate what he explicitly called “the medieval origins of the modern state,”<sup>33</sup> in particular by studying the growth of royal bureaucracies, governmental powers, and the legal principles by which medieval kings were able to secure not only the ability to rule through force but the affection and loyalty of their subjects as well.

If Strayer was heir both to the intellectual agenda and the political traditions of his mentor, there were, nonetheless, significant differences in the ideological tones

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*et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe*, Jacqueline Hamesse, ed. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), 1–22.

<sup>31</sup> It should be pointed out that similar revisions were taking place in English historiography, beginning with the work of J. H. Round (1854–1928) and continued in a powerful fashion by F. M. Stenton (1888–1967) and others. Haskins was aware of this work, on which he drew and to which he contributed.

<sup>32</sup> John Adams, “On the Feudal and the Canon Law,” in *The Rising Glory of America, 1760–1820*, Gordon S. Wood, ed. (New York, 1971).

<sup>33</sup> Notably in the title of his book, Joseph Reese Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, N.J., 1970).

of their work. After World War I, the American historical profession in general had suffered a severe loss of optimism and witnessed its first questioning of the positivist program of scientific objectivity, notably in the work of Charles Beard and Carl Becker on historical relativism, but American medievalists such as Carl Stephenson and Charles McIlwain—indeed, Haskins himself—had been relatively untouched by and strongly opposed to its ideological currents. Peter Novick has shown that, among American historians, medievalists were most resistant to the currents of relativism that surfaced after World War I. Whereas Becker and Beard used the occasion of their presidential addresses to the American Historical Association in 1931 and 1933 respectively to articulate their relativist doctrines—Becker in “Everyman His Own Historian,” Beard in “Written History as an Act of Faith”—McIlwain devoted his presidential address in 1936 to attacking Beard’s address of three years earlier, thus upholding the premises of scientific objectivity against the propositions of his colleagues’ relativism.<sup>34</sup> Medievalists were not alone in maintaining the “noble dream” of objectivity, but they were universally on its side in the debate that erupted.<sup>35</sup> Such was not to be the case with medievalists after World War II.<sup>36</sup>

By the time Strayer reached the peak of his career, the American state had grown immeasurably in power, from the rather modest federal government of the period before the Great Depression to the postwar colossus that had mobilized a nation, lifted it out of economic stagnation, unleashed atomic energy, and begun a grim struggle against world communism. There was, to be sure, an ideological continuity with the interventionist plans that had followed the previous war, but Woodrow Wilson’s internationalism had been defeated; after 1945, with the end of isolation-

<sup>34</sup> Carl Becker, *AHR* 37 (January 1932): 221–36; Charles A. Beard, *AHR* 39 (January 1934): 219–31; C. H. McIlwain, “The Historian’s Part in a Changing World,” *AHR* 42 (January 1937): 207–24.

<sup>35</sup> See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), chap. 9. See also John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (1965; rpt. edn., Baltimore, Md., 1989).

<sup>36</sup> Here again, McIlwain provides the most interesting example. In contrast to his firm maintenance of scientific historiography and objectivity in his 1936 presidential attack on Beard’s relativism, already before the end of World War II McIlwain found himself responding to political events by a revision of his earlier understanding of Roman law. Thus in “Medieval Institutions in the Modern World,” *Speculum* 16 (1941): 275–83, McIlwain allowed present events in Germany to reorient completely his notion of the place of Roman law in Western constitutionalism, arguing, “If we find the outcome of the Germanic origin of our institutions in the barbarous tribal orgy and the fantastic tribal history of the Germany of today, we may well begin to wonder if we have not been overdoing our own notions both of the continuing importance of our Germanic origins and of the accuracy, or at least the adequacy of the von Maurers of yesterday or of the von Gierkes of today.” In place of his insistence in his presidential address that objectivity was not only possible but incumbent upon the historian, and that it could be maintained in the face of the sort of presentist concerns that both Beard and Becker stressed, now McIlwain confessed that “for myself it has been the tribal excesses of present-day Germany which, as much as anything else, have led me to question the group theory of von Gierke’s *Genossenschaftsrecht* either as an explanation of medieval life or as a principle of practical politics” (pp. 279–80). Moreover, McIlwain opined, the Nazi repudiation of Roman law suggested that medievalists had greatly overemphasized the despotic character of that great legal corpus and had, conversely, greatly under-rated the “importance of Roman constitutionalism in the early development of our own” (p. 278). This domestication and democratization of what had earlier been seen as the absolutist tendencies of Roman law, begun in an American context by McIlwain, was to gain powerful allies from the German émigré community of medievalists, especially Ernst Kantorowicz, whose students included Robert Benson and Ralph Giesey. See also the essays by Gaines Post, in *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322* (Princeton, N.J., 1964). McIlwain’s 1941 article is notable for its prescient awareness of the impact the war would have on American scholarship.



ism, the establishment of a standing army, and the organization of industry and the military to confront the Soviet Union, the American state was considerably more impressive and its defense more urgent than had been the case in Haskins's time.

What Strayer did share with Haskins, and what his own work did so much to promote, was the desire to reinterpret medieval governmental history by making it compatible with American democratic principles. This he did mainly by arguing for the innovative, ameliorative impact of the centralizing monarchies in twelfth and thirteenth-century England and France, whose actions brought order and national unity out of feudal fragmentation. For Strayer, government, as such, was a "good" thing, securing for its subjects the necessary peace and stability that enabled them to prosper. But this was not government for the glory of the ruler—certainly not the gaudy Machiavellianism of Ernst Kantorowicz's Frederick II but rather the sensible, careful (if wily) constitutional practice of an Edward I or Philip the Fair, achieved not through violence but through a legal and administrative system able to deliver effective, consistent justice. Royal centralization arose not to oppose feudal institutions but to rationalize and strengthen them, preserving along the way their pluralist character. This form of feudal, administrative kingship<sup>37</sup> was the first step in the implementation of Western constitutionalism, a rational system for the adjudication of national issues and a style of government beneficial to subjects of the king. Strayer devoted a lifetime to demonstrating that this, not absolutism, represented the true achievement of medieval monarchies. A distillation of this thesis appeared in his famous article, "Philip the Fair—a 'Constitutional' King," published in the *American Historical Review* in 1956, in which Strayer argued, against the grain of previous scholarship, that Philip, far from representing a capricious, tyrannical king, who coldly fabricated scurrilous propaganda and placed himself beyond the reach of law, was instead a "constitutional" monarch who used legal principles to ensure the welfare and security of his realm.<sup>38</sup>

After being criticized for this view by scholars, Strayer later, in his monumental work *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (1980), modulated his position to emphasize instead the efficiency and efficacy of Philip's government, in lieu of the somewhat anachronistic claims concerning royal "constitutionalism" in the 1956 article.<sup>39</sup> But his underlying point remained the same: strong and legitimate government was a positive force in society and in the history of Western European state building. So effective were the administrative systems put in place by medieval governments, and so secure the loyalty of their subjects, that the emerging nation-states of Europe, Strayer argued in his 1971 AHA presidential address, were able to withstand the crises of the fourteenth century, in sharp contrast to the Roman Empire, doomed to succumb to the vagaries of the fourth century precisely because it lacked the

<sup>37</sup> The term is that devised by C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin in "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *AHR* 83 (October 1978): 867–905.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, "Philip the Fair—A 'Constitutional' King," *AHR* 62 (October 1956): 18–32.

<sup>39</sup> His critics in particular included Bryce Lyon, "What Made a Medieval King Constitutional?" in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969). We are indebted to Professor John W. Baldwin for this reference. Joseph Reese Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, N.J., 1980).



bureaucratic mechanisms and affective legitimacy that medieval kings had successfully brought into being.<sup>40</sup>

Beginning in the 1930s and continuing on until the 1980s, Strayer's long career of teaching, research, and writing on medieval history characterized a dominant (though by no means exclusive) orientation of American scholars of this era, a group that includes McIlwain and Charles Taylor at Harvard, Sidney Packard at Smith College, Carl Stephenson and Brian Tierney at Cornell, Sidney Painter and John W. Baldwin at Johns Hopkins, Bryce Lyon at Brown University, Elizabeth A. R. Brown at Brooklyn College, Frederick Cheyette at Amherst College, Charles T. Wood at Dartmouth, Ralph Turner at Florida State University, Thomas Bisson at Berkeley and Harvard, as well as C. Warren Hollister at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Gavin Langmuir at Stanford, and Robert Benson at UCLA, to name only a handful, all of whom were centrally concerned with questions of legal/constitutional and institutional history in relation to issues of both feudalism and state formation. Over the course of half a century, these scholars trained generations of students, whom they sent out throughout the country, populating centers of medieval study from the East to the West Coast. In fact, surveying dissertations in medieval history granted between the academic years of 1960–1961 and 1977–1978, Karl Morrison found that the largest segment (seventy-three) still consisted of works on late medieval England, nearly half of which were studies of law and institutions. The next largest group of theses were devoted to France, also in the later period and also institutional in focus.<sup>41</sup> Thus, if one includes Haskins, these concerns span virtually the entire length of professional medievalism in America, shaping it with notions of scientific methodology, rationality, and progressive ideology. In the early 1970s, Sylvia Thrupp, an economic historian at the University of Michigan, could still observe that “so far, knowing more about medieval society has not produced any radically new ways of thinking about it.”<sup>42</sup>

Since Strayer began his researches in the late 1930s, the rise of administrative kingship has been traced for England, Capetian France, and Catalonia.<sup>43</sup> In recent years, however, the field has lost some its allure, as Elizabeth A. R. Brown recently noted, because the state appears both less imposing and less benign than it did in

<sup>40</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, “The Fourth and the Fourteenth Centuries,” *AHR* 77 (February 1972): 1–14.

<sup>41</sup> In order of size, Morrison shows, these two categories were followed by Italy, ecclesiology, and church order, in which he included the study of canon law. Smaller groups formed around the study of Byzantium, textual studies, the history of Germany (by the late 1970s, still a marginal field in medieval history in the United States), as well as the history of science, philosophy, and hagiography. Morrison, “Fragmentation and Unity in American Medievalism,” 57. A further index of continuity, he indicates, is the fact that of the ten historians who received the Haskins Medal of the Medieval Academy (the highest prize it awards) between 1968 and 1978, four were born between 1894 and 1904 and two others in 1914 and 1916, while the rest were born in the 1920s. Thus, as Morrison himself is quick to point out, the topography of American medievalism in 1978 remained continuous with “the personal and disciplinary elements of its past” (p. 55).

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Morrison, “Fragmentation and Unity in American Medievalism,” 14.

<sup>43</sup> Hollister and Baldwin, “Rise of Administrative Kingship”; John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984).

1945.<sup>44</sup> In place of the confident identification of kingship, centralization, and progress is an emphasis on power rather than government, on familial aggrandizement over rulership, on military and judicial force as opposed to constitutionalism.<sup>45</sup> The institutions of rulership have been “remedievalized” as their ceremonial, intimidating, and exploitative aspects receive renewed attention. In that sense, the progressive, modernist agenda for which Strayer’s investigations of the Middle Ages stand seems extraordinarily distant from the present concerns of medievalists, so great has the disillusion with state power been in the interim and so much more predatory does the medieval and, for that matter, early modern state now appear.

To understand the disillusion with the state, it is not enough to point solely to the eclipse of governmental prestige in the past few decades. To this must be joined specifically the waning of the Cold War; for, as an ideological conflict, the Cold War encouraged not only the rather stark, state-centered historiography of Strayer but also the humanistic assertion of pluralism and human autonomy that characterized the period, following such works as Karl Popper’s *Open Society and Its Enemies* (1945) or Lionel Trilling’s *Liberal Imagination* (1950). Stimulated by the contrast between the democratic values of the West and the seemingly monolithic destruction of individualism by totalitarianism, the contest between democracy and postwar communism gave rise to a Middle Ages presented not solely as a model of administrative efficiency but also as the point of origin for Western values, especially individualism and confidence in the power of human reason, both found to be prevalent in the twelfth century.

In contrast to the theme of the medieval origins of the modern state, which tended to be a predominantly American concern, the elaboration of a rational and optimistic image of the twelfth century was shared by mid-century England and the United States alike, focusing above all on the period’s psychological dimensions and innovations. As with state power, this strand of historiography can be traced back ultimately to the work of Haskins—not the Haskins of Norman expansionism but of *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. His inquiry into the scholarship of the cathedral schools and the transmission of translated texts freed a little-appreciated intellectual movement from its exclusively theological associations, in particular from Scholasticism. As Haskins presented them, the masters of the School of Chartres were eclectic explorers, not confined to one field of inquiry or methodological template, more Platonist scientists and biblical scholars than Aristotelian abstract systemizers.

Haskins himself was most concerned to show that the attributes usually credited to the Italian Renaissance (classical learning, scientific curiosity, a sense of human power and autonomy) had been anticipated centuries before. However, as this strand of research developed in the immediate post–World War II decades, the

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, introduction to her collection of articles, *Politics and Institutions in Capetian France* (Aldershot, 1991), ix.

<sup>45</sup> For example, Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); Thomas N. Bisson, “The Feudal Revolution,” *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6–42. A cautious position is adopted by many of the authors in the recent collection *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, Thomas N. Bisson, ed. (Philadelphia, 1995), who depict political power neither as especially progressive nor overweening but varied, diffuse.

Renaissance of the twelfth century became important not so much for the revival of ancient learning as for its optimism, for the change it effected in mentality: from epic fatalism to romantic quest, from intellectual reliance on and deference toward authority to dialectical reasoning, from unquestioning adherence to faith to an active quest for understanding. In R. W. Southern's *Making of the Middle Ages* (1953), surely among the most influential books on medieval history, the loving sacrifice of Christ, the logical meditations of Anselm, Abelard's theories of intentionality, and a widespread rehabilitation of nature, seen especially in the writings of the School of Chartres—all figure as accomplishments of what Southern later termed “medieval humanism,” a designation intended less to take issue with the prestige of the Italian Renaissance than to describe a massive shift in the psychology of Europe and the West, one that Southern summed up in the covering phrase “From Epic to Romance.”<sup>46</sup> The twelfth century was at once rational, inward looking, and optimistic: a world in which the ordeal yielded to evidentiary criteria; the awe-inspiring Christ as Ruler of All (Pantocrator) became the crucified Son of Man; the strict world of duty in the epic became the adventurous quest in the romance.<sup>47</sup>

The new scholarship on the Renaissance of the twelfth century opposed it to both the period that preceded it and that which followed. Viewed in contrast to the immediate medieval past, the twelfth century represented the revival of the classics, the application of logic to theology, an optimism about the human condition, and a revised theology concerning the relation between God and his creation. It was also different from later, disappointingly dogmatic and intolerant, centuries, in particular from what in the Catholic world was still regarded as the “Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries” (the title of Catholic historian James J. Walsh's once-celebrated book, published in 1912).<sup>48</sup> Whereas the thirteenth century embodied the systematic scholastic theology of a universalizing church, the twelfth century was diverse, speculative, and—compared to what was to come—relatively open and tolerant.

So profound were the changes in the understanding of the twelfth century that historians began to re-periodize the Middle Ages, positing a new, differentiated chronology for what had previously been seen as a unified epoch. In this new schema, the twelfth century was cast as the springtime of the human spirit. Above all, what the twelfth century seemed to represent to historians of the postwar world was the discovery of the individual: the birth of a sense of human possibility and the awareness of the self as complex and unique, a development that could be traced in

<sup>46</sup> Southern took the phrase from the work of literary historian W. P. Ker, whose book *Epic and Romance* was first published in London in 1897 and subsequently reissued in 1908, 1926, and 1957.

<sup>47</sup> R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn., 1953); and *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1970), especially part 2, pp. 29–132. See also Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978); and Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); and Stock's essays in *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore, Md., 1990).

<sup>48</sup> Walsh actually was not a professional historian but a medical doctor who had trained under Rudolph Virchow in Germany. On Walsh, see Philip Gleason, “American Catholics and the Mythic Middle Ages,” in *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism, Past and Present* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1987), 19 and following.

a wide variety of medieval literary, artistic, and spiritual domains, from the romances of Chrétien de Troyes to the mystical theology of Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>49</sup>

When twentieth-century historians posited for the twelfth century the discovery of an inner and divided mental world, they undertook a psychological normalizing of the medieval in terms of perceived touchstones of modernity. To do this required secularizing what had been originally a language of religious devotion (as with the Cistercians) or theological disputation (as in the case of Abelard), finessing, if not altogether ignoring, the specifically Christian tenets of belief that informed twelfth-century thought.<sup>50</sup> In the work of Southern, this takes the form of a warm but decidedly nondogmatic sense of God's care for humanity and the exaltation of human agency in the embodied image of the specifically *human* Christ, suffering on the cross to redeem mankind.

More psychologically oriented versions of the birth of individual self-examination were offered in the 1970s by American scholars such as John Benton and Charles Radding. On the occasion of a conference to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Haskins's *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Benton applied the neo-Nietzschean theories of psychologist Julian Jaynes to locate the moment when the external voice of divine command (characteristic of an "epic" or pre-Socratic imagination) was discovered to emanate from within a divided self (usually associated with romance). Individuality was the result of a sense of the vastness and distinctiveness of the internal forum and the erection of boundaries between this individualized self and the divine, now mediated by rationality.<sup>51</sup> The emergence of the divided self created a new "depth psychology," inaccessible to exterior forms of knowledge or social manipulation, a self capable of both delusion and alienation.

While Benton deployed depth psychology to argue for transformations in the nature and meaning of medieval interiority, Radding drew on advances in cognitive psychology, in particular Jean Piaget's theories of childhood development, viewing the twelfth century as Western humanity's coming of age. Before this key turning point, medieval thought, Radding argued, was limited in its perceptual categories and absolute in its values, lacking notions both of human intentionality and ethical ambiguity.<sup>52</sup> It was, in Piaget's terms, "childlike," a judgment strongly reminiscent of the nineteenth-century exaltation of the Middle Ages for its innocence and uncritical habits of belief. But when it came to the twelfth century, Radding and others saw the birth of a rationality that could theorize about nature and that regarded the self as a fit object of analysis, thus linking the discovery of the individual to scientific progress against superstition and authority.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> On Chrétien de Troyes, see Robert W. Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); for Bernard, see Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York, 1972).

<sup>50</sup> John Van Engen drew attention to this habit of thought, although more in connection with the anthropological Annaliste approaches of the 1970s and 1980s, in "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *AHR* 91 (June 1986): 519–52.

<sup>51</sup> John F. Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 263–95.

<sup>52</sup> Charles M. Radding, "The Evolution of Medieval Mentalities: A Cognitive-Structural Approach," *AHR* 83 (June 1978): 577–97. See also Radding, *A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400–1200* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Lynn White, "Science and the Sense of Self," *Daedalus* 107 (Spring 1978): 47–59; Charles M.

These versions of the “discovery of the individual” were innovative but still modernizing, making an earlier period intelligible in contemporary terms. They share with Haskins the goal of locating the birth of the modern three centuries before the flowering of the Italian Renaissance. Such progressive ideas of medieval psychological development cast the twelfth century in essentially teleological terms, detecting in it the first outline of a design whose completion would unfold with the modern era, an era whose preoccupations were the preservation of human individuality against the seemingly crushing forces of conformity, technology, and totalitarianism.

Unlike the attention devoted to the state or individuality, the distinction between a tolerant and an intolerant Middle Ages has survived and even flourished. Indeed, it has proven central to the deployment of a new notion of medieval “alterity,” whose beginnings can be traced to the late 1970s and which has created a new landscape of concerns that could hardly have been anticipated. What has not survived is the optimistic belief in a progressive Middle Ages embodying pluralism, rationality, and self-knowledge. In its place is a renewed emphasis on a reiterated strangeness. This has entailed a restoration of aspects of the period previously neglected by scholars embarrassed by extreme or superstitious practices, encouraging the discovery of the suppressed, the odd, the fragmentary, and the marginal. In this, medieval history scarcely stood alone. The changes it experienced were part of a much broader movement, which, from the perspective of the 1990s, can be seen as the importation and adaptation of postmodernism into the heart of American scholarship in all fields.<sup>54</sup>

However, the resonance of postmodernism in medieval fields differs from its effects on the study of eras that have always been regarded as more unproblematically progressive, such as the Renaissance. Demodernizing the Middle Ages entails stripping off fewer layers of assumptions, to be sure, but at the same time it summons up ghosts of the irrational that undermining the Renaissance does not. For example, the worlds of inquisitorial repression, of violence mixed with ceremony, extremes of fasting or bodily instability, to cite only a few cases, are vividly new postmodern topics in current medieval historiography. Yet, curiously and doubtless unintentionally, they recall the romantic and anti-modern fascination of nineteenth-century medievalisms. Postmodern tendencies may subvert canonical periods of modernity such as the Renaissance, but for the Middle Ages they strangely reassert an older tradition of the grotesque, intolerant character of the epoch, a dark irrationality that popular opinion never quite abandoned but that in scholarship marks a radical turn in contemporary historical approaches.

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Radding, “Superstition to Science: Nature, Fortune, and the Passing of the Medieval Ordeal,” *AHR* 84 (October 1979): 945–69.

<sup>54</sup> The term postmodernism first gained renown with the publication of Jean-François Lyotard’s *La condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris, 1979), but probably was not widespread in American historiography until the translation in 1984. See William D. Paden, “Scholars at a Perilous Ford,” in *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s*, Paden, ed. (Gainesville, Fla., 1994), 8.



GIVEN THE AMOUNT OF MEDIEVAL MATERIAL that probes the boundaries of the magical, that combines rational analysis with strange questions, and that assembles a *bricolage* of ancient authorities, medieval studies might have been thought ideally placed to exploit the historicist strain in postmodern thought, since it had always insisted on difference (“alterity”) as the privileged category defining the relationship of the Middle Ages to the modern world of scholarship. Since a dominant impulse in postmodern criticism is precisely the attempt to “think difference,”<sup>55</sup> medievalists were in principle predisposed to the hermeneutic posture that postmodernism demanded of its practitioners. Moreover, the vaunted complexity of medieval documents, the necessity for highly technical approaches to them, implied that meaning in medieval texts was not naturally accessible and that such texts were, by nature, opaque, at least to the modern reader. In that sense, philology—the principal technical apparatus in the medievalist’s arsenal of interpretation—might have seemed compatible with the emerging sense of the opacity of all writing (of writing as *différance*, in Jacques Derrida’s sense) and with the turn to textuality as the matrix and condition of possibility for all forms of knowledge. Similarly, the sense of marginality, and the quest for it, that haunts the postmodern should be equally congenial to the medievalist, whose object of study lies outside the master narrative of Western modernity and whose own relationship to the profession is often considered to be, if not marginal itself, at least of marginal utility in a national environment committed to innovation and relevance.

And yet American medievalists—historians in particular—were slow to take up the challenge of postmodernism. In part, this was due to the persistence of the discourse of continuity and progress that had marked the American relation to its patently absent past virtually from the time of Jefferson on, and that had subtended the modernist agenda of the profession in its very formation. In part, and somewhat paradoxically, it was also due to the conservatism of some who joined the profession, for whom the Middle Ages retained its appeal as an alternative model of social being, belief, and intellectual elitism. (Medieval history was, after all, hard to do, demanding a mastery of languages that few Americans naturally commanded.) And in part, it may also be due to the feeling that the very disarray of modernism that “post”-modernism by definition portends threatens to deprive the Middle Ages of whatever negative interest it once had as the refuge of the unenlightened, irrational, and “other.”<sup>56</sup> In all these ways, the arrival of postmodernism must have seemed to undermine the unstated but nonetheless powerful investments of the self that medievalists brought to their work and that were intertwined with their professional identities. It was, therefore, not until the 1970s at the earliest that there began to appear currents of thought in medieval historical scholarship in America linked to the influence of postmodernism.

In our view, there were three trends in historical work during the late 1970s and 1980s that made themselves felt in the domain of medieval historiography. The first (and chronologically earliest) transformation came about as a result of the

<sup>55</sup> That is, as Eric L. Santner explains it, “to integrate an awareness of multiple forms of otherness, to identify . . . across a wide range of unstable and heterogeneous regionalisms, local knowledges and practices.” See Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 51.

<sup>56</sup> On the negative appeal of the Middle Ages, see Paden, “Scholars at a Perilous Ford,” 21.



emergence of American feminist historiography and, ultimately, gender studies, whose impact was to shift attention away from the public sphere that had engaged the work of American medievalists in the Haskins-Strayer tradition and toward the private, domestic, and, increasingly, carnal (that is, bodily) spheres. Initially, feminist historiography concerned itself with demonstrating the presence of women in the Middle Ages, making them “visible” as actors on the historical (if not public) stage—a strategy of *inclusion*, of reading women into the then-dominant historical discourse. This was a characteristic of what might be called the “Barnard/Columbia School,” led by former students of John Mundy of Columbia, whose principal representatives were Suzanne Wemple and Jo Ann McNamara.<sup>57</sup> In their early work, Wemple and McNamara focused on the ways that historical scholarship had occluded women’s historical presence and sought to restore them to view.<sup>58</sup> But as Wemple’s and McNamara’s own developments indicate, an exclusive focus on women soon became normal, in which practice medievalists were following the much broader pattern of women’s history in the United States generally.<sup>59</sup> Very quickly, therefore, feminist historiography developed into an interrogation of the basis of a practice that claimed “truth” while omitting from its purview fully half the population, a result of which was to demonstrate how patriarchy itself (especially in its highly misogynist, medieval variant) relied on a gendered view of nature and power for its success.<sup>60</sup> The concern with gender and its misogynistic working has been especially prominent in the fields of literary study and medieval spirituality.<sup>61</sup> For example, Caroline Walker Bynum’s brilliant work on late medieval women’s spirituality has disclosed the centrality of the body and bodily practices to a form of asceticism that is peculiarly female, both in its recourse to food as a central symbol of transcendence (in particular, through consumption of the Eucharist) and in its

<sup>57</sup> The work of this school of women’s history appears collectively in a festschrift prepared for Mundy upon his retirement, *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple, eds. (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>58</sup> Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981); Barbara J. Harris and Jo Ann McNamara, eds., *Women and the Structure of Society: Selected Research from the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women* (Durham, N.C., 1982); see also Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, 1977).

<sup>59</sup> See McNamara’s more recent work: *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. with John E. Halborg (Durham, N.C., 1992); *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); and *A New Song: Celibate Women in the First Three Christian Centuries* (New York, 1983). It should be pointed out that McNamara has insistently eschewed such exclusivity, urging that feminists include the study of men in their research agenda, as in her own recent work on masculinity, *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, Clare A. Lees, ed. (Minneapolis, 1994).

<sup>60</sup> For an overview of these developments in the field of medieval history, see Susan Mosher Stuard, “A New Dimension? North American Scholars Contribute Their Perspective,” in *Women in Medieval History and Historiography*, Stuard, ed. (Philadelphia, 1987), 81–99. See also the recent special issue of *Speculum* 68 (1993) dedicated to women’s history, now published as *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, Nancy F. Partner, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). An example of this work is Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago, 1985).

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, in literature, the article by E. Jane Burns, Roberta Krueger, and Helen Solterer, “Feminism and the Discipline of Old French Studies,” in Bloch and Nichols, *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 225–66. In spirituality, the work of Caroline Walker Bynum has been decisive, especially *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991).

highly penitential, self-punishing mode of bodily deprivation (fasting and self-flagellation).<sup>62</sup>

Within women's history, a constructivist approach to history, when applied to issues of sexuality, powerfully abetted the feminist view that sexual categories once thought to be natural, universal, and given—the very bedrock of identity and being—are instead historically produced under determinate, discursive conditions and in the service of specific material (patriarchal) interests and power relations. Thus gender differences have themselves been revealed as part of a master narrative that feminist historiography, in unmasking, seeks to dethrone. While few medievalists have followed feminists like Judith Butler in affirming a wholly performative notion of gender, the very instability and obscurity of medieval notions of sexuality have readily exposed them to this kind of treatment.<sup>63</sup>

The second principal development affecting the American academy constituted a rejection of the positivist certainties and foundationalism of the “old” historicism—together with its implicit, universalizing humanism—in favor of a “new” historicism that took its lead from the creation of “discourse” studies, which would issue, ultimately, in the practice of “cultural history.”<sup>64</sup> Within the domain of historicism, Michel Foucault has argued that, in a postmodern age, the problem of history “is no longer one of tradition, of tracing a line, but one of division, of limits; it is no longer one of lasting foundations, but of transformations that serve as new foundations”; which is to say that history is a form of archaeology.<sup>65</sup> To take Foucault's notion of archaeology seriously, therefore, meant abandoning the master narrative of continuity and progress that had informed historical practice at least

<sup>62</sup> See Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

<sup>63</sup> Recent examples of work done in this vein are Joan Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Differences in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1993); John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago, 1994); E. Jane Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 1993). There is a huge literature on medieval sexuality, beginning with the work of Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, with James Brundage (Buffalo, N.Y., 1982); *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (New York, 1978); *The History of Prostitution*, with Bonnie Bullough (New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1964); *Sin, Sickness and Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes*, with Bonnie Bullough (New York, 1978); and James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987). Bullough and Brundage together have edited a *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York, 1996). See also *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, eds. (Toronto, 1996). For the performative notion of gender, see Judith P. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1989); and *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York, 1993).

<sup>64</sup> To some extent, this kind of work might be thought to derive from Marc Bloch's emphasis on *mentalité*, an initially neglected aspect of the Annales paradigm, but there has been rather little work in medieval history—in contrast to early modern Europe and modern European history—in America that takes its primary impetus from the Annales school. There is no identifiable American school dedicated to the study of medieval *mentalités*. In a review of the French medieval establishment comparable to the present essay, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt note the ease with which the study of *mentalités* was adopted by the Germans, Italians, and Spanish but failed to win favor among “les médiévistes anglo-saxons.” They speculate that “perhaps the problem of translating the term helps to explain both the ease and difficulty of its diffusion.” See Le Goff and Schmitt, “L'histoire médiévale,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* 39 (1996): 16, n. 2. Nor can the profound changes represented by the rise of discursively oriented work really be traced back to the Annales, however compatible the Annaliste emphasis on *mentalité* might at first seem to be with it. In truth, they employ quite different views of language, hence of the nature of medieval textuality and the uses to which it can, and should, be put.

<sup>65</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. (New York, 1972), 5.

since the nineteenth century (indeed, earlier) in favor of a fractured, discontinuous, and ruptured sense of the past. Yet we believe that this sense of discontinuity now apparent in medieval historiography is the result of internal impulses in the field of medieval studies itself. A disenchantment with narratives of foundationalism (with the origin of an unproblematic modern state or individualism, for example) led to the exploration of the marginal and excluded, thus tending to generate sympathetic readings of Foucault.

Third, and closely allied to this shift, was the so-called linguistic turn, or what might, in its most general sense, be termed a transformation in the understanding of documents as texts rather than sources. As a result of this development, the idea of history has been transformed from narration to representation, based on the conviction that the investigation of the past occurs only through the mediatory and mediating texts it bequeaths, and, therefore, what is “recovered” is not so much the truth of the past as the images of itself that the past produces. For medievalists, this transformation, conducted under the impact of both symbolic anthropology of the Geertzian sort and semiotics (and, in part, Derridean deconstruction, though Derrida’s influence was felt primarily in the field of criticism, rather than history), contested the positivist and philological center of all medieval studies and is perceived by many medievalists in America as a threat to the very enterprise of learning. In other words, in treating documents as texts rather than sources, the linguistic turn suggests the instability and opacity of all and any knowledge of the past, while at the same time attacking the very foundations on which medievalists had constructed their professional legitimacy, involved as medieval studies had always been with mastery of highly technical fields of manuscript work such as paleography, diplomatics, codicology, and the like. Together, these two movements are creating a “new medievalism” (in the title of a recent collection of essays), one that is, in Eugene Vance’s words, “a science not of things and deeds but of discourses; an art not of facts but of encodings of facts.”<sup>66</sup>

While these changes have characterized American historiography in general from the 1970s on, in the field of medieval history what might here be called medievalism’s postmodernist agenda required a prior, and double, analytical move: a demodernization of the modernist project that had stood at the core of virtually all medieval disciplines since the late nineteenth century and had endowed American medievalists especially with a sense of professional purpose and identity; and a (postmodern) defamiliarization of the resulting—demodernized—cultural artifacts, an analytical gesture that at the moment appears to entail a certain demonizing of the Middle Ages, the corollary of which is precisely the “return of the grotesque in medieval historiography” that we take to be an emerging theme of postmodern medieval historiography in America. What is taking place, therefore, is not so much the product of the unearthing of new texts (although, inevitably, it has led to the discovery of them) as a massive interpretive shift in the meaning of the Middle Ages that has emerged as a consequence of a refocusing from the normal to the contested, from an optimistic and “progressive” decoding of the past to a

<sup>66</sup> Eugene Vance, “Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons and the *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*,” in *The New Medievalism*. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen G. Nichols, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 227.

reappropriation of its otherness, an alterity now construed not merely as the temporal boundary demarcating the pre-modern from the modern but as a radical form of otherness that almost defies comprehension.

In particular, Foucault's attack on the normalizing mechanisms of modern epistemological regimes has promoted a sensitivity to ways in which knowledge-power systems marginalize and exclude—silence, in effect—some while valorizing others, and has led medieval historians to take a fresh look at the operations of the church and its systematic theology in the high Middle Ages as well as to seek out those elements of medieval society that both contest and thus seem to escape their power. Especially interesting in this use of Foucault is the way it contradicts Foucault's own embedded "chronology" of normalization, if one can call it that, which locates the emergence of a disciplinary society in the mid-seventeenth century, that is, in a postmedieval world. For Foucault, the Middle Ages seems to escape the fate of those knowledge-power systems so characteristic of the "modern" world. Instead, Foucault tends to present the Middle Ages as a free, untrammelled period, a time when reason speaks to unreason, when torture is writ upon the body rather than the soul, when, in effect, the leper colony may be inhabited solely by lepers, but it is routinely visited by holy kings such as St. Louis. In this view of the Middle Ages, Foucault left undisturbed the basic narrative of modernity, which viewed the origin of modern regimes, both epistemic and disciplinary, as the product of a distinctly postmedieval world. The effect was to leave essentially unchanged an organicist conception of the Middle Ages, a shadowy totality against which Foucault's anti-totalizing readings of the past—of history as "dispersion"—could be staged.

One result of the utilization of Foucault's view of the normalizing tendencies of all discursive formations and the desire to undermine their efficacy has been, within medieval history, a complete reinterpretation of the thirteenth century as witness to what has been called "the rise of a persecuting society."<sup>67</sup> Thus the "greatest of centuries" is no longer seen as the center of a modern, rational progressive movement but as a Foucauldian Panopticon of discipline and colonization, seeking out in order to tame and punish all those perceived as dissenting from the church's regime. In applying a Foucauldian perspective of "normalization," American medievalists have exploited such high medieval developments as the persecution of

<sup>67</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987); *The Origins of European Dissent* (1977; reissued, New York, 1985); *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975). See also the series of works by Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages: The Search for Legitimate Authority* (New York, 1992); *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); Russell, ed., *Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1971). In addition, see Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London, 1991); John E. Boswell, "Jews, Bicycle Riders and Gay People: The Determination of Social Consensus and Its Impact on Minorities," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 1 (1989): 205–28. For a general bibliography, see Carl T. Berkhout and Jeffrey B. Russell, *Medieval Heresies: A Bibliography, 1960–1979* (Toronto, 1981). Also relevant is the work of Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976); *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia, 1979); *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989); and that of Edward Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia, 1980); *Inquisition* (New York, 1988); *Torture* (New York, 1985); *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1978); ed. with Alan C. Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700* (Philadelphia, 1972). For a general view from the perspective of an art historian, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993).



heretics, the rise of the Inquisition, the appearance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of “blood libels” and narratives of ritual murder as effects of the increasingly tense relations between Christians and Jews, culminating in the expulsion of the Jews,<sup>68</sup> as well as the growing effort on the part of the church generally to define, regulate, and restrict sexuality—all mobilized to present a dark, persecutory vision of medieval society.<sup>69</sup> This has encouraged, as its obverse, new interest in heretical groups,<sup>70</sup> in Jews and in Jewish-Christian relations, in crime, in children, in popular culture, in gays and other marginalized groups.<sup>71</sup> Subjects once marginalized are now reintroduced as centers of concern: incest (and incest as the model of culture, culture itself being seen as the space in which the dangers of identification or indistinction, the very dangers inherent in the situation of incest, are played out), masochism, rape, transvestism, even postcolonialism.<sup>72</sup>

What is particularly striking about medieval work done in this vein, moreover, is the degree to which it focuses not only on the marginal but on the grotesque. The most popular topics in medieval cultural studies in America at the moment—by some reports—are death,<sup>73</sup> pus, contagion, defilement, blood, abjection, disgust and

<sup>68</sup> See Robert Chazan, “The Deteriorating Image of the Jews—Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds. (Cambridge, 1996), 220–33; and Gavin I. Langmuir, “The Tortures of the Body of Christ,” in Waugh and Diehl, *Christendom and Its Discontents*, 287–309. See also Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), especially the essays “Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder” (209–36) and “Ritual Cannibalism” (263–81). Also relevant is Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982).

<sup>69</sup> For an extremely nuanced account of medieval persecutory practices, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

<sup>70</sup> Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York, 1975). See also the works cited in note 69.

<sup>71</sup> See William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia, 1989); and *Women and Credit in Pre-industrial and Developing Societies* (Philadelphia, 1993), which in part concerns financial transactions (loans) between women and Jews; the exemplary work of Barbara A. Hanawalt, ed., *Crime in East Anglia in the Fourteenth Century: Norfolk Gaol Delivery Rolls, 1307–1316* (Norwich, 1976); and *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and the work of the late John Boswell, especially his two books, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980); and *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York, 1994). Also relevant is Vern L. Bullough, *Homosexuality: A History* (New York, 1979); and *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender*, with Bonnie Bullough (Philadelphia, 1993). See also Anne Gilmour-Bryson, “Sodomy and the Knights Templar,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 2 (1996): 151–83.

<sup>72</sup> See the papers by Leslie Dunton-Downer, “The Horror of Culture,” and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Masoch/Lancelotism,” which were part of the conference “Cultural Frictions: Medieval Cultural Studies in Post-Modern Contexts,” Georgetown University, October 27–28, 1995, available on the World Wide Web at [www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95](http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95); Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia, 1991); the papers by Robert L. A. Clark and Claire M. Sponsler, “Queer Play: The Cultural Work of Crossdressing in Medieval Drama,” and Kathleen Biddick, “English America: Curricular Masks/Imperial Phantasies,” Cultural Frictions conference.

<sup>73</sup> Recent works on death are Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London, 1997); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996); and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995). To this list might be added Shulamith Shahar's new book *Growing Old in the Middle Ages* (London, 1997), a companion to her study of *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990).

humiliation,<sup>74</sup> castration, pain,<sup>75</sup> and autopsy. Those objects of fascination, Michael Uebel suggests, are “what, if anything does, define cultural studies generally, and medieval cultural studies in particular.”<sup>76</sup> Thus Bynum trains her eye on extraordinary acts of asceticism among the women she treats, who drank pus seeping from wounds, fasted to the point of starvation, and submitted to horrifying acts of self-deprivation all in the name of spiritual transcendence. Jewish historians have recently returned to the study of the massacres of 1096, with their images of piles of dead and mutilated bodies.<sup>77</sup> Even within the most traditional domain of feudal studies, there is a growing emphasis on violence as the engine that drives the feudal machine. Indeed, recent work on the Normans, notably Eleanor Searle’s *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power*, stresses the violent, ritualized nature of their exercise of power, in sharp contrast to Haskins’s view of the rational, systematic nature of Norman feudalism.<sup>78</sup> Thus violence, conflict, and marginality are producing similar effects in many fields of research: the defamiliarizing of what previously seemed canonical, progressive, and modern in favor of the marginal, ironic, and fantastic.<sup>79</sup>

The distinctive methodological (or, if you will, theoretical) feature of this work, which differentiates it markedly from older styles of cultural history, is that the aberrant, the exotic, the monstrous, the feminine are not seen as the repressed content of the normal and the normalized but are treated as possible, though excluded, surface alternatives brought back into play through scholarly investigation.<sup>80</sup> For example, rather than seeing sexuality and its “non-normal” practices such as homosexuality as repressed by the church, thus still lingering *within* the normal, postmodern scholars tend to see them as ejected or excised. Hence the characteristically postmodern feature of this work is its erasure of depth in favor of surface. The postmodern habit of mind, Paul Strohm explains, “rejects the claim of a repressed alternative—one potentially, therefore, able to be reclaimed through depth psychology—in favor of an excluded or jettisoned alternative, a broader scope of possibilities denied in a founding moment of representation.” In treating

<sup>74</sup> See the recently published books of medievalist William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort and Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993).

<sup>75</sup> For example, Esther Cohen, “Towards a Science of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages,” *Science in Context* 8 (1995): 62–66.

<sup>76</sup> See the statement on “The Practice of Medieval Cultural Studies,” for the Cultural Frictions conference, by Michael Uebel and D. Vance Smith, at [www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95](http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95).

<sup>77</sup> See the work of Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley, 1989); “The Representation of Events in the Middle Ages,” *History and Theory* 27 (1988): 40–55; and of Ivan Marcus, “History, Story and Collective Memory: Narrativity in Early Ashkenazic Culture,” *Prooftexts* 10 (1990).

<sup>78</sup> See Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); and Thomas N. Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution,’” *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6–42.

<sup>79</sup> Thus Lee Patterson has specifically advocated the adoption of an ironic mode of history as that best adapted to a postmodernist treatment of the medieval past. See “On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History and Medieval Studies.”

<sup>80</sup> Paul Strohm, “Cultural Frictions: Conference Commentary,” at [www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95/papers/strohm.html](http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95/papers/strohm.html).



the thirteenth-century scholastic propensity for definition and categorization, then, postmodern medievalists tend to see in that process not the workings of an explicitly repressive regime so much as one that practices the nullifications involved in total exclusion. In Strohm's words:

Perceiving that the establishment of the medieval "body political" proceeded by excluding and jettisoning unwanted parts and components in order to create a shapely whole, the postmodernist [scholar] opts for complexity, disorder and contrariety, posits foundational acts of binarism aimed at producing an excluded and disavowed other against which (by a process of "disidentification") western identity is secured. Over against the ordered and orthodox European body are set the heretics, the monstrous others, the Jews and the Muslims. No longer permitted a "dangerous proximity," these excluded groups are decisively othered via the construction of a "sanitized history" of western self-construction. It is sanitized, in part, by the exclusion of the complicated intermediate array by which a heterogenous view of society is maintained. If one is either orthodox or heretical, well or sick, normal or perverse, pure or impure, then altogether lost are the erased possibilities of hybridity, bisexuality, creolization, doctrinal multiplicity.<sup>81</sup>

The goal here is not so much an expansion, enrichment, or even complication of our understanding of medieval culture but rather its "undoing." In focusing on what is excluded from both medieval representations and our representations of the Middle Ages, representation itself is rendered a "phantasm" and is undone. Moreover, since whatever fails to be represented (whether in medieval representations themselves or in our representations of them) is construed as pathological, it becomes difficult to evade the diagnosis of medieval studies as itself implicated in the very pathology that, inescapably, becomes the defining characteristic of the period. A visit to the cultural studies link of the medievalist web site called "the Labyrinth" discloses an emerging view of the Middle Ages as inherently "pathological." Although this site almost by definition presents work not yet completed, it does indicate possible directions that future research will take and that have already provoked debate and discussion. Here, medieval cultural studies, in the words of D. Vance Smith, one of the organizers of that site,

investigates the pathogenesis of culture. It resists the totalizing tendency in cultures to repress whatever culture renders valueless, and makes visible the means by which that repression occurs. Because it resists appropriation by the objectifying discourses of a culture, it exposes the arbitrary and contingent ways in which cultures create value. It begins with what is already rendered valueless. The study of culture's pathology, then, anatomizes cultural values. It shows what is purged, what exceptions, what counter instances, and what counter-memories, are forgotten in the emergence of a cultural symbolic. Cultural studies offers a way of reading the material while resisting the totalizing inertia of historicizing discourses; it offers us a chance to stir the ashes of the fires in which imagined gold is produced.<sup>82</sup>

To investigate the "pathogenesis of medieval culture" requires, Michael Uebel claims, that a hermeneutic shift occur, whereby "the object qua object of analysis or of history is abandoned—disappeared under the sign of the pathological, the

<sup>81</sup> Strohm, "Cultural Frictions."

<sup>82</sup> D. Vance Smith, "Enjoy Your Phantasm!" Part 1 of "The Practice of Medieval Cultural Studies," in Cultural Frictions conference, at [www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95](http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95).

perverse—and that that ghostly space (that is, the ‘phantasm’ that constitutes representation, which remains) be filled with the conflicted process of reading itself that the trace-object both organizes and pathologizes” (hence scholarship itself is rendered pathological).<sup>83</sup>

Looked at as a whole, there appear to be two postmodernist approaches to the Middle Ages. Both explore the marginal or the voiceless but from different perspectives of destabilization. On the one hand, there is a renewed emphasis on alterity and on the radical disjunction of the Middle Ages from the modern, the canonical, and the progressive. At its best, this presents us with a more intriguing, more colorful, and less familiar Middle Ages, in which the state is more predatory, piety is more intense, and mentalities more foreign than had been portrayed by the quintessentially “American school” of medieval historiography. The other regards the Middle Ages as darkly familiar, the analogue of a negatively construed modern West. In this light, the Middle Ages becomes the point of reference for those persecuting societies that mobilize rationally administered power toward repressive ends. Both tendencies share an aversion to a Middle Ages conceived as progressive, pluralist, rational, and self-aware.

If one inquires into the reasons for these new currents in the practice of medieval history in America, the answer, it seems to us, lies not so much in the impact of postmodernism *per se* but in the reasons for the receptiveness of American medievalists to postmodernism’s agenda. In common with other sectors of the society and economy, medieval studies during the 1960s and 1970s experienced upheaval and change, both in its recruitment of students into the profession and in the attitudes toward the past thereby engendered.

Of obvious relevance was the experience of these new groups during the “sixties,” when the combined forces of the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the early budding of feminism, and the utopian critique of American culture represented by the growth of the “counter-culture” were all in full swing.<sup>84</sup> This was a generation raised and coming to consciousness of its place in history in an atmosphere of deep ambivalence toward authority and power—both political and cultural. It is easy to see how, when its members came to develop their own, distinctive vision of the past, some would view the Middle Ages with the same profound suspicion of order, hierarchy, authority, and patriarchy that had characterized their earlier involvement in their own contemporary world. Nor were Americans alone in this tendency, although the openness of the American academy

<sup>83</sup> Michael Uebel, “When the Fetish Comes to Life,” Part 2 of “The Practice of Medieval Cultural Studies,” in Cultural Frictions conference, at [www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95](http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/conf/cs95).

<sup>84</sup> It is striking that Caroline Walker Bynum opened her presidential address, “Wonder,” to the AHA in 1997 by declaring herself to be “a product of the 60s.” She reports that as a graduate student at Harvard, she “kept on [her] bulletin board” a slogan from the 1968 student rebellion in Paris that declared: “‘Toute vue des choses qui n’est pas étrange est fausse’ (‘Every view of things that is not strange [i.e., bizarre or foreign] is false’).” Looking back, Bynum believes that the meaning of this practice was that she was “trying, both as a scholar and as a teacher, to jolt my listeners and readers into [an] encounter with a past that is unexpected and strange, a past whose lineaments are not what we at first assume, whose traces in our sources answer questions we haven’t asked and deliver only silence to our initial, self-referential queries.” The last part of this testimony indicates Bynum’s clear desire to preserve the distinctive “pastness” of the past, rather than assimilate it to a modern, “presentist” agenda. But she shares with later developments the turn to an alterity that goes beyond mere temporal distance and difference. Bynum, “Wonder,” *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 1.

to new groups and new ideas may have facilitated the pace and prevalence with which they were accepted in comparison to Europe.

That the habit of suspicion toward authority and the practice of cultural criticism would tend to express itself within medieval studies in a “Gothic” idiom of the “grotesque” is perhaps more difficult to understand. Yet Mark Edmundson has recently reminded us that “Gothic shows the dark side, the world of cruelty, lust, perversion and crime that . . . is hidden beneath established conventions. Gothic tears through censorship, explodes hypocrisies to expose the world as the corrupted, reeking place it is . . . Unsentimental, enraged by gentility and high-mindedness, skeptical about progress in any form, the Gothic mind is antithetical to all smiling American faiths.” For this very reason, Edmundson asserts, America, a “nation of ideals . . . has also been a nation of hard disillusionment, with a fiercely reactive Gothic imagination.”<sup>85</sup> And at the heart of this imagination lies a profound ambivalence about authority in all its guises, not least that of the past. For the essence of the Gothic predicament and plot, as Edmundson explains it, is a sense of bondage to the past: to past deeds or persons that continue to haunt the present. But whereas late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Gothic sought to instruct a postrevolutionary readership on the terrors and guilt of the French Revolution, haunted by the paternal past it had destroyed, modern Gothic scenarios seek rather, in Edmundson’s terms, “a way to generate a reductive, bitter version of experience over all.”<sup>86</sup>

An additional factor seems likely to have predisposed some American medievalists to recover and redeploy this Gothic idiom in the interest of revising our ways of understanding the medieval past: the medievalists’ almost necessary engagement with earlier Gothic scenarios, if only as historiographical foils against which to argue a modern understanding and approach to the Middle Ages. The very fact of a preexisting “Gothic” medievalism made the grotesque a discourse already available to medievalists, at hand for the emerging critique of the past that was coming to preoccupy a segment of the profession as a whole.

Given this, it is hardly surprising that the most powerful sense of the Middle Ages current in the academy is what goes under the name of its alterity, for that alterity offers the best means of escaping from the model of total identification that was the chief mode of studying the Middle Ages in the past. What has changed in the postmodern understanding of medieval alterity, and serves sharply to distinguish it from the earlier modern construction of it, is the simultaneity of our desire for history and the recognition of its irreparable loss, a loss we no longer can, or care to, mask beneath the modernist guise of continuity and progress. If postmodernism has seemed to this generation a viable, indeed crucial, theoretical context out of which to work, this is so because postmodernism invites us to contemplate, as Eric Santner has written, “the shattered fantasy of the (always already) lost organic

<sup>85</sup> Mark Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism, and the Culture of Gothic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 4–5.

<sup>86</sup> Edmundson, *Nightmare on Main Street*, x, see also 67.

society that has haunted the Western imagination.”<sup>87</sup> The alterity of the Middle Ages, it would appear, is our own estrangement from that fantasy writ large.

<sup>87</sup> Santner, *Stranded Objects*, 7.

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## Neither Machiavellian Moment nor Possessive Individualism: Commercial Society and the Defenders of the English Commonwealth

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STEVE PINCUS

"THE CONCEPT OF REPUBLICANISM was one of the success stories of the 1980s," the intellectual historian Daniel Rodgers recently observed, "a generation ago the term—while not unknown—carried no more freight than scores of others in the historical vocabulary . . . By 1990 it was everywhere and organizing everything, though perceptibly thinning out, like a nova entering its red giant phase."<sup>1</sup> The remarkable spate of recent publications celebrating republicanism—books, articles, collections of essays—suggests that Rodgers has misconstrued the astronomical life of this particular star. "The wildfire popularity of republicanism" continues unabated.<sup>2</sup>

For scholars interested in republicanism, just as for those interested in liberalism, seventeenth-century English history, politics, and culture hold a special significance. C. B. Macpherson located "the roots of the liberal tradition . . . in the political theory and practice of the English seventeenth century." This was because it was "in the course of a protracted struggle in parliament, a civil war, a series of republican experiments, a restoration of the monarchy, and a final constitutional revolution, that the principles which were to become basic to liberal democracy were all developed." Alan Bullock and Maurice Shock concurred that "English Liberalism"—which predates but is not conceptually distinguishable from "Continental Liberalism"—"was born out of the seventeenth century struggle for freedom of conscience and the resistance of Parliament to the arbitrary authority of the King." More recently, Stephen Holmes has claimed that "the early history of liberalism . . . cannot be detached from the political history in the seventeenth and

I have benefited from the comments and criticism of Bernard Bailyn, Thomas Cogswell, Tracy Davis, Cornell Fleischer, Richard Grassby, Timothy Harris, Cynthia Herrup, Meg Jacobs, Sandra Johnson, Mark Knights, Karen Kupperman, Kimberly Latta, Claudio Lomnitz, Richard McCoy, Peter Mancall, Peter Miller, Janel Mueller, Michael Murrin, William Novak, James Oakes, Mark Phillips, John Robertson, Joshua Scodel, Johann Sommerville, Susan Stokes, Richard Strier, Frank Trentmann, Amber Wilke, Blair Worden, the Newberry Milton Seminar, the Folger Lunchtime Colloquium, the Early Modern History Seminar at the University of California, and the Columbia History and Literature Seminar.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History* 79 (June 1992): 11. See also Knud Haakonssen, "Republicanism," in Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, eds., *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 1993), 568. Haakonssen, unlike Rodgers, does not see any diminution in the fashion for republicanism.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase is Joyce Appleby's in *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 279.

eighteenth centuries, of England and Scotland, the Netherlands, the United States and France." For Holmes, John Locke is "the best place to begin if we wish to cut to the core of liberalism."<sup>3</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, who chose to emphasize the republican rather than the liberal tradition in his magisterial *Machiavellian Moment*,<sup>4</sup> also insisted that the intellectual and cultural production of England in the 1650s was of pivotal importance. For it was the intellectual work of these English republicans that connected the republicanism of classical Rome and Renaissance Florence to that of revolutionary America. "The consequences" of these English republican publications, Pocock has noted, "were felt to the American Revolution and beyond."<sup>5</sup> Civic republicanism, notes Chantal Mouffe, who is herself critical of that tradition, "was reformulated in England in the seventeenth century by James Harrington, John Milton and other republicans. Later it traveled to the New World through the work of the neo-Harringtonians, and recent studies have shown that it played a very important role during the American Revolution." In his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, Quentin Skinner reiterated this historical account, insisting that "the neo-roman understanding of civil liberty . . . rose to prominence in the course of the English revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. Later it was used to attack the ruling oligarchy of eighteenth-century Britain, and still later to defend the revolution mounted by the American colonists against the British crown." Blair Worden has recently identified the 1650s as one of the "two decisive stages in the emergence of modern republicanism."<sup>6</sup> Some historians and literary critics have therefore come to describe the 1650s as a "republican moment."<sup>7</sup>

In this essay, I hope to interrogate the ideological stakes in the enthusiastic and ubiquitous celebration of classical republicanism by setting the political economy of

<sup>3</sup> C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 1962), 1; Alan Bullock and Maurice Shock, *The Liberal Tradition: From Fox to Keynes* (London, 1956), xx; Stephen Holmes, *Passions and Constraint: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, 1995), 13–15.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Macpherson, *Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, 1. While I dissent from Macpherson's depiction of liberalism and from Pocock's emphasis on classical republicanism, I agree with both of them that an analysis of early modern British political and social thought is essential to understanding the nature of our own political presuppositions.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, ed., *The Political Works of James Harrington* (Cambridge, 1977), 15; see also Pocock, "The Machiavellian Moment Revisited: A Study in History and Ideology," *Journal of Modern History* 53 (March 1981): 49–50. Some readers might be bewildered by the extent to which I have quoted Pocock. This is because Pocock has often claimed that his critics misrepresent him. In many cases, I think he is right. To avoid that pitfall, I have relied on Pocock's own words rather than paraphrasing him.

<sup>6</sup> Chantal Mouffe, "Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community," in Mouffe, ed., *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community* (London, 1992), 227; Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998), ix. (Skinner and his fellow defender of republicanism, Philip Pettit, have come to maintain that liberalism was only invented in the nineteenth century. Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, ix; Philip Pettit, "Liberalism and Republicanism," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 28 [1993]: 163. This claim can only be defended if based on an extremely restrictive and ungenerous definition of liberalism.) Blair Worden, "Marchamont Nedham and the Beginnings of English Republicanism," in David Wootton, ed., *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649–1776* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 45.

<sup>7</sup> Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 196; David Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," *Historical Journal* 35 (1992): 532–33; Armitage, "John Milton: Poet against Empire," in David Armitage, Armand Himy, and Quentin Skinner, eds., *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 1995), 206.



John Milton and Pocock's paradigmatic classical republican political thinker James Harrington alongside the mass of publications of the defenders of the English Commonwealth during the 1650s.<sup>8</sup> Classical republicans<sup>9</sup>—who celebrated the achievements of classical Sparta, republican Rome, and Renaissance Venice—fashioned a political economy appropriate for an agrarian society. However, the massive expansion of English trade, domestic and foreign, in the early modern period was harnessed, deployed, and valued by a newly emerging state in the 1640s and 1650s, creating for the first time a truly self-conscious commercial society.<sup>10</sup> This political, social, cultural, and ultimately ideological transformation, I suggest, makes an analysis based exclusively on “the more innovative currents of political and religious thought” too narrowly conceived.<sup>11</sup> From the middle of the seventeenth century, attitudes toward the economy and interest were coming to be as important as attitudes toward resistance and predestination. While Milton's political and religious criticism of the Stuart monarchy might have appeared quite radical in the 1630s or early 1640s, set next to the ideological currents and massive pamphlet production of a developing commercial society, Milton's political economy, and indeed that of Harrington, appears quite conservative. The conception of liberty advanced by Harrington and Milton was conceptually indistinguishable from a wide variety of other defenders of the English Commonwealth. Unlike Milton and Harrington, however, many of the radical defenders of the Commonwealth in the 1650s and beyond developed a political economy and a conception of interest appropriate to a commercial society. These people borrowed many of the old tropes of classical republicanism—especially their devotion to the common good and their hatred of tyranny—and blended them with a newly appropriate vocabulary of interests and rights in defense of the common good. Their experience of the newly

<sup>8</sup> For the purposes of this essay, I have elided some very important differences between Milton and Harrington and focused instead on their similar conceptions of political economy and their rejection of contingent politics of interest. Milton, I am convinced, was much more interested in politics as a means to godliness, while Harrington saw politics much more as an end in itself.

<sup>9</sup> I use this term throughout to describe the political ideology uncovered and celebrated by Pocock. While I am aware that Pocock has warned that “republicanism in England was a language, not a programme” (*Political Works of James Harrington*, 15), it is quite clear that he means this only in the revisionist sense that republicanism did not cause the English Civil War, the execution of the king, or the establishment of the English Republic in 1649. Throughout his voluminous writings, he insists on certain key ideological continuities, which I will explore below. It is these continuities that, Don Herzog has rightly insisted, account for “some of the zeal animating republican revisionism,” for it makes it possible to claim “that civic humanism is a valuable possibility today.” Herzog, “Some Questions for Republicans,” *Political Theory* 14 (August 1986): 474.

<sup>10</sup> I argue this point at length in “From Holy Cause to Economic Interest,” in Steve Pincus and Alan Houston, eds., *A Nation Transformed? The Modernity of Later Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, forthcoming). While I agree with Joyce Appleby that England in the seventeenth century was experiencing “commercialization” and that this ultimately required “the endorsement of new values,” her account of how that happened is too simple. Discussions of the economy in the seventeenth century are really discussions of political economy. English men and women were not so interested in the abstract questions of modern economists as in how economic developments related to the state's promotion of the common good. Economic change was not only mediated by ideas but also by the development and massive expansion of the English state. The quotations are from Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> The methodology is outlined by David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London, 1984), 11–12; see also Michael Wilding's narrow definition of Milton's “historical context” as being the “political and ecclesiastical revolution.” Wilding, *Dragon's Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1987), 234. Far from being a methodology unique to one particular discipline, this is the prevailing mode of analysis in early modern British studies.

emerging commercial society as much as their reading determined their political outlook. They invented a new ideology applicable to a commercial society, an ideology that valued wealth but also the common good, an ideology, in short, that celebrated neither possessive individualism nor the anti-commercialism of republican Sparta. This ideology—which valued human choice, the human capacity to create wealth, and epochal change in human history—can no longer be called classical republicanism but is better understood as liberalism. It is a liberalism, however, that should not be seen as antagonistic to republicanism. Rather, it is an ideology that melds elements of the republican tradition—especially the republican commitment to the promotion of the common good—with a commitment to commercialization.<sup>12</sup>

The force of the classical republican tradition in current historiography and political thought depends on its having been the primary language with which the English and then the Americans criticized the Stuart and Hanoverian monarchies. For Pocock and his followers, the 1650s is the critical moment in which Machiavelli was given an English face. This argument, I suggest, depends on a severely restricted sample of the ideological production of the defenders of the English Commonwealth in those critical years. Wider reading in the voluminous writings of these polemicists reveals that, while the English read and understood Machiavelli in these years, they rejected his political economy and moderated his celebration of civic virtue. If there was a purely Machiavellian or classical republican moment in the 1650s, it was ephemeral. Machiavelli's writings may have been vital in helping the English to rethink their political and social universe, but, with the exception of a very small and economically conservative group of polemicists, his works did not provide a blueprint. English Commonwealth thinking, like that of later seventeenth-century Dutch republicans, blended a commitment to the common good with a defense of commercial society.

CLASSICAL REPUBLICANISM, though appearing in a bewildering array of scholarly contexts, actually has a precise set of meanings. The term is no longer a free-floating signifier that scholars can deploy without ideological baggage. For many modern scholars and the seventeenth-century writers they study, classical republicanism denotes a description of political personality rather than a constitutional model. It means much more, and perhaps less, than opposition to kingship. The description of political personality implied by classical republicanism is one developed out of a reading of classical texts and their Renaissance interpreters. As such, it is an ideology recovered and celebrated by those hostile to the description of political personality central to the liberal, social democratic, and Marxist traditions. Those traditions all begin with a self-consciously modern depiction of

<sup>12</sup> While this essay calls for a rethinking of liberalism, it does not offer a fleshed-out new historical account. I am planning such an account in my forthcoming book *The Glorious Revolution and the Origins of Liberalism*. Both in this essay and in that book, I suggest that the liberal ideas that receive their more elegant and sophisticated statements in Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill begin to emerge as a coherent political position in the seventeenth century.

political personality—indeed, a self-consciously commercial depiction—whereas the classical republican tradition begins with an ancient description of citizenship.

What, then, does republicanism mean? “The republican vocabulary employed by *dictatores*, rhetoricians and humanists,” argues Pocock, “articulated the positive conception of liberty: it contended that *homo*, the *animale politicum*, was so constituted that his nature was completed in a *vita activa* practiced in a *vivere civile*, and that *libertas* consisted in freedom from restraints upon the practice of such a life.”<sup>13</sup> “Central to republican theory,” explains the political theorist Michael Sandel,

is that liberty depends on sharing in self-government . . . It means deliberating with fellow citizens about the common good and helping to shape the destiny of the political community. But to deliberate well about the common good requires more than the capacity to choose one’s ends and to respect others’ rights to do the same. It requires a knowledge of public affairs and also a sense of belonging, a concern for the whole, a moral bound for the community whose fate is at stake. To share in self-rule therefore requires that citizens possess, or come to acquire certain qualities of character, or civic virtues. But this means that republican politics *cannot* be neutral towards the values and ends its citizens espouse.<sup>14</sup>

“The neo-roman writers” most cherish citizens “who devote themselves to public service,” Skinner suggests. “The specific freedom these citizens need to be able to exercise above all is that of speaking and acting as conscience dictates in the name of the common good.” “Republican man is a citizen, not (like Hobbes’ man) a subject,” Worden points out, “his citizenship is dependent on the free exercise of his virtue and of his reason, and upon his participation, as an elector of representatives and as an arms bearer, in the communal affairs of his country.”<sup>15</sup> Classical republicans were as much concerned with active citizenship as with any particular constitutional form. They were united as much by their emphasis on the

<sup>13</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 40–41. It should be noted that Quentin Skinner has recently argued that republican liberty was negative, not positive: “The Republican Ideal of Political Liberty,” in Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 1990); Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, 82–83. I find myself in complete sympathy with Alan Patten, who claims that Skinner’s new “instrumental republicanism” is unable to articulate any “interesting disagreement between liberals and republicans” in their depictions of liberty. Patten, “The Republican Critique of Liberalism,” *British Journal of Political Science* 26 (1996): 26–27. Skinner’s response, that liberals only fear coercive restraints on liberty whereas “neo-romans” insist that “to live in a condition of dependence is in itself a source and a form of constraint” (*Liberty before Liberalism*, 84), fails to convince on two grounds. First, he is unable to show that there was any historical debate between early modern neo-romans and their more commercially oriented critics over this issue. Second, many liberals seem to have the same concerns. Stephen Holmes, for example, insists that the “ideal-typical liberal” “was more distressed by poverty and personal dependency . . . than by inequality of income or wealth” (*Passions and Constraint*, 15.) Skinner, it seems, is only able to demonstrate this distinction by reducing liberalism to “utilitarian principles” (*Liberty before Liberalism*, 96–99). I hope to show in the final section that this is a historically unwarranted distinction. Early defenders of commercial society were deeply committed to notions of the common good.

<sup>14</sup> Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy’s Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 5–6.

<sup>15</sup> Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, 87; Blair Worden, “The Revolution of 1688–89 and the English Republican Tradition,” in Jonathan I. Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991), 249. See also his elegant discussion in “English Republicanism,” in J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. 446.

realization of human potential through political participation as by their support of any particular political arrangement.

Opposition to monarchy did not define the republican tradition. A republic “represented not so much the formal structure of a government as it did its spirit,” Gordon Wood observed long ago. “What the republicans take themselves to be describing is any set of constitutional arrangements under which it might justifiably be claimed that the *res* (the government) genuinely reflects the will and promotes the good of the *publica* (the community as a whole),” argues Skinner, “whether a *res publica* has to take the form of a self-governing republic is not therefore an empty definitional question, as modern usage suggests, but rather a matter for earnest inquiry and debate.” “It would be an oversimplification, and in important respects an error,” insists Worden, “to equate republicanism with opposition to kingship.”<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, Milton and the republicans who came of age in the 1650s all expressed a profound ambivalence about monarchy. Milton insisted that he hated “only tyrants,” not kings.<sup>17</sup> “As a good man differs from a bad,” he later explained, “so much, I hold, does a king differ from a tyrant. Hence it happens that a tyrant not only is not a king but is always an especially dangerous threat to kings.”<sup>18</sup> Henry Stubbe also insisted that kingship was irrelevant to republicanism. “Where the executive power is in one person triable by a Sanhedrin upon breach of law, it is a republic,” Stubbe asserted, “and the controversy is merely grammatical whether this or that is duly named.”<sup>19</sup> For republicans, contemporary and early modern, active citizenship more than kingless government defines republicanism.

The recovery of classical republicanism, the celebration of civic virtue, has in all fields been a tool with which to critique liberalism, socialism, and Marxism.<sup>20</sup> This is the one point agreed on—either implicitly or explicitly—by both republicans and their detractors.<sup>21</sup> Pocock’s ideological targets are scholars left of the political center: the Christian socialist R. H. Tawney, the Marxist historian Christopher Hill, the Marxist political theorist C. B. Macpherson, and Joyce Appleby, whom he calls a “neo-Jeffersonian.”<sup>22</sup> The republican citizen he has recovered “was so much of a

<sup>16</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York, 1969), 49. Robert E. Shalhope derides those scholars who “assumed that republicanism represented simply a form of government.” Shalhope, “Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 29 (1972): 51. Skinner, “Republican Ideal,” 302; Worden, “Revolution of 1688–89,” 250.

<sup>17</sup> John Milton, “A Defence of the People of England,” 1651, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, Don M. Wolfe, gen. ed., 8 vols. in 10 (New Haven, Conn., 1952–82), 4: 535.

<sup>18</sup> John Milton, “A Second Defence of the People of England,” 1654, *Complete Prose Works*, 4: 561. Milton also took great pride that Queen Christina of Sweden affirmed that he “had uttered no word against kings, but only against tyrants—the pests and plagues of kings.” “Second Defence,” 4: 604.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Stubbe, *The Commonwealth of Israel*, May 16, 1659 (London, 1659), 4. See also *An Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause*, September 1659 (London, 1659), sig. a5r.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted, as Rodgers has, that there were always two schools of republicanism: “Harvard republicanism . . . and St. Louis republicanism” with very different outlooks. Rodgers, “Republicanism: The Career of a Concept,” 18. It would perhaps be helpful to widen Rodgers’ focus to note divisions in the debates about Italian and English republicanism as well.

<sup>21</sup> The exception seems to be among American labor historians. However, when pressed, Leon Fink concedes that “those of us who invoke labor republicanism as a category of nineteenth-century analysis must more carefully distinguish it from the more formal tradition of classical, civic republicanism.” Fink, “Relocating the Vital Center,” *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 158. I am grateful to Bruce Nelson for calling this literature to my attention.

<sup>22</sup> Pocock, *Political Works of James Harrington*, 56; J. G. A. Pocock, “Between Gog and Magog: The

political and so little of a social animal as to be ancient and not modern, ancient to the point of being archaic.”<sup>23</sup> It is thus not surprising that, in Pocock’s own view, “*The Machiavellian Moment* consistently displays republicanism . . . at odds with liberalism.”<sup>24</sup> Rodgers is surely right to point out that “Pocock [is] neither neo-Marxian nor New Left,” indeed, “he [writes] critically of both.” Skinner, who sees his recovery of republicanism as a means to criticize the American liberal theorist John Rawls, insists that the classical republican tradition “contrasts sharply with modern liberal individualism.” Jonathan Scott has contrasted republicanism to “modern politics.” “Republicanism,” Wood has pointed out, “possessed a decidedly reactionary tone.” Liberalism, for Sandel, is “the rival public philosophy” of “republican political theory.” The Yale political theorist Ian Shapiro has noted that republicanism “has increasingly been picked up on by theorists and social commentators as an alternative to neo-Kantian liberalism.” For Ronald Dworkin, the republican commitment to “a virtuous society” is characteristic of a “conservative” political outlook. “The recovery of a strong participatory idea of citizenship should not be made at the cost of sacrificing individual liberty,” warns Mouffe, it is here that the civic republican “critique of liberalism takes a dangerous conservative turn.” “Classical republicanism,” observes Appleby, “offers late-twentieth century men and women an attractive alternative to liberalism and socialism.” Classical republicanism, Jeffrey Isaac concurs, “offers a new history, another tradition with which to identify in the course of the critique of liberalism.”<sup>25</sup> Instead of being part of a liberal or radical tradition, classical republicanism has proven to be the political ideology of the critics of radicalism and liberalism.

IN WHAT SENSE IS CLASSICAL REPUBLICANISM a conservative ideology? How could a system of thought constructed to criticize Roman imperial corruption and then the failings of baroque monarchies be conceived as anti-liberal? The classical republicans, like Milton and Harrington, did not merely deploy classical examples in order to criticize contemporary social and political arrangement; they wanted to resurrect the past. And the past they hoped to resurrect was an agrarian and non-capitalist

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Republican Thesis and the *Ideologia Americana*,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (April–June 1987): 339. Pocock counts himself among “the critics of the Marxian tradition,” in “*Machiavellian Moment* Revisited,” 59.

<sup>23</sup> Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 48.

<sup>24</sup> Pocock, “*Machiavellian Moment* Revisited,” 55. It is true that in his more cautious moments, Pocock says he is only critiquing a caricature of liberalism (see *Political Works of James Harrington*, 146; “Between Gog and Magog,” 337), but he fails to provide his readers with a description of liberalism with which he would be sympathetic.

<sup>25</sup> Rodgers, “Republicanism: The Career of a Concept,” 27; Skinner, “Republican Ideal,” 304, 306; Jonathan Scott, “The English Republican Imagination,” in John Morrill, ed., *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s* (London, 1992), 37–39; Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 59; Sandel, *Democracy’s Discontent*, 5; Ian Shapiro, *Political Criticism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 167; Ronald Dworkin, “Liberalism,” in Michael J. Sandel, ed., *Liberalism and Its Critics* (New York, 1984), 72–75; Mouffe, “Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community,” 227; Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism*, 23; Jeffrey C. Isaac, “Republicanism vs. Liberalism: A Reconsideration,” *History of Political Thought* 9 (Summer 1988): 350. Assessments similar to Isaac’s are offered by Herzog, “Some Questions for Republicans,” 473; and Alan Craig Houston, *Algernon Sidney and the Republican Heritage in England and America* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 3.



one. In the 1650s and beyond, the attitude that the classical republicans took toward commercial society and interest became increasingly problematic. Their anxiety about, and antagonism toward, the newly emerging commercial society of mid-seventeenth-century England, however, was not shared by the majority of the defenders of the English Commonwealth. Instead, many of those who celebrated the rule of the Rump Parliament criticized the Protectorate and abhorred the restoration of an absolute monarchy—in short, many of the defenders of the Commonwealth—melded a new ideology appropriate to a commercial society. They created this new world view from their readings of classical and Renaissance texts, their political experiences, and the reality of their daily social and economic engagements. The political economy they defended assumed that wealth, not civic virtue, was the basis of political power. As a result, these defenders of the idea of the commonwealth celebrated merchants as the most useful members of society. They demanded a national bank to ensure that the English state would always be prepared for war. And they believed that the basis of economic well-being was not natural endowment but human labor.

Classical republicans idealized agrarian commonwealths like those of ancient Sparta and pre-imperial Rome.<sup>26</sup> Political power, they insisted, was dependent on virtuous citizen armies, not on the state's possession of economic wealth. Indeed, they feared the acquisition of wealth—especially mobile wealth—as luxury that would corrupt the virtuous citizen. The republican citizen, explains Pocock, “required the autonomy of real property, and many rights (including the right to keep and bear arms) were necessary in order to assure it to him; but the function of property remained the assurance of virtue. It was hard to see how he could become involved in exchange relationships, or in relationships governed by the media of exchange (especially when these took the form of paper tokens of public credit) without being involved in dependence and corruption. The ideals of virtue and commerce could not therefore be reconciled to one another.”<sup>27</sup> “Until the era of the American and French Revolutions, and perhaps for longer still,” Pocock contends, “the appeal to commercial individualism was always conducted by English and Scottish writers as a vindication of established, and usually traditional forms of authority. The tradition of thought which descended from Machiavelli through Harrington was normally critical of Parliamentary authority and the commercial society.”<sup>28</sup> The economic thought of Harrington, whose ideas serve as

<sup>26</sup> Worden, “English Republicanism,” 444.

<sup>27</sup> Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 48. See also Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 386; J. G. A. Pocock, “England’s Cato: The Virtues and Fortunes of Algernon Sidney,” *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 931, 933. I quote from Pocock not because his is a lone voice but rather because his views have reached the level of orthodoxy. “The traditional view of political economy articulated by republican theorists at the time of the American Revolution,” argue Cathy Matson and Peter Onuf, “was founded upon the premise that political right and personal virtue flowed from the ownership of hereditary and transmissible land.” Republicans associated the accumulation of commercial wealth “with luxury and vice, the leading threats to good citizenship in their ‘Christian Sparta.’” Matson and Onuf, “Toward a Republican Empire: Interest and Ideology in Revolutionary America,” *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 496, 498. In this brilliant article, Matson and Onuf argue for the breakdown of republican political economy. My only dissent is that the conditions they isolate for the breakdown occurred in the 1650s in England, and that the same ideological moves were made then, rendering the existence of such a republican synthesis concerning political economy in the late eighteenth century problematic.

<sup>28</sup> Pocock, “*Machiavellian Moment* Revisited,” 58. It should be noted that, when criticized, Pocock



the vital linchpin in Pocock's analysis, "was entrenched within a cyclical and pre-capitalist pattern."<sup>29</sup> For Pocock, then, the defenders of commercial society were inevitably aligned against those critical of the Stuart monarchy. Royalists, not radicals, defended capitalism.

Milton fits Pocock's model; he shared the classical republican hostility to commercial society. He rejected the primary assumption of the new political economy. In his commonplace book, Milton noted that "against riches Machiavelli argues rightly that 'riches are not the nerves of war as is generally believed.'"<sup>30</sup> Milton was convinced that civic virtue, not material consideration, was the basis of political and martial power. "Those whose power lies in wisdom, experience, industry and virtue will," he wrote, "however small their number, be a majority, and prove more powerful."<sup>31</sup> If trade becomes a reason of state, "if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen that nothing can support it, but the luxurious expences of a nation upon trifles or superfluities, so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading," Milton fulminated, then "our condition is not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence, and will bring us soon the way we are marching, to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, that is to say all national judgments under foreign or domestic slavery."<sup>32</sup> Milton detested the political economy of commer-

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denies that he ever said these things. He has "often been misrepresented," Pocock complains. He really said "that the republican attitude to the growth of commerce was not one of blanket opposition but one of critical evaluation." By this, he apparently means (and I hope I am being fair) that republicans "feared the 'trading interest' less than the 'monied interest,' the artisan or merchant less than the financial speculator in the availability of capital; when they criticized 'commercial society,' it was for favoring the growth of the soldier, the stockjobber, and the manipulative politician, though commercial society always found republican defenders who believed that these types could be assimilated or eliminated." Pocock, "Between Gog and Magog," 340, 343. It turns out, however, that the radical political economists of the 1650s (and beyond) defended the creation of a national bank and the development of national credit.

<sup>29</sup> Pocock, *Political Works of James Harrington*, 59–60; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 390–91. Unsurprisingly, "the neo-Harringtonian thesis became an instrument of radical reaction in an era of devastating economic change" (*Machiavellian Moment*, 422). It is worth noting at this point, as I hope to show below, I find Pocock's understanding of Harrington's economic thought more persuasive than that offered by Isaac, "Liberalism versus Republicanism," 364–65; and Shapiro, *Political Criticism*, 192–93. Both of these political theorists want to suggest that Harrington "took for granted the core tenets of the new political economy" (the phrase is Shapiro's). They are right to suggest that there were radical defenses of a new political economy; they are wrong to think that Harrington offered one.

<sup>30</sup> John Milton, Commonplace Book, entry dated to 1651–52, *Complete Prose Works*, 1: 414–15. Some might see Milton's Sonnet 17, praising Sir Henry Vane the younger for his ability "to advise how war may best, upheld, / Move by her two main nerves, Iron and Gold / In all her equippage," as an admission that money did indeed constitute the sinews of war. John Milton, "Sonnet 17," in John T. Shawcross, ed., *The Complete English Poetry of John Milton* (New York, 1963), 230. But a careful reading of the sonnet reveals that Milton is praising Vane, whom "religion . . . reckons . . . her eldest son," as uniquely virtuous. It is only with such a virtuous man at the helm that England can make proper use of iron and gold. It is not the iron and gold that generate power but their proper deployment by a man of virtue. Significantly, Vane is figured in the poem as a Roman senator leading England/Rome against the commercial republics of the Netherlands/Carthage. I am grateful to Sharon Achinstein for drawing this sonnet to my attention.

<sup>31</sup> Milton, "Second Defence of the People of England," 4: 636.

<sup>32</sup> John Milton, "The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth," February 22–29, 1660, *Complete Prose Works*, 7: 387. Here Milton is attacking the monarchists' defense of political economy, but the same arguments for political economy and consumption were advanced by the radicals in the Rump Parliament not six months before. It is, of course, true that Milton praised the

cialization, the political economy increasingly defended by Commonwealth radicals, the political economy that would be part and parcel of opposition to the Later Stuart monarchy.

Milton's attitude toward the new political economy perfectly matched his historical assessments. Not only did Milton praise republican and agrarian Rome, he also adored Sparta. He referred contemporary politicians to the legendary Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus for "unimpeachable advice." Sparta, Milton insisted in the *Second Defence of the People of England*, was "a state endowed with an excellent constitution."<sup>33</sup> Early modern readers would have understood Sparta not only as a military commonwealth but also as a rigorously anti-commercial one. Sparsely populated agrarian Sparta was contrasted with bustling commercial Athens on the frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes' translation of Thucydides. In the Athens described by Thucydides, to "attain to riches" was a noble goal. It was a place, the Athenian leader Pericles said, to which "all things from all parts of the earth are imported . . . whereby we no less familiarly enjoy the commodities of all other nations than our own."<sup>34</sup> In Sparta, by contrast, Lycurgus had "forbid all coin of gold and silver to be current." Coins were replaced with clumsy iron ingots. According to Plutarch, since "their iron monies were not current else where in the cities of Greece . . . the Lacedaemonians [Spartans] could buy no foreign wares nor merchandise, neither came any ships into their haven to traffic with them."<sup>35</sup> Milton, as he grew older, found less and less reason to praise commercial and democratic Athens. When he did mention Athens, it was the Athens of the exclusive Council of the Areopagus, which met halfway up the Acropolis, not the Athens of the popular assembly and the teeming Agora below.

Unsurprisingly, given his view of the relationship between commerce and politics, Milton had little time for merchants and tradesmen. In the "Digression," he blamed those "who had been called from shops and warehouses without merit to sit in supreme councils and committees," for the failure to realize the high hopes he held for the Commonwealth. Under their influence "was justice delay'd and soon after deny'd." It was commercial man who set "the Common-wealth behind, his private ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him." Milton interrupts his praise for the English Commonwealth in his *Defence of the People of England* to concede that its constitution "is not the most desirable, but only as good as the stubborn struggles of the wicked citizens allow it to be."<sup>36</sup> Previously, in 1644,

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United Provinces as a free state. But wealth, he made quite clear, could only be praised if it were the by-product, not the end goal, of a commonwealth. See 7: 357, 386.

<sup>33</sup> Milton, "Defence of the People of England," 4: 400–01, see also 348. See the discussion of Milton and Sparta in Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (1969; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1991), 188–90; Milton, "Second Defence of the People of England," 4: 577.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Hobbes, trans., *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre Written by Thucydides* (London, 1629), 102, 104.

<sup>35</sup> Sir Thomas North, trans., *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans . . . by . . . Plutarch* (London, 1631), 46.

<sup>36</sup> John Milton, "Digression," *Complete Prose Works*, 5: 442–44. I find myself persuaded by Nicholas Von Maltzahn's dating, as against that of Austin Woolrych. See Woolrych, "Dating Milton's *History of Britain*," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 929–43; Von Maltzahn, "Dating the Digression in Milton's *History of Britain*," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 945–56. However, I think Milton's contempt for merchants was a constant factor in his thought. For the second quote, see Milton, "Defence of the

Milton had castigated “the wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits,” the man who commodifies religion. Milton’s merchant was someone who made even his faith “a dividual movable,” a man “who finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade.”<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Von Maltzahn is surely right to suggest that Milton made a rigorous distinction “between prudent statesmen and simpler merchants and soldiers.” Nigel Smith may be guilty of some understatement when he declares that “Milton does not fully integrate trade into his system of virtue.”<sup>38</sup>

James Harrington, for all his ideological inventiveness, for all his insistence on the material underpinnings of political power, was no more friendly to commercial society. He also rejected the first precept of the new political economy. Harrington endorsed, as Pocock has shown, “the Machiavellian denial that money was the sinews of war.” The Roman Republic, Harrington pointed out, “had little regard unto money” when levying war.<sup>39</sup> Well-trained and virtuous citizen soldiers won wars. Harrington had no time for the financial proposals of the new political economists. “A bank never paid an army,” he growled, “or, paying an army, soon became no bank. But where a prince or a nobility hath an estate in land, the revenue whereof will defray this charge, where their men are planted, have toes that are roots, and arms that bring forth what fruit you please.”<sup>40</sup>

In his historical and political analysis, Harrington had little good to say about commercial republics. “What comparison is there of such commonwealths as are or come nearest to mechanic; for example, Athens, Switz, Holland, unto Lacedaemon [Sparta], Rome, and Venice, plumed with their aristocracies?” Harrington’s lord archon asked incredulously. “Your mechanics till they have first feathered their nests—like the fowls of the air, whose whole employment is to seek food—are so busied in their private concernments that they have neither leisure to study the public, nor are safely to be trusted with it.”<sup>41</sup> In Harrington’s view, the popular,

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People of England,” 4: 316–17. “Citizens” in this context refers to the merchant participants in urban governments.

<sup>37</sup> Milton, “Areopagitica,” 1644, *Complete Prose Works*, 2: 544–45. I do not share the view of Ann Baynes Coiro that “*Areopagitica* is typical of its historical moment in its assumption, at once fearful and exhilarated, that the marketplace could come to pervade everything.” Coiro, “Milton and Class Identity: The Publication of *Areopagitica* and the 1645 Poems,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22 (Spring 1992): 263. Milton was ambivalent, and would become more so, about the consequences of events in the 1640s and 1650s. He welcomed the growth of political and religious liberty. He absolutely condemned the commercialization of society and ultimately blamed it for the downfall of the Commonwealth.

<sup>38</sup> Nicholas Von Maltzahn, *Milton’s History of Britain: Republican Historiography in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), 43; Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*, 195. It should be clear from the above discussion that I dissent from David Armitage’s claim that Milton’s critique of empire “marks a stage in the gradual transformation of the strenuous classical republicanism of the 1650s into the Whig thought of the latter part of the century.” Armitage, “John Milton,” 223. There were many critics of England’s possessions of colonies throughout the seventeenth century. Later seventeenth-century Whig thought, however, was commercial thought. That Milton rejected commercial society made it impossible for him to be part of that transformation. There are, however, a plethora of other candidates.

<sup>39</sup> Pocock, *Political Works of James Harrington*, 59; James Harrington, “The Commonwealth of Oceana,” 1656, in Pocock, *Political Works of James Harrington*, 315–16.

<sup>40</sup> James Harrington, “The Prerogative of Popular Government,” 1658, in Pocock, *Political Works of James Harrington*, 404.

<sup>41</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 259. The lord archon is the sole legislator of Oceana and introduced the

commercial, and urban nature of classical Athens determined its demise. "Commonwealths upon which the city life hath had the stronger influence, as Athens, have seldom or never been quiet, but at the best are found to have injured their own business by overdoing it."<sup>42</sup> "Athens," Harrington put it simply, "was plainly lost through want of a good aristocracy."<sup>43</sup> Venice and Sparta were praised by Harrington's lord archon because they were governed by "no other than nobility, even according to the definition given of nobility by Machiavel, for they neither exercised any trade nor laboured their lands or lots."<sup>44</sup> Significantly, Harrington attributed Sparta's demise to its belated acceptance of commercial wealth. "Lysander," Harrington lamented, "bringing in the golden spoils of Athens, irrecoverably ruined that commonwealth, and is a warning to us that, in giving encouragement unto industry, we also remember that covetousness is the root of all evil." The conclusion for England was clear. Whatever the commercial success of the United Provinces of the Netherlands or the Swiss cantons, they "are of no example unto us," no example because England was clearly an agrarian society.<sup>45</sup>

Although Harrington's great innovation in republican theory was to suggest that a feudal aristocracy was no longer viable in England because it no longer reflected the balance of property, he did not suggest that England had become a commercial or capitalist society. Instead, he insisted that the only proper basis of political power lay in landed wealth. For Harrington, "political power always follows economic power," Worden has noted, "and to Harrington . . . economic power was landed power."<sup>46</sup> Harrington's English Commonwealth was necessarily agrarian. "Agriculture is the bread of the nation," the lord archon insisted, "we are hung upon it by the teeth; it is a mighty nursery of strength, the best army and the most assured knapsack; it is managed with the least turbulent or ambitious, and the most innocent hands of all other arts. Wherefore I am of Aristotle's opinion, that commonwealth of husbandmen (and such is ours) must be the best of all others."<sup>47</sup> While Harrington's Oceana, unlike Lycurgus's Sparta, was capable of trading, while the lord archon's government was equipped with a thinly described Council of Trade,<sup>48</sup> Harrington still insisted that the bedrock of political power was land. Such "as is the proportion or balance of dominion or property," Harrington argued, "such is the nature of empire."<sup>49</sup> Whereas "dominion personal or in money" has "been seldom or never successful, because unto property producing empire, it is required that it should have some certain root or foothold, which, except in land, it

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commonwealth as a form of government to it; in this context, he is also a character whose speeches I occasionally quote.

<sup>42</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 158. Harrington is thus compelled to argue that Venetian political culture is not truly urban.

<sup>43</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 257.

<sup>44</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 260. My reading of Harrington is in sympathy with that of Rawson, *Spartan Tradition*, 190–91.

<sup>45</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 239, 234.

<sup>46</sup> Worden, "English Republicanism," 451. See also Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2d edn. (Evanston, Ill., 1962), 187.

<sup>47</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 304.

<sup>48</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 238, 251–52.

<sup>49</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 163.

cannot have, being otherwise as it were upon the wing." Indeed, Harrington bitterly condemned commercial culture, the culture of "selling," the "Jewish humour," as subversive to commonwealths.<sup>50</sup>

HARRINGTON, MILTON, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS,<sup>51</sup> then, for all of their literary panache, their anti-monarchical sentiments, and their fondness for liberty, were hostile to the newly emerging English commercial culture. These classical republicans were firmly committed to the economic organization of classical Sparta and republican Rome; they were firmly committed to an agrarian society. It is wrong, however, to suggest—as Pocock repeatedly has—that the only defenders of commercial society were defenders of monarchy. In the wake of the English civil wars and the first Anglo-Dutch war—military conflicts determined by the ability to marshal economic resources quickly and efficiently<sup>52</sup>—many of the defenders of the Commonwealth became prime exponents of the new political economy.

Many polemicists learned from recent experience as well as from classical or Renaissance texts that money was indeed the "sinews of war." Marchamont Nedham, though "a great crony of Milton,"<sup>53</sup> disagreed fundamentally with his notions of political economy. Nedham, when still a royalist propagandist, had already announced that London's trade had provided "the sinews of war" whereby Charles I had been defeated. Nedham did not change his precepts upon becoming the chief journalist and apologist for the Rump Parliament and then the Protectorate. He maintained that "there can be neither peace nor security without armies, nor armies without pay, nor pay without taxes." Nedham could therefore not but conclude that money was indeed "the sinews of war."<sup>54</sup> Slingsby Bethel, a committed defender of the Commonwealth and one of the Protectorate's bitterest critics, was convinced that "money is the *primum mobile* which moves the spheres, which are the hearts and hands of men, and it's the sovereign cordial, which gives life to all noble actions and designs." "From trade," Bethel explained, "there doth not only arise riches to the subjects, rendering a nation considerable, but also increase of revenue, and therein power and strength to the sovereign . . . for every nation is more or less considerable, according to the proportion it hath of trade."

<sup>50</sup> Harrington, "Oceana," 164–65, 295. Earlier, Harrington warns that Jews were a people that would "suck the nourishment which would sustain a natural and useful member"; p. 159.

<sup>51</sup> I do not mean to suggest that there were not other republicans who shared the agrarian and anti-commercial sentiments of Milton and Harrington, only that the hegemony of their ideological position among the radicals has been vastly overstated. For views similar to those expressed in Harrington and Milton, see Captain Adam Baynes, March 5, 1659, in John Towill Rutt, ed., *Diary, of Thomas Burton, Esq., Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell from 1656–59 . . . With an Account of the Parliament of 1654; From the Journal of Guibon Goddard*, 4 vols. (London, 1828), 4: 31; William Spriggs, *A Modest Plea for an Equal Commonwealth* (London, 1659), 13–14, 84.

<sup>52</sup> I have argued this point elsewhere, as have others. Richard Tuck has also isolated "the creation of a new military organisation" as vital in forcing a shift in English political thought. See his extremely stimulating *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge, 1993), 226.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony a Wood, in Helen Darbishire, ed., *The Early Lives of Milton* (London, 1932), 44.

<sup>54</sup> Marchamont Nedham, *The Case of the Kingdom Stated*, 2d edn. (London, 1647), 12–13; Nedham, *The Case of the Common-Wealth of England, Stated* (London, 1650), 92; Nedham, *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth* (London, 1654), 45.



Unsurprisingly, Bethel was sure that "trade must be the principal interest of England."<sup>55</sup>

Not only well-known associates of Harrington and Milton but a broad range of defenders of the Commonwealth expressed their devotion to the new political economy. In a wide variety of contexts, they insisted that money was the sinews of war; they denied that Machiavelli had understood the true basis of political power. Benjamin Worsley, who was a close friend of Samuel Hartlib as well as being secretary of the Rump Parliament's Council of Trade, explained that "it is by trade, and the due ordering and governing of it, and by no other means, that wealth and shipping can either be increased or upheld; and consequently by no other, that the power of any nation can be sustained by land or by sea."<sup>56</sup> "If we have any desire to be more formidable to our enemies, or more aidful to our friends, or more gainful to ourselves," advised Henry Parker, who more than anyone else provided the ideological defense of the parliamentary war party in the 1640s, traffic "may be held sufficient."<sup>57</sup> Richard Hawkins, who had read his Machiavelli, his Tacitus, his Sallust, and his Livy, who celebrated the Commonwealth and subtly criticized the Protectorate, exclaimed that "nothing is more certain, than that arms are the strength of a nation, money the maintainer of them." "The want of a revenue doth most unarm a state," Hawkins reasoned, and "doth ever bereave it of its very nerves."<sup>58</sup> "He that hath the greatest trade will have the most money," argued the London radical Samuel Lambe, and money "is of such value, that it doth command all worldly things, both in war and peace." All of this stood to reason, since Lambe knew that "money is the sinews of war."<sup>59</sup> John Bland, a supporter of the reestablished Rump, suggested that "the public without trade cannot have any way or means for to furnish or maintain the charges of government."<sup>60</sup> Trade, wrote London commonwealthsman William Potter, was "indeed the main policy whereby people are not only either enriched or impoverished, the poor maintained or destroyed, but even all estates and common-wealths, either established or undermined."<sup>61</sup> "Trade is the very life and spirits of a common-wealth," averred the anonymous author of *The Grand Concernments of England* in 1659, when such views had become commonplace among the defenders of the Commonwealth, "it makes

<sup>55</sup> Slingsby Bethel, *An Account of the French Usurpation upon the Trade of England* (London, 1679), 3, 4; Bethel, *The Present Interest of England Stated* (London, 1671), 8, 1–2. Bethel's commitment to trade, which permeates all his writings, should inform our reading of his ostensible Harringtonian defense of balance: "That as the house of Lords had anciently a natural right to a superior jurisdiction, in that their propriety was five parts of six, in the whole nation: so is it now more natural for the commons, to have that superiority; their proportion of propriety being ninety nine parts or more, of a hundred. And therefore moved, that if they would have another house, it might be so bounded as might suit with the people's interest." Slingsby Bethel, *A True and Impartial Narrative* (London, 1659), 8. Given Bethel's consistent ideological defense of commerce, we must read "propriety" and "interest" to include movable goods as well as real property.

<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Worsley, *The Advocate* (London, 1651), 12.

<sup>57</sup> Henry Parker, *Of a Free Trade* (London, 1648), 5.

<sup>58</sup> R. H. [Richard Hawkins], *A Discourse of the Nationall Excellencies of England* (London, 1658), 175, 177.

<sup>59</sup> Samuel Lambe, *Seasonable Observations*, January 27, 1658 (1658), postscript, pp. 1–2. See the very similar argument advanced by Henry Robinson, *Brief Considerations Concerning the Advancement of Trade and Navigation* (London, 1649), 1.

<sup>60</sup> John Bland, *Trade Revived* (London, 1659), 23.

<sup>61</sup> William Potter, *The Key of Wealth* (London, 1650), dedication to reader (unpaginated).



the complexion of a people lively and pleasant: when it flourisheth you may observe a general jubilee. Break the neck of trade, and you break the heart of a common-wealth, and make it fit to be ridden by every tyrant and usurper.”<sup>62</sup>

Trade, many defenders of the Commonwealth believed, was the true interest of England. One defender of the reestablished Rump declared “the increase of trade” to be both “the best maxim” and “the certain interest of this nation.”<sup>63</sup> The London merchant and vigorous defender of the Commonwealth Henry Robinson wrote that “merchandise is the grand column and foundation of this kingdom’s wealth and safety.” “Advance of trade is the common interest of the nation,” asserted another pamphleteer.<sup>64</sup> Yet another opined that, since liberty cannot be maintained “without those contributory services which maintain that government”—without organs of the state, like the army and the navy—nothing is “a greater bane to a well governed common-wealth, than ill governed and disorderly trade.”<sup>65</sup> Since “England, indeed, cannot subsist without trade,” the commonwealthsman Henry Neville declared it to be an “interest of state.” Charles Lloyd, whose friendships made his public announcement less complicated, asserted that since “we are islanders . . . our life and soul is traffic.”<sup>66</sup> “All possible means must be used to quicken and advance trade and commerce, which are the golden mines of England,” urged one defender of the Commonwealth in 1659, by “which means the people’s just and civil liberty will be secured, and the state in a part settled; but without them this Commonwealth will be quickly transformed into Common-poverty.”<sup>67</sup> “Increasing our home and foreign trades,” averred that bitter critic of Oliver Cromwell, Slingsby Bethel, is “our true interest.” No wonder the reestablished Rump, that most radical of English governments, declared “that there is no one thing in the affairs of state more important to the welfare, strength and glory of a commonwealth, especially of this being an island, than the encouragement of trade and navigation.”<sup>68</sup>

Whereas Harrington, Milton, and Pocock’s classical republicans celebrated the achievements of classical Sparta and Renaissance Venice, many of the defenders of the Commonwealth came to prefer commercial Athens<sup>69</sup> and Holland. Nedham lamented that in Rome, Sparta, and Venice the aristocratic Senate dominated, “but the people were left destitute of power and means to pull down the pride of the Senate; by which means indeed they became free to do what they list, whilst the people were confined within straighter bounds than ever.” In Athens, by contrast, “the power of legislation, or law-making” was “in a successive course of the people’s

<sup>62</sup> *The Grand Concernments of England Ensured* (London, 1659), 32. This pamphlet was originally conceived as a commonwealthsman’s response to royalist pamphleteering, especially that of John Fell. See also *Long Parliament-Work* (London, 1659), 13–14.

<sup>63</sup> *England’s Safety in the Laws Supremacy* (London, 1659), 19.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Robinson, *Englands Safety in Trades Encrease* (London, 1641), 47; see also Robinson, *Certain Proposals in Order to the Peoples Freedome and Accommodation in Some Particulars* (London, 1652), 24; *Grand Concernments of England*, 15.

<sup>65</sup> W. S., *The Golden Fleece Wherein Is Related the Riches of English Wools in Its Manufactures* (London, 1656), sig. A2, p. 119. The author knew his Pliny, Cicero, and Guicciardini.

<sup>66</sup> Henry Neville, February 21, 1659, in Rutt, *Diary, of Thomas Burton, Esq.*, 3: 388; Charles Lloyd, February 21, 1659, in Rutt, 3: 392. See also Major Beake, February 24, 1659, Rutt, 3: 472.

<sup>67</sup> *England’s Settlement* (London, 1659), 8.

<sup>68</sup> Slingsby Bethel, *The World’s Mistake in Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1668), 7–8; *A Declaration of the Parliament Assembled at Westminster*, January 23, 1660 (Edinburgh, 1660), 13–14.

<sup>69</sup> I have found a rather fuller defense of Athens than Rawson allows, *Spartan Tradition*, 199–200.

assemblies,” making that Greek polis “the only pattern of a free-state fit for all the world to follow.”<sup>70</sup> Bethel denounced Lycurgus for having “inhibited the access of strangers,” for having condemned Sparta to an agrarian and not a commercial existence.<sup>71</sup> “The Hollanders in all business of war and peace with any nation do principally consider trade,” wrote the Rump MP and diplomatic envoy Algernon Sidney approvingly. This, he was sure, “had advanced them from one of the most contemptible nations in Europe to be formidable to the greatest prince in the world.”<sup>72</sup> Robinson praised the Dutch for “advancing trade to be the only true state interest and policy.” This redefinition of reason of state made sense since “it is not the large territories in the Low Countries, but their traffic which doth enrich them, the first ground of all their strength and greatness.” If England could only emulate the government of the commercial Dutch Republic, Robinson thought, “there is no reason why England could not flourish under it more.”<sup>73</sup> That the Dutch had made trade “their interest of state,” asserted Lambe, was “one main cause for their admirable flourishing condition, from so small beginnings.”<sup>74</sup> Since Parker had observed that “the States in the United Provinces by trade more than arms, have gotten the sword of arbitration [of Europe] into their hands,” he believed the time had come to revise Plato’s *Republic*. “Within the circle of Plato’s learning,” the learning necessary to rule, Parker urged, “let us comprehend the mysteries of commerce.”<sup>75</sup>

Far from fearing and loathing the corrosive effects of wealth and prosperity, many of the defenders of the Commonwealth saw it as an unequivocal good. Unlike Milton and Harrington, they celebrated the beneficial effects of the new commercial society, they praised the increasingly influential merchant class, and they enthusiastically advocated the development of a bank. These were men and women who had embraced commercial society.

The assumption that wealth and power were intimately related led some of the defenders of the Commonwealth to two significant insights, insights that constituted a new political economy. First, they argued that a bank, a source of money the state and merchants could draw on in times of need, was vital to the nation’s well-being. Nedham maintained that a bank “for the public service” was “a most excellent provision, and such as will not only give us credit and esteem among our friends

<sup>70</sup> Marchamont Nedham, *The Excellencie of a Free-State* (London, 1656), 7–8. Nedham specifically contrasts the exclusivity of the Council of the Areopagus with the Athenian popular assemblies. He also celebrates Holland: *Excellencie of a Free-State*, 14; Nedham, *Case of the Commonwealth*, 82.

<sup>71</sup> Bethel, *Account of the French Usurpation*, 15.

<sup>72</sup> Algernon Sidney, in Hans W. Blom, Eco Haitisma Mulier, and Ronald Janse, eds., *Court Maxims: Sidney* (Cambridge, 1996), 74–75. Sidney’s attitude toward trade is admittedly equivocal—he does heap praise on martial valor. Yet Pocock’s categorical dismissal of Sidney’s interest in commerce as merely a nostalgic longing for “a post-Elizabethan deployment of naval intervention in Europe” appears to have gone too far. It cannot make sense of Sidney’s praise for Dutch state thinking or of his deep and abiding friendliness toward Nieuwpoort and other Dutch commercial advocates. See Pocock, “England’s Cato,” 920. I prefer the more nuanced reading of Houston, *Algernon Sidney and the Republican Heritage*, 161–62.

<sup>73</sup> Robinson, *Certain Proposals*, 10; Robinson, *England’s Safety*, 1; Henry Robinson, *A Short Discourse between Monarchical and Aristocratical Governments* (London, 1649), 15.

<sup>74</sup> Lambe, *Seasonable Observations*, 7–8. Similar views are expressed by the author of *The Good Old Cause Explained, Revived, & Asserted and the Long-Parliament Vindicated* (London, 1659), 3.

<sup>75</sup> Parker, *Of a Free Trade*, 36.

abroad, but strike terror into our enemies.”<sup>76</sup> Robinson, who had long advocated the creation of a national bank, thought it “capable of multiplying the stock of the nation, for as much as concerns trading *in infinitum*: In brief, it is the elixir or philosopher’s stone, to which all nations, and everything within those nations must be subservient.”<sup>77</sup> The “chief and most considerable way by which [the Dutch] have brought themselves to what they are,” wrote Lambe admiringly, “is their profitable use of banks.” “Banks,” testified Bethel, “such as are in use in Venice, Amsterdam and Hamburg, where the States are security, keeping particular accounts of cash, for all men desiring it, are of great advantage to merchants and traders.” And for Bethel, anything good for merchants and traders was good for the national interest.<sup>78</sup>

Second, many of the defenders of the English Commonwealth began to argue that property was not natural, and hence not finite, but could be created by human and state endeavor. Labor, not natural endowments, made a city, a people, or a nation prosperous. “Experience discovers daily to us,” wrote Parker, that “some cities which have little of their own, being industrious, flow with more abundance, and swim in greater superfluity, than some other slothful cities that naturally want nothing.” “Though a land be never so fruitful of itself, and lie never so fit for the trade of fishing and traffic with other nations,” argued Potter, “yet commodities therein cannot be improved and multiplied, without the industry of men in their proper callings.”<sup>79</sup> These people were committed to an economics of abundance; for them, political economy was not a zero-sum game. One Commonwealth man denied that “the multitude of traders, when trade is open and free” did “at all hinder trade, but the more the merrier and the better cheer too.”<sup>80</sup> An Anglo-Dutch trade war made little sense to Bethel, since “trade or wealth” was “alone the effects of industry” and therefore “the world affords matter enough to satisfy both nations.” Some believed that the state needed to intervene to help promote commerce, to help create new wealth. “No nation,” argued Sidney, “has such advantages for trade but that they require the help of those in power, who, if they do not encourage and advance it, they destroy it.”<sup>81</sup> Dutch commercial success had nothing to do with their natural advantages, Worsley concluded, but everything to do with “the manner of their care, and of the government that is among them, and the mere vigilancy of the method observed by them.” “If then we desire to be long free from the yoke of foreign dominion, and to enjoy that liberty, which we have so dearly purchased,” Robinson advised his compatriots, “it concerns us seriously, to inquire into all ways and means, whereby trade and navigation may be increased and multiplied to the utmost.”<sup>82</sup> Given this commitment to England’s capacity for economic growth, historian Charles Webster was surely right to have observed that

<sup>76</sup> Nedham, *True State of the Case*, 45.

<sup>77</sup> Robinson, *England’s Safety*, 34; Robinson, *Certain Proposals*, 18.

<sup>78</sup> Lambe, *Seasonable Observations*, 9. He had in mind their political and military as well as their commercial power. Bethel, *Present Interest*, 10–11.

<sup>79</sup> Parker, *Of a Free Trade*, 3; Potter, *Key of Wealth*, 2. Potter, it should be noted, expressly argued that the best means to improve the economy was to increase consumption. See, for example, *Key of Wealth*, 6.

<sup>80</sup> *Grand Concernments of England*, 34.

<sup>81</sup> Bethel, *Present Interest*, 31–33; Sidney, in Blom, *et al.*, *Court Maxims*, 74.

<sup>82</sup> Worsley, *Advocate*, 10–11; Robinson, *Brief Considerations*, 2.

"the new writers came to terms with the changing economic situation and sought to turn the conditions to advantage"; they did indeed believe "that local conditions and natural resources placed no limitation on economic development."<sup>83</sup>

Many of the defenders of the Commonwealth saw merchants, tradesmen, and citizens as the heart and soul of their new commercial society, whereas Milton blamed them for the demise of the republic. "Merchants," thought one commonwealthsman, are "the most honourable profession and principal fountain from whose industrious streams floweth in the riches of a Common-wealth."<sup>84</sup> The merchant serves "the state by his traffic," noted Parker, "and so he is more than profitable, he is necessary to the well being, nay to the being of the state." No wonder he insisted that "the common interest of all merchants . . . could have no termination, but in the common interest of our nation." How, asked the author of *The Golden Fleece*, "should not merchants be of principal renown to themselves and to their country, which with great hazards both of person and estate they do faithfully and profitably serve?"<sup>85</sup> One radical pamphleteer thought that the difference between a monarchy and a commonwealth was that the latter privileged mobile, commercial wealth while the former castigated it. "Trade is now grown and growing into so good esteem," this author announced, "which can never sort with the interest and continuance of monarchy, nor monarchy with it."<sup>86</sup> "Since no country can be rich or flourish without trade, as indisputably it cannot," Bethel reasoned, "the traders of a nation ought to be most encouraged, and trade accounted the most honourable of all professions."<sup>87</sup>

Not only did many of the commonwealthsmen, the promoters of the new political economy, approve of merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans, they also saw the creation and increase of commercial wealth as an unequivocal social good. John Streater, who published Harrington's *Oceana*, insisted on the commercial nature of English society. One of the central tenets of the revolution, he believed, was the protection of property and trade, which had been so "encumbered" by Charles I. It is therefore unsurprising that he advised the Commonwealth that "care to increase manufacturie ought to be had, for that enricheth and civilizeth the people."<sup>88</sup> Nor should it be surprising that under the Protectorate he produced an elegant edition of James Howel's *Londinopolis*, a book that celebrated the metropolis as "a most renowned mart for multitude of merchants and commerce."<sup>89</sup> Like many radicals, Streater excoriated Cromwell and the economic short-sightedness of his foreign policy.<sup>90</sup> He was especially mortified that Cromwell had failed to support the Rump Parliament's Navigation Act, "that never to be forgotten act" which "was the glory

<sup>83</sup> Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London, 1975), 355.

<sup>84</sup> S. E., *The Touch-Stone of Money and Commerce* (London, 1659), 12.

<sup>85</sup> Parker, *Of a Free Trade*, sig. A2r, p. 2; W. S., *Golden Fleece*, sigs. A2v–A3r.

<sup>86</sup> *Grand Concernments of England*, 17, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Bethel, *Present Interest*, 2–3.

<sup>88</sup> John Streater, *The Continuation of This Session of Parliament Justified* (London, 1659), 3; Streater, *A Glympe of That Jewel, Judicial, Just, Preserving Libertie* (London, 1653), 15.

<sup>89</sup> James Howel [Howell], *Londinopolis* (London, 1657), epistle dedicatory, 397.

<sup>90</sup> For other critiques of Cromwellian foreign policy with specific reference to trade, see Thomas Scot, February 21, 1659, Rutt, *Diary, of Thomas Burton, Esq.*, 3: 394; Bethel, *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, 3, 11; Hawkins, *Discourse of the National Excellencies*, 232–34.

and top of [the English republic's] great advice; if it had been continued and duly executed, England had been the most happy, and most rich people this day upon the face of the whole earth: they had been the ware-house of the world; the Exchange of England had over balanced all the exchange of the world; it would have made trading abound and money as plentiful as dust."<sup>91</sup> Indeed, it was on the issue of commerce that Streater parted ways from Harrington, who he thought had misunderstood "the interests on foot in the nation."<sup>92</sup> In short, by the later 1650s, because Streater had concluded, in the words of Nigel Smith, that "wealth is absolutely positive in value," he had ceased to be a classical republican.<sup>93</sup>

Another radical of the 1650s, usually assimilated to the classical republican tradition—in fact, one scholar has gone so far as to suggest that it was from him that Harrington stole his ideas<sup>94</sup>—was Richard Goodgroom, the author of *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland*. Yet, for all his interest in constitutional balance and the decline of the Gothic polity, Goodgroom rejected Harrington's notion that landed property was the basis of wealth and power. For him, the "decay" of "the Lords" could be dated to the time that "trade beyond sea increased." Commonwealths, Goodgroom claimed, "do not decay, [except] when their people in general grow poor, and ignorant, and the riches of the nation come to be engrossed by a few."<sup>95</sup> Goodgroom did not fear the accumulation of wealth, did not fear the creation of a society based on commercial accumulation; indeed, it was wealth that he thought created free states, while poverty created monarchies.

The new political economy was widely celebrated. "A common plenty and liberty (the greatest advantages of society) naturally conserve[s]" a free state, argued the commonwealthsman Sylvanus Taylor, but "the contraries do a monarchy, which at the best is best for a few." It was the interest of tyrants to "impoverish the people" wrote Edward Sexby, with Cromwell very much in mind. Under a monarchy, Nedham asserted, "it shall be counted reason of state to keep you poor and low."<sup>96</sup>

Two pamphleteers were particularly succinct in summarizing the assumptions and aims of the new political economy. "Wherever you take notice of rulers giving all possible encouragement to trade, you may be confident people are already arrived under a just government, or that it is really designed for them," elaborated the author of *The Grand Concernments of England*, "and whoever they be, that curtail trade, whether single persons, or others, and think it not fit to give it its just privileges . . . never doubt but they intend to make us their slaves, let their pretensions be never so specious for liberty." Henry Parker, who was so often on the ideological cutting edge in these years, after an encomium to the ancient trade

<sup>91</sup> Streater, *Continuation of This Session*, 11–12.

<sup>92</sup> John Streater, *A Shield against the Parthian Dart* (1659), 17–18.

<sup>93</sup> Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*, 198. See also Nigel Smith, "Popular Republicanism in the 1650s: John Streater's 'heroick mechanics,'" in Armitage, Himy, and Skinner, *Milton and Republicanism*, 142, 153.

<sup>94</sup> Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623–1677* (Cambridge, 1988), 115–16. The differences between Goodgroom and Harrington are sufficiently large, despite the similarities in their historical model, that Harrington cannot have been guilty of plagiarism.

<sup>95</sup> R. G. [Richard Goodgroom], *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland* (1656), 9, 5, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Sylvanus Taylor, *Common Good* (London, 1652), 8; Edward Sexby, *Killing Noe Murder* (1657), 5; Marchamont Nedham, *Interest Will Not Lie* (1659), 46.



centers of Tyre, Sidon, and to the United Provinces, concluded that "tis admirable to see what vast revenues are purchased by some nations (especially where democracy takes place) out of mere commerce; and how far other nations in the mean time (especially such as are swayed by monarchs) though more commodiously situated, and advantageously qualified, otherwise do neglect the same. The reason hereof may be, because in popular states the merchant usually has more administration of public affairs: whereas in monarchies, those that have the charge of the rudder, have commonly little insight into trade, and as little regard of traders."<sup>97</sup>

Harrington and Milton, it is quite clear, were committed to a predominantly non-commercial agrarian society. They adopted and defended the political economic presuppositions of classical Sparta and republican Rome. They wrote for an agrarian society, a society in which power was associated with the land and commercial wealth was suspect. In the turbulent years of mid-century, however, England was becoming a commercial society. This social transformation was readily perceived, not only by a few royalists like Matthew Wren and John Fell but by a wide range of supporters of the Commonwealth. The political realities of the 1640s and 1650s, the military revolution promulgated by the civil wars and the first Anglo-Dutch war, forced both a range of royalists and a wide number of supporters of the Commonwealth to rethink their social assumptions and to adjust their political and social theories. For these men and women, Athens rather than Sparta, contemporary Holland rather than Venice, provided models to be followed. They developed a defense of political economy that was modernizing rather than backward looking, commercial rather than agrarian, and perhaps liberal rather than classical republican.

CLOSELY RELATED TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY of the classical republicans was their view of interest. For classical republicans, active participation in civic life necessitated the possession of civic virtue, not pursuit of interests, however described. "Republican theorists," Cathy Matson and Peter Onuf point out, found the "implications of 'interest' deeply disturbing. Interest was potentially dangerous to the health of a republic, whether it was the interest taken in loaning money or the private interest of individuals or groups."<sup>98</sup> Because of the high standards they set for civic virtue, classical republicans developed a healthy disdain for popular politics. They celebrated, on the whole, the narrowly defined and exclusive Spartan citizenry and the aristocracies that governed republican Rome and Venice. "Populism," Pocock contends, "which arose from investing a *populus* with *dominium*, *jus*, and *imperium*, was linguistically and politically distinct from republicanism, which arose from investing them with virtue."<sup>99</sup> Because of the insistence on the maintenance of virtue, because of the overt commitment to a unitary notion of the good life, which should be the end goal of the republic, the number and diversity of the republican citizens needed to be limited. Republican government "required the constant sacrifice of individual interests to the greater needs of the whole,"

<sup>97</sup> *Grand Concernments of England*, 32–33; Parker, *Of a Free Trade*, 3–4.

<sup>98</sup> Matson and Onuf, "Toward a Republican Empire," 499.

<sup>99</sup> Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 47.

contends the republican synthesizer Robert Shalhope; as a result, the “people” needed to be “conceived as a homogeneous body.” Republicans, observes the political theorist Don Herzog, “long for a world in which people share fundamental projects.”<sup>100</sup>

This vision of a citizenry united in the pursuit of virtue, so attractive to Milton, Harrington, and the rigorous classical republicans, raises some disturbing issues in modern society. This commitment “poses a question for republicans,” Herzog points out:

[S]uppose, as is manifestly true, that we now live in a society hardly unified by a shared understanding of the common good, hardly peopled by virtuous citizens always willing to renounce their partial claims in the interests of the whole community. We then face a transition problem. What means shall we employ for forging (or “recovering”) a republican politics? It would be amusingly ahistorical to suggest that we have no choice but to start “curing blacks” [the program of the republican Benjamin Rush] or to embrace Jacobin terror. Yet there are less anachronistic but equally disturbing options: We might move to quash gay rights, or keep women in traditional roles, thinking that the increased freedom of either group threatens social order and community.<sup>101</sup>

Naturally, these are the concerns of one who sees society as diverse and dynamic. Neither Milton nor Harrington understood England in those terms. They thought they lived in an agrarian society, which, they believed, should always remain an agrarian society.<sup>102</sup> It was a society in which, in Harrington’s view, the ownership of the land might change, but the owners would always determine political power.

Milton’s notion of active citizenship was antagonistic to the new emphasis on interests—an emphasis typical of a commercial society. Milton’s republic was a place where “reason only sways.” Milton’s citizens had to become “perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges”; they had to “neglect their own affairs” completely.<sup>103</sup> Milton saw as incompatible the republican virtues of “civility, prudence, love of the public good,” and the new commercial values, which he described as love of “money or vain honour.”<sup>104</sup> He had warned the English people in the flush of their success against “the self-seeking, greed, luxury, and the seductions of success to which other peoples are subject.”<sup>105</sup> Milton’s ideal republic, unlike that of many of the Commonwealth writers, could only come into existence in “civil, virtuous, and industrious nations, abounding with prudent men worthy to govern.”<sup>106</sup> Significantly, the “men worthy to govern” had to be free from other obligations—they could not be merchants or shopkeepers—they had to be innocent of “greed” or “luxury”—they could not partake of or value the capitalist exchange of the new commercial society—and they had to be devoid of passions.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Robert E. Shalhope, “Republicanism and Early American Historiography,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (1982): 335; Herzog, “Some Questions for Republicans,” 487.

<sup>101</sup> Herzog, “Some Questions for Republicans,” 484.

<sup>102</sup> I am suggesting that classical republicans did in fact defend a politics of interest—the interest of landed proprietors, which they defined narrowly as virtue. They resisted the language of interests because it often seemed to them that “interest” connoted a much broader definition.

<sup>103</sup> Milton, “Readie and Easie Way,” 7: 361–62, 360.

<sup>104</sup> Milton, “Digression,” 5: 450.

<sup>105</sup> Milton, “Defence of the People of England,” 4: 535.

<sup>106</sup> John Milton, “Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon,” April 1660, *Complete Prose Works*, 7: 481–82.

<sup>107</sup> For Milton’s emphasis on republican self-control, see “Second Defence of the People of

Milton, like his close friend John Dury, had no time for a world in which interest played a dominant role.<sup>108</sup>

The high standards that Milton set for virtuous citizenship, and the repeated inability of the English to meet those standards, made the poet—as many scholars have shown<sup>109</sup>—increasingly skeptical of the abilities of the people and increasingly committed to aristocratic notions of governance. Soon after the establishment of the republic, Milton ostensibly appeared most enthusiastic about the possibilities of the people of England. He proclaimed in *A Defence of the People of England*, “we have made supreme the one assembly of the people” and “by people we mean all citizens of every degree.” But Milton no sooner offered than he took away. The English had no intention of being governed by “the dregs of the population,” he admitted, but by “the middle class.” From this middle class, however, Milton excluded those who were “turned from uprightness” either by “excessive wealth and luxury” or “by want and poverty.”<sup>110</sup> One can imagine very few Londoners who would have qualified to be among Milton’s “people.” Indeed, well before the publication of his international defense of the Commonwealth, Milton had shown signs of disappointment. While “most men are apt enough to civil wars and commotions as a novelty,” Milton warned in defending the people’s right to resist a tyrant, for a variety of reasons they prove “not capable” of governing virtuously.<sup>111</sup> Soon thereafter, he feared that the people had “grown worse and more disordinate” and were unfit “to receive or to digest any liberty at all.” “Stories teach us,” Milton warned, “that liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself into a farther slavery.” “Liberty,” Milton wrote, “hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands.” The English people, who were “valiant indeed and prosperous to win a field,” were “unjudicious and unwise” “to know the end and reason of winning” and seemed all too likely to be unprepared

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England,” 4: 684. Michael Walzer has argued that typically “republican theorists” imagine that “citizens should not have to work,” a position Walzer believes is incompatible with a commercial society. Walzer, “The Civil Society Argument,” in Mouffe, *Dimensions of Radical Democracy*, 92.

<sup>108</sup> For Milton’s friendship with John Dury, see Leo Miller, *John Milton and the Oldenburg Safeguard: New Light on Milton and His Friends in the Commonwealth from the Diaries and Letters of Hermann Mylius . . .* (New York, 1985), 82. For Dury’s condemnation of interest and interest arguments, see *The Interest of England in the Protestant Cause* (London, 1659), 2–3.

<sup>109</sup> Kevin Gilmartin, “History and Reform in Milton’s *Readie and Easie Way*,” in *Milton Studies* 24 (1988): 17–41; Laura Knoppers, “Milton’s *The Readie and Easie Way* and the English Jeremiad,” in David Loewenstein and James Grantham Turner, eds., *Politics, Poetics, and Hermeneutics in Milton’s Prose* (Cambridge, 1990), 213–25; Von Maltzahn, *Milton’s History of Britain*, 42, 48; Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 253; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, “Milton: Political Beliefs and Polemical Methods, 1659–1660,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 74 (June 1959): 198, 202; Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*, 40, 193; Z. Fink, *Classical Republicans*, 107–08, 116; Perez Zagorin, *Milton: Aristocrat and Rebel* (Rochester, N.Y., 1992), 86–87; William Kolbrener, *Milton’s Warring Angels: A Study of Critical Engagements* (Cambridge, 1997), 29–30. I should note that Tuck sees Milton’s devotion to aristocracy as “perfectly in line with much republican thought in both the United Provinces and England” (p. 253). This is true if one’s frame of reference is the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, in both England and the United Provinces, the middle and later seventeenth centuries saw an increasing commitment to commercial society, hence allowing the possibility of more democratic notions of governance.

<sup>110</sup> Milton, “Defence of the People of England,” 4: 471.

<sup>111</sup> John Milton, “The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,” 1649, *Complete Prose Works*, 3: 192. This concern was expressed in very similar language in “Defence of the People of England,” 4: 343.

for liberty, to be part and parcel of a “corrupt and degenerate age.”<sup>112</sup> Throughout the 1650s, Milton’s contempt for the people accelerated. “The raging mob of London hirelings and hucksters” that had opposed the establishment of liberty in the 1640s had apparently infiltrated the Commonwealth itself.<sup>113</sup> In private with his friend Hermann Mylius, Milton castigated “the inexperience and willfulness” of the Rump politicians, men who were no more than “mechanics, soldiers, home-grown.”<sup>114</sup> In a letter to his fellow republican historian Leo Van Aitzema, Milton lamented that “the common herd” is rarely able “to receive uncommon opinions.” In 1660, Milton blamed England’s failure to achieve a “free commonwealth” partly on the “impatient or disaffected people,” a people who had fallen victim to “a strange degenerate corruption.”<sup>115</sup>

At different moments, Milton sought different means to establish a free state; at no time did he hope to establish a popular government—he was always too pessimistic about the capacity of the English people for civic virtue. First, Milton turned to Cromwell as a dictator or lord protector who would, in the words of John Toland, “employ his trust and power to extinguish the numerous factions of the state, and to settle such a perfect form of a Free Government, wherein no single person should enjoy any power above or beside the laws.”<sup>116</sup> Milton turned to Cromwell because he hoped that the general could mold a corrupt people into a virtuous citizenry, just as he had shaped a virtuous fighting force “chiefly by his own example.” Cromwell, he hoped, would lead the peoples of England, Scotland, and Ireland “from base customs to a better standard of morality and discipline than before.”<sup>117</sup> Just as the younger Pliny had praised the Roman emperor Trajan, while at the same time warning him against becoming a tyrant, so Milton celebrated Cromwell’s “unexcelled virtue,” while warning him not to accept the name of king. Again like Pliny, who turned to Trajan to reform from above a people who had lost their virtue, Milton turned to Cromwell because the English people “are deserted! You alone remain. On you has fallen the whole burden of our affairs. On you alone they depend.”<sup>118</sup> Milton, like so many supporters of the Commonwealth, became bitterly disappointed with Cromwell and his Protectorate. Unlike them, however,

<sup>112</sup> Milton, “Digression,” 5: 448–50.

<sup>113</sup> Milton, “Defence of the People of England,” 4: 458.

<sup>114</sup> Miller, *John Milton and the Oldenburg Safeguard*, 171–72 (records a conversation of February 9, 1652). It is surely significant that in the *Second Defence of the People of England* Milton condemns his polemical antagonist as “an ignorant artisan”; 4: 576.

<sup>115</sup> John Milton to Leo Van Aitzema, February 5, 1655, *Complete Prose Works*, 4: 871–72; Milton, “Readie and Easie Way,” 7: 356–57, 364–65. Responding to Milton’s increasing pessimism about the English people, Milton’s friend Moses Wall explained Milton’s insensitivity to material issues, his inability to consider that “whilst people are not free but straightened in accommodations for life, their spirits will be dejected and servile.” The only way to promote a true state, Wall advised Milton, was to improve English manufactures, increase trade, and capitalize agriculture. Wall understood precisely the relationship between Milton’s elitist politics and his opposition to commercial society. Moses Wall to John Milton, May 26, 1659, *Complete Prose Works*, 7: 511. I am grateful to David Loewenstein for calling this letter to my attention.

<sup>116</sup> John Toland, “Life of John Milton,” in Darbishire, *Early Lives of Milton*, 166.

<sup>117</sup> Milton, “Second Defence of the People of England,” 4: 668, 674.

<sup>118</sup> Milton, “Second Defence of the People of England,” 4: 666, 672, 671–72. Throughout his career, Milton had displayed an interest in Trajan as the best of leaders. See Milton, “Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,” 3: 205–06; “Defence of the People of England,” 4: 445, 465–66. Andrew Marvell was quick to understand the Trajanic nature of the panegyric to Cromwell in the *Second Defence of the People of England*: Andrew Marvell to John Milton, June 2, 1654, *Complete Prose Works*, 4: 864.

Milton turned to aristocratic solutions. Milton advocated a standing senate, an aristocratic governing body like that of Rome or Venice, as “the basis and foundation of government.”<sup>119</sup> He hoped England would establish such a senate, not even an elective one, following the model found among the Jews in “the supreme Council of seventy, called the Sanhedrin, founded by Moses, in Athens that of Areopagus, in Lacedaemon that of the ancients, in Rome the Senate,” all of which “remained still the same to generations.”<sup>120</sup> Milton was a classical republican to the end, but he was no democrat, no social radical, no defender of the new commercial society.

Although Harrington preferred a rotating to a standing senate, he had no more affection for popular deliberative politics than did Milton. Like Milton, Harrington insisted that the basis of a commonwealth must be civic virtue. His ingenious attempts to assimilate virtue and interest still resulted in government by an aristocracy, albeit a reconfigured aristocracy. This was because Harrington conceived of interest in unitary terms—since there could be only one interest of the people, the term became conceptually indistinct from classical and Renaissance notions of virtue. Since “reason,” argued Harrington, is “nothing else but interest” and “the interest of mankind be the right interest,” therefore “the reason of mankind must be right reason.” “As a commonwealth is a government of laws and not of men,” Harrington therefore wrote, “so is this the principality of the virtue and not of the man.”<sup>121</sup> This meant that government could only be by “a natural aristocracy,” which “the people have not only a natural but positive obligation to make use of as their guides.”<sup>122</sup> By aristocracy, it is true, Harrington did not mean the dilapidated hereditary nobles who then held titles in England, but his understanding of aristocracy was not particularly capacious. Since “neither the people, nor divines and lawyers, can be the aristocracy of the nation”—merchants and shopkeepers did not even merit a mention—Harrington asserted, “there remains only the nobility, in which style . . . I shall understand the gentry also, as the French do by the word *noblesse*.”<sup>123</sup> Harrington’s nobles were men of “leisure,” men *à leur aise*, whose “private advantage” gave them time to reflect on “the public.” This noble senate, Harrington conceded, had “scarce any feature that is not Roman or Venetian.”<sup>124</sup> Harrington had no time for deliberative popular assemblies. He approved of Cicero’s assessment that “the commonwealths of Greece were all shaken or ruined by the intemperance of their *comitia*, or assemblies of the people.”<sup>125</sup> He denounced commonwealths “where the people in their political capacity is talkative.” Athens, that “most prating of dames,” was ruined by the people “too often debating.” Sparta, by contrast, “stood longest and firmest of any other,” because it was a place “where the people . . . had no power at all of

<sup>119</sup> John Milton, “Proposals of Certain Expedients,” 1659, *Complete Prose Works*, 7: 336.

<sup>120</sup> Milton, “Readie and Easie Way,” 7: 370–71.

<sup>121</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 172, 182. Harrington did allow for the inclusion of the new concept of “interest” but only as the “interest of the whole,” not “of the parts.” As a result, interest was rendered a static and exclusively agrarian concept. Harrington’s notion of interest was too thin to allow it to be a transformative concept in his work. “Oceana,” 171.

<sup>122</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 173.

<sup>123</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 258.

<sup>124</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 259, 246.

<sup>125</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 267.



debate.”<sup>126</sup> Clearly, the high standard of civic virtue set by Harrington, Milton, and their supporters precluded the possibility for a truly deliberative popular politics.<sup>127</sup>

By the 1650s, however, many of the supporters of the Commonwealth had given up on the possibility of establishing a government based exclusively on civic virtue.<sup>128</sup> They began to espouse a politics based on recognizing, deploying, and taming interest—a politics appropriate to a commercial society. “The word interest,” noted the Presbyterian divine Charles Herle in the mid-1650s, “is a word of late much come into use among us.” He could not have been more accurate. “In every Commonwealth the interest”—not the virtue—“of the people is the true and proper interest of that Commonwealth,” argued the radical John Warr.<sup>129</sup> “Republics,” wrote Henry Parker in making his distance from Harrington and Milton clear, “have no breasts, or seats where any such thing as conscience or true honour can reside.”<sup>130</sup> Marchamont Nedham had long understood that the key to understanding politics was comprehending interest.<sup>131</sup> “Interest is the true zenith of every state and person,” Nedham maintained, “according to which they may certainly be understood, though clothed never so much with the specious disguise of religion, justice, and necessity: and actions are the effects of interests, from whom they proceed, and to whom they tend naturally as the stone doth downward.”<sup>132</sup> Nedham accepted the idea that humans were not, and could not become, virtuous citizens, but they could become good and useful ones. “The greater part of the world,” he maintained, was “led more by appetites of convenience and commodity, than the dictates of conscience,” so it made more sense to tell “men what will be profitable and convenient for them to do, than what they ought to do.” His analysis convinced Nedham that “the business of government is not conversant about the inward graces and qualifications of men . . . but is wholly terminated in the works of the outward man.”<sup>133</sup> Nedham was not contorted like Milton by the inner virtue of humanity; he did not “bring religious considerations to bear upon political questions.”<sup>134</sup> Nor was John Streater. It was not the “nature of a people” that mattered, he thundered in

<sup>126</sup> Harrington, “Oceana,” 177, 267–68.

<sup>127</sup> They did have a range of supporters: see Spriggs, *Modest Plea*, 80; *A Word to Purpose: Or, a Parthian Dart Shot Back to 1642* (1659), 14; George Wither, *A Cordial Confection*, December 23, 1659 (London, 1659), 8–10.

<sup>128</sup> The defenders of the Commonwealth, and modern liberals, do not I think reject *virtue*, but reject it in the classical republican sense. They believe society should be virtuous, but virtuousness need not be incompatible with the interests of those beyond the landed classes. For classical republicans, “virtue” is a timeless concept with a precise set of classical or Christian meanings. For liberals and the defenders of the English Commonwealth, “virtue” is a contingent concept, contingent on social, economic, and geopolitical considerations. That contingency can only be discovered through dialectic. This is not to say that liberal “virtue” is relative, but, rather, in a skeptical sense, liberals and defenders of the English Commonwealth do not believe that the totality of “virtue” is yet known. This is a point I hope to flesh out in subsequent work.

<sup>129</sup> Charles Herle, *Wisdomes Tripos*, 2 vols. (London, 1655), 169; J. W. [John Warr], *The Priviledges [sic] of the People* (London, 1649), 5.

<sup>130</sup> Parker, *Of a Free Trade*, 19.

<sup>131</sup> Nedham, *Case of the Kingdom Stated*, [sig. A2v]. This understanding was based on his reading of the modern politician Henry Duc de Rohan. See also Nedham, *Interest Will Not Lie*, 3.

<sup>132</sup> [Marchamont Nedham], *The Case Stated between England and the United Provinces in This Present Juncture* (London, 1652), 23.

<sup>133</sup> Nedham, *Case of the Commonwealth*, sig. A3; Nedham, *True State of the Case*, 26.

<sup>134</sup> The phrase is Lewalski’s from her very perceptive and persuasive “Milton: Political Beliefs and Polemical Methods,” 202.

response to the Miltonic *Parthian Dart*, but “the interest of the people.” He therefore understood that desiring a government of law rather than men was not enough, because during times of social and political change “necessities of state must and did over-rule.”<sup>135</sup> Algernon Sidney did not advocate the rule of law alone in a commonwealth but the rule of “laws, maxims, interests, and constitutions.”<sup>136</sup> “I cannot but apprehend the sad condition any people are in, whose governours drive on a distinct contrary interest to theirs,” argued Slingsby Bethel. This was because “the prosperity or adversity, if not the life and death of a state, is bound up in the observing or neglecting of its interest.”<sup>137</sup>

A government based on contingent notions of interest rather than on timeless conceptions of virtue made possible—though not inevitable—a politics of popular participation and diversity, since men and women did not need leisure to discover their interests.<sup>138</sup> Warr defended the maxim he labeled “sufficient spoken of late”: that the “election or consent” of the people “are the proper source and fountain of all just governments,” “that the safety of the people is the supreme law.”<sup>139</sup> William Ball, who believed that “where the common interest is controverted, there they, who have the greatest interests or whom it most concerns ought to be judges *primario* or in the first place,” concluded that “the people of England were the primary power of laws or of law-making.” Ball therefore rejected a government of nobility like “the Venetian senators” in favor of one that recognized that “the common people in general have the greatest interest in their common interest, and the laws of the land most concern them, wherefore they, or their representatives, or trustees, ought to be judges *primario*.”<sup>140</sup> “The grand and essential privilege which discriminates free men from slaves,” argued a group of London apprentices, “is the interest which every man hath in the legislative power of the nation, by their representatives assembled in Parliament.”<sup>141</sup> There could be no doubt that a politics of interests was potentially a more diverse politics than one based on virtue. “A Parliament always takes in, or is taking in all interests,” argued the author of *The Grand Concernments of England* rather optimistically: “everybody hath his stock

<sup>135</sup> Streater, *Shield against the Parthian Dart*, 17, 7.

<sup>136</sup> Sidney, in Blom, et al., *Court Maxims*, 27. For a more complete and much more sophisticated discussion of Sidney’s interest theory that supports and elaborates the contention I am making here, see Houston, *Algernon Sidney and the Republican Heritage*, 165–67, 198–99.

<sup>137</sup> Bethel, *World’s Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, 12; Bethel, *Present Interest*, sig. A2r.

<sup>138</sup> I am not suggesting that interest analysis led ineluctably to arguments for democracy. They did not. It was certainly possible to suggest, and many did, that only a small number of people had an interest in the nation, and hence only they should rule. I am suggesting, however, that the language of interest allowed for the possibility of democracy in a way that the language of virtue did not. Interest analysis was necessary but absolutely not sufficient for a commitment to democracy.

<sup>139</sup> Warr, *Priviledges [sic] of the People*, 8. I therefore find it hard to accept James T. Kloppenberg’s assessment that “the doctrine of popular sovereignty” was “the decisive achievement of the American political imagination,” which could only develop from “the colonial experience of self-government.” See Kloppenberg, “The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse,” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 24. There was a long and distinguished European tradition of such arguments upon which the Americans drew. However, as I will make clear below, I am sympathetic to some of the sophisticated theoretical claims Kloppenberg makes in that article.

<sup>140</sup> William Ball, *The Power of Kings Discussed* (London, 1649), 3; Ball, *State-Maxims* (1655), 27; Ball, *Power of Kings Discussed*, 3, 13.

<sup>141</sup> *To His Excellency the Lord General Monck: The Unanimous Representation of the Apprentices and Young Men Inhabiting the City of London*, February 2, 1660 (London, [1660]), broadside.

going here, which can be said of no other power; therefore rationally may we expect it should give satisfaction to all, since it takes care of the interests of all.”<sup>142</sup>

These were also the conclusions from interest analysis drawn by those whose conceptions of liberty, if not their notions of political economy, were similar to the classical republicans Milton and Harrington. Nedham, unlike Milton and Harrington, believed that the Roman people were not “free indeed” until the erection of the assemblies of the people. Similarly, he preferred the government of the United Provinces to that of Venice, again in contrast to Milton and Harrington, because “the best part of their interest lies deposited in the hands of the people”—a commercial people. The Roman people, and thus presumably any people, could be trusted, because “their aim was ever at the general good, it being their own interest, *quatenus* the people . . . notwithstanding all the crafty devices and fetches of the nobles, the people could never be woo’d to a consent of abrogating any one law, till by the alteration of time, affairs, and other circumstances, it did plainly appear inconvenient.”<sup>143</sup> Streater was similarly committed to a democratic government based on interests. By 1659, he no longer hoped for a government of virtuous citizen soldiers, for “they are out of the way when they treat or meddle with government.”<sup>144</sup> Streater condemned “aristocratical government” such as “the state of Venice” because it was unable to accommodate social change.<sup>145</sup> Instead, he thought the “best sort of all governments” a “democracy” where “the governors are elected by the people out of themselves”; this government, he said, was called a “free-state, or popular state, or Common-wealth.” While he admitted that “England yet was never a Free-State,” he had “no doubt but the people may be trusted with their liberty.” A democracy based on promoting the interests of the people was best because “there is no government else that is adorned with impartiality besides this.”<sup>146</sup> Sidney was convinced that a government based on virtue and interest, not on virtue alone, could best accommodate diversity and promote the common good. “In civil societies those deserve praise that make such laws as conduce to a civil harmony wherein the several humours, and conditions of men may have such parts and places assigned to them, that none may so abound to the dissolution of the whole,” he wrote, “and none be so wanting as that the part naturally belonging to it should be left imperfect. But everyone in his own way and degree, may act in order to the public good and the composing that civil harmony in which our happiness in this world does chiefly consist.”<sup>147</sup>

While Milton and Harrington remained committed to an agrarian and virtuous society, then, many of those devoted to the English Commonwealth in the 1650s

<sup>142</sup> *Grand Concernments of England*, 25.

<sup>143</sup> Nedham, *Excellencie of a Free-State*, 15–16, 122. It should be noted that Nedham’s notion of epochal change runs counter to a classical republican commitment to timeless virtue. I thus find myself in disagreement with Nigel Smith’s claim, which is similar to Skinner’s (*Liberty before Liberalism*, 31–32), that “Nedham’s republic is as meritocratic as Milton’s” (*Literature and Revolution in England*, 185), and closer to Worden’s that “Nedham is perhaps socially the most radical of the republicans” (“English Republicanism,” 449). However, I wonder whether, given Nedham’s commitment to interest, epochal change, and commercial society, he should still be considered a classical republican in the Pocockian sense.

<sup>144</sup> John Streater, *A Letter Sent to His Excellency, the Lord Fleetwood* (London, 1659), 3.

<sup>145</sup> John Streater, *Government Described*, June 1, 1659 (London, 1659), 3.

<sup>146</sup> Streater, *Government Described*, 4, 8; Streater, *Shield against the Parthian Dart*, 11.

<sup>147</sup> Sidney, in Blom, et al., *Court Maxims*, 23.

embraced commercial society and a politics of interest. This new politics and this new society allowed for a popular politics and a politics of diversity that those devoted to a less dynamic political economy could not imagine. It was this new political economy appropriate to a commercial society, not the older, predominantly agrarian notions of Milton and Harrington, that informed the ideas of the Whigs and radicals of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was as a result of this dynamic and expansive political economy and this contingent notion of interest— notions these defenders of the Commonwealth easily melded with republican notions of liberty—that later generations of Whigs and radicals could imagine a more inclusive and varied political culture. Blair Worden is surely right to suggest that, “by 1688–89,” most of the radicals “wanted the predominant form of the constitution to be democratic,”<sup>148</sup> because by that time most of the radicals had embraced the political economy and notions of interest explored by the younger generation defending the English Commonwealth in the 1650s.

THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF CLASSICAL REPUBLICANISM in political and philosophical theorizing is that it posits a moral society committed to the promotion of the common good in contradistinction to the amoral acquisitiveness associated with liberalism.<sup>149</sup> This has been a long enduring view based on the powerful description of liberalism by C. B. Macpherson in which “the individual was seen neither as a moral whole, nor as part of a larger social whole, but as owner of himself.” Liberal “political society” then became “a calculated device for the protection of . . . property and for the maintenance of an orderly relation of exchange.”<sup>150</sup> For Joyce Appleby, the advent of commercial society in seventeenth-century England unleashed “the economically rational person . . . who subverted all other drives to the economic one of gaining more power in the market.” The market, for Appleby, was not restrained by notions of the common good but was “a near autonomous social system.” Appleby’s economic rationalists had no space for the state.<sup>151</sup>

The thought of some of the supporters of the Commonwealth, the supporters of England’s new commercial society, suggests that the time has come to rethink that depiction of liberalism. Far from being committed to an unrestrained possessive individualism, these people were profoundly committed to the promotion of the

<sup>148</sup> Worden, “Revolution of 1688–89 and the English Republican Tradition,” 258–59.

<sup>149</sup> Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 45; Sandel, *Democracy’s Discontent*, 4.

<sup>150</sup> Macpherson, *Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, 3. Remarkably, Skinner also reduces the liberal tradition to “classical utilitarianism” (*Liberty before Liberalism*, 96–97). I have read this passage to mean that those living in a “polite and commercial age” are somehow incapable of sharing the “moral vision” of Skinner’s neo-romans. As I have emphasized throughout this essay, many of the neo-romans thought they were living in a polite and commercial age. While they rejected Harrington’s political economy and conceptions of interest, they shared his moral vision.

<sup>151</sup> Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism*, 24, 51, 56. I find myself persuaded by Donald Winch’s observations that “Adam Smith serves as the ideological goal of Appleby’s teleological treatment of English liberal ideology,” and that “the idea that man was ruled by one passion alone, even in his economic dealings, and one that was based on rational calculation, would not have been regarded by Smith as a discovery or insight, but rather as a pervasive error which had prevented many important questions of politics and economics from being given serious treatment by philosophers.” Winch, “Economic Liberalism as Ideology: The Appleby Version,” *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 38 (1985): 290, 292.

common good. There is precious little evidence to suggest they had a different conception of liberty than classical republicans.<sup>152</sup> “*Salus populi*, not *Majesta Imperii*, was the ultimate object and end of government,” urged William Ball. “*Salus populi* is above all rules,” insisted that great defender of England’s economic interests, Thomas Scot, in Parliament, “I may take hold of that to save a sinking perishing nation.”<sup>153</sup> “The real good of the nation consists not in the private benefit of single men, but the advantage of the public and that is made up, not only by the welfare of any one party, but of all,” proclaimed Nedham while defending commercial society. Sylvanus Taylor made his point by entitling his pamphlet *The Common Good*. Samuel Lambe aptly summarized the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the individual and the state. “In all good governments, necessary and wholesome laws are contrived and established to preserve and protect the property and peace of each particular person,” Lambe opined, “and every one living under such protection is bound in duty to further the prosperity of his country with all his utmost endeavours; for no one is born to himself alone, but also to do good to others.”<sup>154</sup> “Public good, in its contemplation, yieldeth an elevated and ennobled pleasure, being the more productive of a dilating joy, by how much the more comprehensive it is,” gushed Richard Hawkins, who also knew England to be a commercial society; “this is the ambition of great minds, the happiness of good ones, the glory of all. To see his nation flourish, be glorious and renowned, is the most eligible fortune that a man can either wish or attain. Methinks everyone should hold his share in a public good by a more honourable tenure, and in a more excellent way than what he possesses in a private capacity.”<sup>155</sup> Describing citizens as motivated by contingent interest rather than timeless Christian or Roman virtue did not incapacitate these polemicists from considering and promoting the common good.

The later seventeenth-century Whig theorist and political agitator John Locke did, of course, imagine a world of unrestrained acquisitive behavior, but that world existed only after the Fall and before humans entered into civil society. “All men,” wrote Locke, “are naturally . . . in a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions, and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending on the will of any other man.”<sup>156</sup> Human beings, however, left that state once they entered into society.

<sup>152</sup> While I remain unconvinced by the normative claims advanced by Philip Pettit and endorsed by Quentin Skinner, for my purposes it is sufficient to suggest the faulty historical assumptions on which their distinction between liberalism and republicanism is based. “Liberalism” for Pettit is an ideology appropriate “for the modern, commercial, and increasingly democratic world.” As such, it could not emerge until “early in the nineteenth century.” Pettit, “Liberalism and Republicanism,” 163; Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, 96–97. The point of this essay is to show that in the 1650s many were developing a political theory for just such a modern, commercial, and increasingly democratic society. Neither Skinner nor Pettit has presented any evidence to suggest that these people had a different conception of liberty or a different moral vision than those committed to a politics of unitary virtue or a predominantly agrarian political economy. They rely on a non-contextualized comparison between nineteenth-century utilitarians and seventeenth-century defenders of the Commonwealth.

<sup>153</sup> William Ball, *Power Juridicent* (London, 1650), 3; Thomas Scot, March 9, 1659, Rutt, *Diary, of Thomas Burton, Esq.*, 4: 94.

<sup>154</sup> Nedham, *Interest Will Not Lie*, 4; Lambe, *Seasonable Observations*, 1.

<sup>155</sup> Hawkins, *Discourse of the National Excellencies*, 246. Hawkins also suggested that those nations that paid the highest taxes attained the greatest liberty (p. 177).

<sup>156</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Peter Laslett, ed., 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1967), 287.



"Every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government," Locke explained, "puts himself under an obligation to every one of that society, to submit to the determination of the majority, and to be concluded by it; or else this original compact, whereby he with others incorporates into one society, would signify nothing, and be no compact, if he be left free, and under no other ties, than he was in before in the state of nature." In Locke's view, humans left their rigorous individualism behind when they entered into civil society. The commonwealth thus created was not neutral with respect to the good life but was "to be directed to no other end, but the peace, safety, and public good of the people."<sup>157</sup> Because Locke believed that humans no longer lived in a state of nature, because he knew that passions and interests made it impossible for humans to perceive natural law in a direct and unfiltered manner, he also maintained that the state had to intervene to promote the public good. And, because he had read deeply in the new political economy promulgated in the 1650s and after,<sup>158</sup> Locke, like most other Whigs, knew England to be a commercial society, one in which political power depended on economic welfare. This is why Locke spent the 1690s as a member of the Council of Trade managing England's economy.

The "liberalism" that was defended by the critics of the later Stuarts and by many of the revolutionaries of 1688–1689 drew heavily on republican ideas. But they were not trapped by them. In the 1650s, under the strain of war at home and abroad, many defenders of the English Republic jettisoned the political economy and the unitary conception of virtue espoused by earlier classical republicans. In its place, they borrowed phrases, tropes, and historical references from that republicanism and reassembled them with observations from anthropology and their political experience to create a new way of thinking about politics appropriate to the newly emerging commercial society. They invented not an economic ideology but a new political economy.<sup>159</sup> They insisted that property was not located exclusively in land but could also be a human creation, that states should be as devoted to promoting the interests of their citizens as their virtue. Because the classical ideal of civic virtue was largely unattainable, they believed in a popular politics that allowed the people (all people) to debate the national interest in the public sphere. Only by acknowledging and valuing the diversity and complexity of interests contained within the rapidly changing English commercial society could a state promote the common good, could it recognize the *salus populi*. These defenders of the English Commonwealth, then, melded republican conceptions of liberty to a commercial and modern political economy and conception of interest.

Pocock's classical republican commitment to a predominantly agrarian political economy and a unitary conception of interest did not dominate or define the ideological opposition to the Stuart monarchy in the 1650s and beyond. Many of the

<sup>157</sup> Locke, *Two Treatises*, 350, 371.

<sup>158</sup> See John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford, 1965), 85 (Bethel, *Account of the French Usurpation*), 203 (Parker, *Of a Free Trade*), 214 (Potter, *Key of Wealth*), 251 (S. E., *Touch-Stone of Money and Commerce*).

<sup>159</sup> It should be clear at this point how much I have learned from Matson and Onuf, "Toward a Republican Empire," 496–99, 515–16. English republicans in the 1650s were confronted with the same expansion of international commerce and the same problems of maintaining a wartime economy that the Americans were in the 1780s, and they made some of the same ideological adjustments. I do not think, however, that those who did so remained classical republicans.

defenders of the Commonwealth in the England of the 1650s, like Bernard Bailyn's American revolutionaries, "were as much capitalist 'liberals' as they were communitarian humanists."<sup>160</sup> It was a time, much like that described by James Kloppenberg, in which there was "an alliance between the virtues of republicanism and the virtues of liberalism."<sup>161</sup> The defenders of the English Commonwealth were like Daniel Walker Howe's early Americans, who "subscribed to both republican and liberal ideas and drew upon them both freely when they wanted to make a point. The distinction between the two philosophies is more one of our making than of theirs." The notion that the "republican language of virtue is distinct from and in tension with the liberal logic of rights and interests" is, as Alan Houston has shown, "unwarranted." "The opposition between liberalism and republicanism, while a source of inspiration for the recent revival of the latter," Knud Haakonssen has observed, "is more an invention of this revival than ascertainable historical fact."<sup>162</sup> The rigid and exclusive classical republicanism associated with Machiavelli—a classical republicanism opposed to the new political economy and to a politics of interest—became unpersuasive to many of the defenders of the English Commonwealth. In their view, the emergence of a commercial society required new precepts and new arguments to augment, amplify, and modify those drawn from classical society. These polemicists, politicians, and citizens chose to mingle arguments drawn from the Roman and Greek histories with those from recent political experience, to meld discussions of virtue with those about interests, and to mix arguments for the common good with claims for material improvement.<sup>163</sup> The defenders of the English Commonwealth joined their new commitment to commerce and a politics of interest to the republican conception of liberty. They created the ideological space for this amalgamation by suggesting that, for the modern commercial individual, the primary locus of the good life was not necessarily in political activity but could also be in social or commercial production.<sup>164</sup> This new amalgamation constitutes the origins of liberalism. At exactly the moment that Pocock claims Machiavellianism arrived in England, most of the defenders of the English Commonwealth rejected its assumptions about the relationship between wealth and power while embracing its conception of liberty. Classical republicanism had ceased to be a language or a program; it remained a way of thinking about politics that was only viable in a commercial world when combined with precepts appropriate to the new social arrangements.

<sup>160</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Context in History* (Melbourne, 1995), 15. See also Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, enl. edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), vi, 351–52.

<sup>161</sup> Kloppenberg, "Virtues of Liberalism," 33.

<sup>162</sup> Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 10; Houston, *Algernon Sidney and the Republican Heritage*, 277. See also Isaac, "Republicanism versus Liberalism," 355; Haakonssen, "Republicanism," 571.

<sup>163</sup> What I am arguing here follows closely the arguments laid out by Worden in "Revolution of 1688–89 and the English Republican Tradition," 243. It should be noted that Zera Fink did not see republicanism and liberalism as incompatible. That was clearly Pocock's great innovation. See Z. Fink, *Classical Republicans*, 189–90.

<sup>164</sup> The 1650s Commonwealth support for a republican conception of liberty alongside a new commercial political economy is equivalent to John Rawls' suggestion that classical republicanism is largely consistent with political liberalism while civic humanism is not, precisely because in the latter construction the realization of the good life can only come through political activity. Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York, 1993), 205–06.

I am suggesting, then, that Milton's early republicanism so carefully described by literary critic Janel Mueller was indeed a radicalism in the context of early Stuart absolutism.<sup>165</sup> However, between 1640 and 1660, the nature of English politics and society changed dramatically. The English military revolution channeled the understanding of the commercialization of English society in such a way as to make it impossible to limit political questions to considerations of constitutional arrangements and spiritual concerns. Issues of political economy had become central. Milton and Harrington were unable to accommodate themselves to the new commercial society. Their condemnation of the precepts of the new political economy and their rejection of a popular politics of interest made them into conservatives on these newly important questions. This is why, as Nicholas Von Maltzahn has shown, later seventeenth-century Whigs recommended "Milton's politeness at the expense of his politics and prophecy,"<sup>166</sup> this is why it was the arch-Tory polemicist Roger L'Estrange who published Milton's "Digression." Milton and Harrington were long celebrated for their defense of liberty—a defense advanced by a wide variety of other English Commonwealth controversialists—while their political economy and their rejection of a contingent notion of interest were largely forgotten. In our enthusiasm for discovering a republican language and recovering a republican politics, we should not fail to make the same distinctions. The new generation of radicals who emerged in the 1650s understood that the newly powerful states of early modern Europe could only continue to protect liberty by embracing commercial society. They understood that if human labor could create property and that if the national interest could be understood to be always contingent and negotiable based on changing circumstances, it was possible to have a commercial society devoted to the promotion of the common good. A wide variety of pamphleteers in the 1650s understood that it was possible to be modern, commercial, and polite on the one hand and to defend the common good on the other. It was these ideas—not possessive individualism—that formed the basis of liberal political philosophy.

<sup>165</sup> Janel Mueller, "Contextualizing Milton's Nascent Republicanism," in P. G. Stanwood, ed., *Of Poetry and Politics: New Essays on Milton and His World* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1995), esp. 265–66.

<sup>166</sup> Nicholas Von Maltzahn, "The Whig Milton, 1667–1700," in Armitage, Himy, and Skinner, *Milton and Republicanism*, 230.

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## The Color Line behind the Lines: Racial Violence in France during the Great War

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TYLER STOVALL

THE GREAT WAR WAS A TURNING POINT FOR FRANCE in many respects. It produced issues that would dominate the life of the nation during the twentieth century. Most important, it signaled the decline of church-state conflicts and the birth of the French Communist Party, gave new impetus to the public role of women and demands for gender equality, further reinforced the role of the centralized state in French life, and created a dynamic new intelligentsia that sharply questioned the nineteenth-century faith in positivism.<sup>1</sup> However, one critical development that has received relatively little attention from historians is racial difference and the presence of people of color on French soil. Nonwhites<sup>2</sup> have lived in France for many centuries, but after 1914 they became a widespread and integral part of French life.<sup>3</sup> During World War I, several hundred thousand people came from China and various parts of the French Empire in Africa and Asia to serve the French war effort as either soldiers or workers. While many received a warm reception from the French people, others encountered suspicion and hostility. During the latter years of the war, conflicts between the French and these nonwhite newcomers escalated into a wave of racial violence, ranging from numerous small-scale incidents to a few major riots. Although World War I would give a powerful boost to the myth of French racial egalitarianism, especially among African Americans, it would also produce conflicts contradicting that myth.<sup>4</sup>

Funding for this article was provided by the Academic Senate of the University of California, Santa Cruz, and the Center for German and European Studies of the University of California, Berkeley. I would like to thank George Cotkin, Laura Lee Downs, Lynn Hudson, and Earl Lewis for their helpful comments and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> The historical literature on France and World War I is of course voluminous. For a good overview, see in particular Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *La France et les Français, 1914–1920* (Paris, 1972). On the home front, see Jean-Jacques Becker, *1914: Comment les français sont entrés dans la guerre* (Paris, 1977); Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, Arnold Pomerans, trans. (Leamington Spa, 1985); and Patrick Fridenson, ed., *The French Home Front, 1914–1918* (Providence, R.I., 1992). Useful memoirs include Remy Cazals, ed., *Les carnets de guerre de Louis Barthas, tonnelier 1914–1918* (Paris, 1978); Louise Delétang, *Journal d'une ouvrière Parisienne pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1936); and H. Pearl Adam, *Paris Sees It Through* (London, 1919).

<sup>2</sup> Although the term “nonwhites” is more than a little problematic, I choose to use it here because it expresses precisely the kind of reductionist view of peoples from outside Europe that arose in wartime France. In particular, the term here refers to North Africans, black Africans, Indochinese, and Chinese.

<sup>3</sup> On the presence of nonwhites in France before the twentieth century, see William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980); Shelby McCloy, *The Negro in France* (Lexington, Ky., 1961); Michel Fabre, *La rive noire* (Paris, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> On the perception of France as a color-blind society, see Fabre, *La rive noire*; McCloy, *Negro in*

I define race riots, as opposed to incidents of racial violence, as conflicts involving sustained fighting over at least several hours by large numbers of participants on both sides of the battle. In contrast to much of the literature on collective violence, however, I would argue that the difference between small incidents and large riots is more one of scale than degree, suggesting a fundamental unity between acts of racial violence in wartime France. In analyzing this subject, the historian is able to draw on a rich literature offering varied approaches. Students of collective violence have succeeded in giving nuanced, complex portraits of the ostensibly anonymous crowd, providing information about riot patterns, the sociological backgrounds of rioters, and the value systems that motivated their actions. Scholars such as George Rudé and E. P. Thompson have called into question traditional views of "the mob" as an irrational, emotional maelstrom, instead demonstrating that rioters were motivated by specific agendas and goals.<sup>5</sup> Studies of race riots in the United States during World War I constitute another important body of inquiry. Historians of America's "Red Summer" have written incisive case studies of individual incidents, using them to explore the dynamics of American race relations. This approach combined detailed chronological accounts of the riots with portraits of the white and black communities involved to argue that these riots were not isolated incidents but significant benchmarks of American life at the end of the war.<sup>6</sup> More recently, historians of racial violence have turned toward theories of difference grounded in postmodern and cultural studies approaches.<sup>7</sup> This new perspective on racial conflict considers the phenomenon as both providing a glimpse into the cultural markers that construct racial difference and as an integral part of that process of

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France; Phyllis Rose, *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in Her Time* (New York, 1989); Léon-François Hoffman, *Le Nègre romantique* (Paris, 1973); Roi Ottley, *No Green Pastures* (New York, 1951); James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York, 1933); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Major historical studies of collective violence include George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959); Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York, 1964); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement* (New York, 1963); Albert Soboul, *The Sans-Culottes: The Popular Movement and Revolutionary Government 1793–1794* (Garden City, N.Y., 1972); Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France* (New York, 1973); E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (February 1971): 76–136; Charles Tilly, *The Contentious French* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

<sup>6</sup> Elliott M. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917* (Carbondale, Ill., 1964); William M. Tuttle, Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970); Robert V. Haynes, *A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917* (Baton Rouge, La., 1976).

<sup>7</sup> Some of the most important works taking a cultural studies approach to questions of race include Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago, 1986); bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston, 1990); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (Boston, 1990); Cornel West, "Black Culture and Postmodernism," in Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani, eds., *Remaking History* (Seattle, Wash., 1989); Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd, *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (New York, 1990); Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *AHR* 100 (February 1995): 1–20. Also important in this regard are the recent studies of "whiteness" as a type of identity formation based in racial conflict. See David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics, and Working Class History* (London, 1994); Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (London, 1990); Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).



identity formation. In a recent article, for example, J. William Harris argues that lynching in early twentieth-century Mississippi was a symbolic act that created not just the boundary between blacks and whites but their very existence as separate groups.<sup>8</sup> The stress on the subjective, culturally driven character of race and racial violence has not remained unchallenged, however, as some scholars have reemphasized the important, if not exclusive, role of material conditions in generating racial conflict.<sup>9</sup>

In my discussion of race riots in wartime France, I wish to emphasize that culture and material life are not separate, distinct aspects of the human condition but are constantly interacting and mutually reinforcing one another. While culture shapes material life, the reverse is also true. Historical studies of racial conflict should abjure both material and cultural determinisms, instead analyzing the ways in which these clashes have revealed the interaction of thought and action, the conditions of daily life and the representation of those conditions. In discussing French racial violence during World War I, therefore, I stress its specific historical conjuncture, arguing that material as well as cultural factors were mediated by the time and place of its occurrence.<sup>10</sup> This violence formed one important way in which racial categories were defined in wartime France, both expressing old concepts of race and creating new ones. Race thus appears as a discourse in which material and cultural considerations were interwoven and transformed.<sup>11</sup>

Accordingly, I contend that one must view French racial conflict in conjunction with the crisis of wartime morale that overtook the nation in 1917 and 1918. For a variety of reasons, in certain contexts, people of color came to symbolize both the war in general and its deleterious impact on the French working class in particular, and some members of the latter targeted colonial laborers<sup>12</sup> as an outlet for

<sup>8</sup> J. William Harris, "Etiquette, Lynching, and Racial Boundaries in Southern History: A Mississippi Example," *AHR* 100 (April 1995): 387–410; see also W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1993); George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865–1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings"* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990); Michael Keith, *Race, Riots and Policing: Lore and Disorder in a Multi-Racist Society* (London, 1993); Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, Mass., 1988). Some very interesting contributions to this subject have been made by writers studying the intersections of race, sex, and violence in colonial history. See Hazel Carby, "'On the Threshold of Woman's Era': Lynching, Empire, and Sexuality in Black Feminist Theory," in Gates, "Race," *Writing, and Difference*; Pamela Scully, "Rape, Race, and Colonial Culture: The Sexual Politics of Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony, South Africa," *AHR* 100 (April 1995): 335–59.

<sup>9</sup> Barbara J. Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (1990): 95–116; Robert Miles, *Racism* (London, 1989); Nell Irvin Painter, "French Theories in American Settings: Some Thoughts on Transferability," *Journal of Women's History* 1 (Spring 1989): 92–95; Steve Vieux, "In the Shadow of Neo-liberal Racism," *Race and Class* 36 (July–September 1994): 23. Of particular interest in this regard is Laura Tabili, "We Ask for British Justice": *Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994).

<sup>10</sup> As Stuart Hall has argued, "One must start, then, from the concrete historical 'work' which racism accomplishes under specific historical conditions—as a set of economic, political and ideological practices, of a distinctive kind, concretely articulated with other practices in a social formation." Hall, "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance," in *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (Paris, 1980), 338.

<sup>11</sup> I draw here on the ideas of Michael Omi and Howard Winant, who have shown how discourses on race have been key to recent American history, emphasizing race as a social and political construct. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> The phrase "colonial workers" (or "exotic workers") applied to people of color in general, including Chinese contract laborers, in wartime France. It contrasted with the use of the term "immigrant workers" for non-French Europeans and thus served to construct the identity of both

frustrations about the ongoing conflict. The negative identification of nonwhite workers with the war did not come automatically in France but resulted from conscious and specific initiatives undertaken by French unions, employers, and above all by the French state. In this perspective, racial violence appears not just as a reaction to unprecedented diversity, it also casts new light on the escalating clash between French capital and labor at the end of the war. Yet race did not simply appear as an epiphenomenon of class in France; the French distinguished sharply between white and nonwhite foreign workers, so that race determined, rather than reflected, wartime class identity. More broadly, a consideration of French racial violence leads one to look at wartime labor history, especially renewed labor militancy and the rise of a radical movement against President Raymond Poincaré's notion of the *union sacrée* (united government), in a somewhat different light. This violence, and the racist attitudes it expressed, shows that dissatisfaction with the war was more complex and diverse than the movement led by major antiwar union activists. During World War I, concepts of racial difference based on skin color became a significant factor in French working-class life for the first time, establishing a discourse of conflict and intolerance that remains powerful today.<sup>13</sup>

INTER-ETHNIC VIOLENCE has a long history in France. Natalie Zemon Davis has analyzed the bloody riots between French Catholics and Protestants that occurred in the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup> During the more recent past, such conflict has often taken the form of attacks by French workers on foreign immigrants. In 1775, for example, coopers in Sète assaulted foreign workers after demanding their expulsion from the city. During the 1840s and 1850s, French workers in the Nord frequently attacked Belgians for what they saw as unfair competition. By the late nineteenth

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groups along racial lines. In order to conform to French practices at the time, in this article I have followed the practice of including the Chinese in the category of colonial workers.

<sup>13</sup> An important and rapidly growing body of literature currently exists on race and immigration in contemporary France. While much of the literature views immigration as primarily not a racial issue, other works highlight racial distinctions. For examples of the former, see Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*, Geoffrey de Laforcade, trans. (Minneapolis, 1996); Noiriel, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France: XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1992); Yves Lequin, *La mosaïque France: Histoire des étrangers et de l'immigration* (Paris, 1988); Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers: L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration, 1938-1991* (Paris, 1991); for the latter, see Maxim Silverman, ed., *Race, Discourse, and Power in France* (Aldershot, 1991); Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism, and Citizenship in Modern France* (London, 1992); G. Kepel, *Les banlieues d'Islam: Naissance d'une religion en France* (Paris, 1991); Cathie Lloyd and Hazel Waters, "France: One Culture, One People?" *Race and Class* 32, no. 3 (1991): 49-66; Pierre-André Taguieff, "The New Cultural Racism in France," *Telos* (Spring 1990): 109-22; William Safran, "The French and Ethnic Pluralism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (October 1984): 447-61. Interesting case studies on racism in contemporary France include Françoise Gaspard, *A Small City in France*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Eric Roussel, *Le cas Le Pen: Les nouvelles droites en France* (Paris, 1985); Martin Schain, "The National Front in France and the Construction of Political Legitimacy," *West European Politics* 10 (April 1987): 229-52.

<sup>14</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, "Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif., 1965). The link between religious and ethnic hatred certainly did not disappear in the twentieth century, as demonstrated by the anti-Semitism of the 1930s and 1940s, as well as the hostility to Islam so prevalent in contemporary France. In spite of the unprecedented presence of Muslims on French soil, however, religion does not seem to have played a role in the racial violence of World War I.

century, Italians seem to have borne the brunt of this working-class xenophobia, and the worst violence was directed against them. A fight between French and Italian salt miners in the southern town of Aigues-Mortes degenerated into full-scale carnage in 1893, resulting in the deaths of eight people.<sup>15</sup> These attacks occurred in the context of increasing immigration; from 1881 on, French census takers counted over a million resident aliens in France, mostly workers from the neighboring countries of Belgium, Italy, and Germany. Those hostile to foreigners at times used the size of this population, especially prominent in Paris and frontier regions of the country, to make it a scapegoat for French working-class discontent. Attacks on immigrant workers during the *fin de siècle* thus fit neatly into longstanding traditions of violence against outsiders in order to protect one's own community. Like Italians in the 1890s, colonial workers during World War I came to be seen as outsiders to the national community, a perception that underlay the attacks directed against them.<sup>16</sup>

A clear parallel exists between attacks on foreign workers in nineteenth-century France and the violence directed against colonial laborers during World War I, but it is by no means straightforward. The physical and cultural distinctiveness of this new population and the peculiar circumstances of its introduction into French life combined to transform xenophobia into racial violence. By 1914, France possessed the second largest colonial empire in the world and did not hesitate to draw on the human resources of its overseas possessions in its struggle against Germany. The nation's greatest need was for soldiers, and hundreds of thousands from West Africa, North Africa, and Indochina fought and died on French battlefields during the war.<sup>17</sup> But the exigencies of industrial warfare also created a shortage of labor in France's war industries and on its farms, forcing the French to import workers as well as soldiers. During World War I, over half a million foreigners came to labor in French fields and factories. The majority of these, some 330,000, came from within Europe, primarily Spain. However, roughly another 300,000 individuals journeyed from overseas. Official statistics recorded the entry of 78,556 Algerians, 48,995 Indochinese, 36,941 Chinese, 35,506 Moroccans, 18,249 Tunisians, and 4,546

<sup>15</sup> Tilly, *Contentious French*, 194, 269; Noiriel, *French Melting Pot*, 258–62; Eugen Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 134–35; Michelle Perrot, "Les rapports entre ouvriers français et étrangers (1871–1893)," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire moderne* (1966); Anne-Marie Faidutti-Rudolph, *L'immigration italienne dans le Sud-Ouest de la France* (Gap, 1964); Paul Gemähling, *Travailleurs au rabais: La lutte syndicale contre les sous-concurrences ouvrières* (Paris, 1910); Yves Lefebvre, *L'ouvrier étranger et la protection du travail national* (Paris, 1901).

<sup>16</sup> Henri Bunle, *Mouvements migratoires entre la France et l'étranger: Etudes et documents* (Paris, 1943), 67. On immigrant labor in France during the early twentieth century, see Gary S. Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France: The Making of a New Laboring Class* (Philadelphia, 1983); Juliette Minces, *Les travailleurs étrangers en France* (Paris, 1973); Serge Bonnet, "Italian Immigration in Lorraine," *Journal of Social History* 2 (Winter 1968): 123–55; Georges Mauco, *Les étrangers en France* (Paris, 1932); Bernard Granotier, *Les travailleurs immigrés en France* (Paris, 1970); Nancy L. Green, *The Pletzl of Paris: Jewish Immigrant Workers in the Belle Epoque* (New York, 1986); Andre Kaspi, *Le Paris des étrangers* (Paris, 1989); Laurent Azzano, *Mes joyeuses années au faubourg* (Paris, 1985).

<sup>17</sup> On French colonial soldiers in World War I, see Marc Michel, *L'appel à l'Afrique: Contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F. (1914–1919)* (Paris, 1982); Charles John Balesi, *From Adversaries to Comrades-in-Arms: West Africans and the French Military, 1885–1918* (Waltham, Mass., 1979); Agustin Bernard, *L'Afrique du nord pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1926); Charles Agéron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871–1919)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968); Joe Harris Lunn, "Kande Kamara Speaks: An Oral History of the West African Experience in France 1914–18," in Melvin E. Page, ed., *Africa and the First World War* (London, 1987).

Malagasy, for a total of 222,793 colonial workers.<sup>18</sup> The balance was made up by workers employed directly by the French army, those already present in France in 1914, and those who migrated on their own.<sup>19</sup> The war thus brought a large non-European, racially distinct population to France for the first time in the nation's modern history.<sup>20</sup>

The history of racial categorization in France is both lengthy and very complex. The concept of "race" has always been notoriously difficult to define and has varied tremendously according to time and place; only in the twentieth century has it come to be widely associated with differences in skin color. In early modern France, for example, those writing about race generally emphasized the distinction between Franks and Gauls as the nation's most important historical instance of racial difference. In 1932, Jacques Barzun, in a survey of such racial thinking in France before the revolution, argued that "the very roots of French history since the sixteenth century have been buried deep under and around the issue of race."<sup>21</sup> The concept of race was also often used to distinguish between aristocrats and commoners. By the nineteenth century, in contrast, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution had combined to produce a racialized view of the nation as an independent biological entity. As historians of racism have been at pains to point out, racism and nationalism together helped usher in the modern era.<sup>22</sup>

The numerous interconnections between concepts of race and class are important not just for the subject of this essay but for the history of race in general. Not only have class and race identities and conflicts frequently intersected, but the very articulations of these concepts are inextricably intertwined. While Marxist scholars in particular have emphasized this interrelationship, many others have also analyzed the ties between these two types of social fissures. Historians of nineteenth-century Europe have shown how bourgeois representations of the lower classes were often racialized.<sup>23</sup> In his seminal *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*

<sup>18</sup> Bertrand Nogaro and Lucien Weil, *La main-d'oeuvre étrangère et colonial pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1926), 25.

<sup>19</sup> See Gilbert Meynier, "La France coloniale de 1914 à 1931," in Jacques Thobie, Gilbert Meynier, Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, and Charles-Robert Agéron, *Histoire de la France coloniale*, Vol. 2, 1914–1990 (Paris, 1990), 78. Meynier mentions one French officer who argued that the number of colonial workers was as high as 310,000 during World War I.

<sup>20</sup> On foreign labor in France during World War I, see Nogaro and Weil, *La main-d'oeuvre étrangère*; John Horne, "Immigrant Workers in France during World War I," *French Historical Studies* 24, no. 1 (1985): 57–88; Jean Vidalenc, "La main d'oeuvre étrangère en France et la première guerre mondiale (1901–1926)," *Francia* 2 (1974): 524–50; Mireille Favre, "Un milieu porteur de modernisation: Travailleurs et tirailleurs vietnamiens en France pendant la première guerre mondiale," 2 vols. (Doctoral thesis, Ecole Nationale des Chartres, Paris, 1986); Tyler Stovall, "Colour-blind France? Colonial Workers during the First World War," *Race and Class* 35, no. 2 (1993): 33–55.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Barzun, *The French Race* (New York, 1932), 251.

<sup>22</sup> On the historical evolution of race as a category, see Michael Banton, *Racial Theories* (Cambridge, 1987); Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Chris Turner, trans. (London, 1991); Colette Guillaumin, "The Idea of Race and Its Elevation to Autonomous Scientific and Legal Status," in *Sociological Theories*. Also very interesting in this regard is Ann Laura Stoler's recent discussion of Michel Foucault's ideas on colonialism and race, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995).

<sup>23</sup> This has been remarked on in particular by historians of British-Irish relations: see, for example, Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland: The Influence of Stereotype on Colonial Policy* (Philadelphia, 1976); Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979). For France, see in particular Louis Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris*

(1853–55), Arthur de Gobineau portrayed blacks as an insurgent mob threatening white civilization, very much along the lines of the French Revolution's sans-culottes. Social Darwinism was merely the most prominent current of thought to conflate racial and class conflict at the turn of the century, and George Mosse has demonstrated how the rise of racial ideology at the end of the nineteenth century at times took the form of workers' movements, setting the precedent for the idea of national socialism.<sup>24</sup> The complex interaction of race and class dynamics that characterized the history of colonial workers in France during the Great War thus closely conformed to the broader evolution of these concepts in modern times. In assessing this relationship, the point is not to argue that race or class was more important but rather to examine how each reinforced and contradicted the other.

In the case of France, the development of racial categorization that emphasized differences in skin color, and the contrast between Europeans and non-Europeans, has been intimately associated with the nation's colonial history. As William B. Cohen has demonstrated, negative French perceptions of nonwhites go back well before the beginnings of French overseas expansion in the seventeenth century, yet the colonial experience combined with intellectual changes in Europe to produce a view of whites and nonwhites as biologically distinct. In particular, such categorizations often centered on the question of labor. One of the first official French documents to elaborate this concept of race, the Code Noir of 1685 effectively defined blackness in conjunction with the exigencies of racially based slavery in the French Caribbean.<sup>25</sup> By the late nineteenth century, French stereotypes of North Africans, Indochinese, black Africans, and other imperial subjects frequently targeted their perceived inadequacies as workers. As Albert Memmi later argued, "Nothing could better justify the colonizer's privileged position than his industry, and nothing could better justify the colonized's destitution than his indolence. The mythical portrait of the colonized therefore includes an unbelievable laziness, and that of the colonizer, a virtuous taste for action."<sup>26</sup> The numerous objections to colonial workers expressed by French administrators, employers, and workers during the war—laziness, lack of skill or intelligence, physical weakness, and moral corruption—had all previously appeared in discussions of native labor within the empire.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, both the broader racialization of differences in skin color and the more specific view of nonwhite workers as distinct and inferior had a prominent colonial heritage.

Yet the legacy of the French Empire alone does not explain the largely negative reception of colonial workers in wartime France. By the early twentieth century, French consciousness of racial difference had been influenced by global patterns of

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during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Frank Jellinek, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1973); Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976).

<sup>24</sup> George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (1978; rpt. edn., Madison, Wis., 1985).

<sup>25</sup> Cohen, *French Encounter with Africans*; Louis Sala-Molins, *Le Code Noir* (Paris, 1987).

<sup>26</sup> Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Howard Greenfeld, trans. (1965; rpt. edn., Boston, 1965), 79.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Jules Ninine, *La main-d'oeuvre indigène dans les colonies françaises* (Paris, 1934).



domination and subordination. Michelle Perrot has demonstrated, for example, that antagonism to Chinese “coolie” labor was widespread among French workers in the late nineteenth century, based on a belief that French employers hoped to import them in order to lower wages and worsen working conditions. In 1882, Socialist leader Jules Guesde wrote an article congratulating the workers of California on their struggle for anti-Chinese exclusionary legislation.<sup>28</sup> The role of this American example is highly significant, for if the empire provided one model of race relations, the United States furnished another. The experience of nonwhite workers in France resembled aspects of both: although they mostly came from the French Empire and were treated as colonial subjects in France, they also constituted a non-indigenous racial minority in a predominantly white nation, like blacks and other peoples of color in America.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the reaction of French authorities and workers to wartime colonial laborers both expressed colonial traditions and at the same time set forth new postcolonial patterns for race relations in France.<sup>30</sup>

Colonial workers occupied a singular, highly differentiated position in France’s wartime labor force. Most notably, they worked and lived in conditions distinct not only from French workers but also from non-French European immigrants. As part of a broader effort to rationalize labor supplies, the French government sought to impose greater controls on foreign labor in general. Although in theory, these policies did not distinguish between Europeans and colonials, in practice Spaniards, Greeks, and other white foreigners often successfully evaded such attempts at regulation.<sup>31</sup> Nonwhite workers, by contrast, were recruited directly at their point of origin by the French government, frequently by force.<sup>32</sup> Once in France, they were not permitted to fend for themselves but were closely regimented by the War Ministry’s Colonial Labor Organization Service (SOTC). The SOTC grouped these workers by nationality into labor battalions, assigned them to their employers, and made all arrangements for their transportation, housing, and food. Colonial laborers worked and lived in isolation from their French counterparts, in conditions more reminiscent of war prisoners or even slaves than independent workers. Such segregation was in effect an attempt to transplant colonial conditions to French soil,

<sup>28</sup> Jules Guesde, “La vraie solidarité,” *Le citoyen* (May 7, 1882), cited in Michelle Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève: France 1871–1890* (Paris, 1974), 1: 178.

<sup>29</sup> During World War I, 200,000 African Americans served the U.S. Army in France, most being employed as laborers rather than soldiers. Their presence in France, not to mention the role of the war in spurring black migration from the South to the North, underlines the parallel between African-American and French colonial workers. See Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia, 1974).

<sup>30</sup> Following the lead of Anne McClintock, I would argue here that colonialism and postcolonialism are not necessarily sequentially arranged along a linear time line but represent different aspects of racial and global history that can occur at the same time. The experience of colonial labor in wartime France thus represents an instance of these two phenomena overlapping. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995).

<sup>31</sup> This was especially true of the Spaniards, roughly 70 percent of all European immigrant workers in France during the war. Many of them entered France clandestinely and, once in the country, successfully resisted attempts to prevent them from changing jobs in search of higher wages. See Horne, “Immigrant Workers,” 64–67.

<sup>32</sup> In theory, enlistment in the French colonies for work duty in France was voluntary, but an examination of recruitment procedures in North Africa, Indochina, and Madagascar makes clear that more than a little pressure was brought to bear on potential workers. See Stovall, “Colour-blind France?”; also Favre, “Un milieu porteur,” 1: 241–47.

enabling the French war economy to benefit from colonial labor without threatening the dichotomy between empire and metropole. While couched in “separate but equal” terminology, it essentially reproduced racial hierarchies found in the colonies.<sup>33</sup>

French authorities justified this system, known as regimentation (*encadrement*), with numerous arguments, citing the nation’s need to derive the maximum possible return from imported labor, the problem of providing interpreters for people who spoke no French, and a paternalistic desire to prevent the “corruption” of its colonial subjects by the temptations of French society.<sup>34</sup> In particular, they often argued that separating workers of color from the French people was necessary in order to prevent racial conflict. A July 1917 report on the use of North Africans in the mines of the Pas-de-Calais recommended isolation as a means of ensuring social peace.

One can now furnish the mines with North African workers by applying the following rules: choosing workers who have already worked in the mines of France or Algeria, strict regimentation of these workers, housing them in special barracks in order to avoid contact with the local population . . . [The Pas-de-Calais mines] show little interest in hiring North Africans, objecting especially on the basis of incidents that could occur because of the opposition of the local population.<sup>35</sup>

Another report, on the use of Chinese labor, recommended regimentation as a way of forestalling the kinds of racial conflict that had greeted Chinese workers in America.<sup>36</sup>

Such hostility toward colonial laborers certainly existed, yet a good deal of evidence suggests that the regimentation system worked to promote rather than hinder the development of racial antagonisms. Concentrating non-European workers together in large numbers, it underlined both their “exoticism” and their possible threat to the employment of French workers. More concretely, the system’s stricture of preventing colonial workers from changing jobs kept them poorly paid, thus reinforcing the already entrenched idea that people of color, like women, would lower wage levels for all. Although the contracts signed by colonial laborers upon recruitment guaranteed them fixed wage rates equal to those of the French, such rates soon became obsolete under the pressure of wartime inflation and the ability of both native French and European immigrant workers to raise their wages by seeking out higher paid jobs. The contrasting lack of mobility among colonial workers soon made them the poorest paid laborers in France. A February 1918

<sup>33</sup> Created on January 1, 1916, the SOTC worked in coordination with other government agencies, especially the Ministry of Labor. Nogaro and Weil, *La main-d’œuvre étrangère*, 18. On the administration of colonial workers, see the numerous documents in the following cartons at the French National Archives (hereafter, AN): F 14 11331, F 14 11332, F 14 11334, 94 AP 135, 94 AP 140.

<sup>34</sup> The files of CIMO, the Interministerial Labor Committee, contain numerous discussions of this issue. See AN F 14 11331: letter of September 21, 1917; AN F 14 11334, report of March 10, 1917, report of April 14, 1917, report of June 9, 1917. See also AN 94 AP 135, report of December 10, 1915, report of December 17, 1915, report of August 16, 1916; Société Historique de l’Armée de Terre (hereafter, SH): 7 N 144, letter of February 20, 1916; SH 6 N 149: “Rapport sur le fonctionnement du Bureau Annexe des Affaires Indigènes au Havre pendant le 2<sup>e</sup>me semestre 1917”; letter of June 17, 1918, letter of April 16, 1918.

<sup>35</sup> AN F 14 11334, report of July 7, 1917.

<sup>36</sup> AN 94 AP 135, report of August 16, 1916.

report from a camp of Chinese workers in Brest noted, "In spite of the formal protests of the War Minister the colonial workers do not receive anywhere near the same wages as French workers of the same category working in the same shipyards."<sup>37</sup> Such "protests" notwithstanding, there are some indications that French authorities saw colonial labor as a means of keeping wage demands low. In March 1918, for example, an administrator of the port of Bordeaux requested one hundred colonial workers as a way of regulating the price of local labor.<sup>38</sup> The regimentation of colonial labor thus worked to create a split labor force in wartime France.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, while hoping to avoid conflict between nonwhite and French workers, the officials of the SOTC had other reasons for keeping contacts between the two groups to a minimum. They feared that colonial laborers would learn bad habits from French colleagues; not only might they gain a taste for strong drink and white women, but exposure to local workers might give them experience with strikes and unions.<sup>40</sup> Such "contamination" would limit their utility for the French war effort but, above all, would risk upsetting established hierarchies in the empire itself by returning to the colonies a seasoned body of revolutionaries. A May 1916 report from the Marseilles postal censor's office noted this danger, citing as evidence the observations of a French *colon* in Tonkin:

At this moment they are recruiting Annamite volunteers. 50,000 more are needed. I do not know where they will find them, nor what will result from this . . . certainly nothing good, without a doubt; this will eventually create malcontents and revolutionaries, as well as the upsetting of our beautiful colony. They will no longer feel like planting rice in their fields after they have seen in France a number of things that one must not let them see or hear. This will be terrible, and this is not only my humble opinion, but that of all who know their race well.<sup>41</sup>

The differences between French and colonial workers were not natural but arose to a significant extent from specific actions by the French state. Public authorities in France must consequently bear responsibility for the conflicts that pitted the two groups against one another in the latter years of the war.

Gender concerns played a key role in prompting French authorities to segregate colonial workers. France's use of colonial labor took place in a context of gender

<sup>37</sup> AN F 14 11331, report of February 16, 1918. The report went on to note the hostility of local dockworkers to the Chinese. See also the March 5, 1916, report on Indochinese workers in the Tarbes arsenal, AN 94 AP 135. There are several reports in AN cartons F 14 11331 and F 14 11334 about the high wages of French workers relative to those of their colonial colleagues.

<sup>38</sup> AN F 14 11331, letter of March 21, 1918.

<sup>39</sup> On the theory of split labor markets, see above all the works of Edna Bonacich, such as "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," *American Sociological Review* 37 (1972): 547–59; and "Advanced Capitalism and Black/White Relations in the United States: A Split Labor Market Interpretation," *American Sociological Review* 41 (1976): 34–51.

<sup>40</sup> For example, in August 1916, an inspector visiting a camp of Indochinese workers in the Dordogne observed with alarm colonial and French workers drinking together in local cafés. His concern reflected not just fears of alcoholism but also a desire to prevent the integration of the Indochinese into French working-class culture. Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer (hereafter, ANSOM), SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of August 27, 1916.

<sup>41</sup> SH 7 N 993, report of May 15, 1916. As the postwar histories of anticolonial activists Ho Chi Minh and Messali Hadj demonstrated, this was no idle fear. See Claude Liauzu, *Aux origines des tiers-mondismes: Colonisés et anticolonialistes en France (1919–1939)* (Paris, 1982).

relations unusual in two major respects. First, the drafting of millions of French men radically feminized wartime civilian life: whole villages lost their adult male populations, except for the elderly. Second, French authorities only recruited nonwhite men from the empire, leaving women of color behind. The use of colonial women never seems to have been considered; at a time when occupational restrictions on French women were being suspended, separate spheres of work for nonwhite men and women remained in force. The reluctant use of French women in war industries plus the refusal to bring in women from the empire reversed the traditional colonial relations of race and gender, bringing together large numbers of white women and men of color in the absence of white men and nonwhite women. As the quotation above suggests, government authorities thus managed to create the colonialist's worst nightmare on French soil.

Even more than foreign and colonial laborers, French women were central to the mobilization of the nation's industry during the war.<sup>42</sup> Women and colonial workers in wartime France had much in common. Both groups came as neophytes to the world of heavy industry, were paid less than French men, and were often assigned the least skilled and desirable tasks to perform. As a result, women and nonwhite men often worked side by side in the war industry. Nothing in France came as a greater shock to colonial workers than the sight of women working in the factories: one Malagasy worker stationed in Toulouse wrote a friend, "Would you believe that white women, who at home love to have us serve them, here work as much as men. They are very numerous in the workshops and labor with the same ardor as men."<sup>43</sup> In such a situation, sexual relations between non-European men and French women were not surprising and seem to have occurred frequently.<sup>44</sup> As Mahmoud ben Arrar noted in a letter to friends in Tunisia, "the city where we are stationed [Montereau] is full of women, and here fornication is as abundant as grains of sand."<sup>45</sup> Although French censors and labor inspectors tended to portray the mistresses of colonial workers as women of easy virtue, many were doubtless factory workers who had met their lovers on the job. The threat, and the reality, of miscegenation thus spurred French authorities to isolate nonwhite workers, in an

<sup>42</sup> On French women in the war industries, see Laura Lee Downs, "Women's Strikes and the Politics of Popular Egalitarianism in France, 1916–1918," in Lenard R. Berlanstein, ed., *Rethinking Labor History* (Urbana, Ill., 1993); James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot? The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (New York, 1981); Françoise Thébaud, *La femme au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris, 1986); Mathilde Dubesset, Françoise Thébaud, and Catherine Vincent, "The Female Munitions Workers of the Seine," in Fridenson, *French Home Front*; Annie Fourcaut, *Femmes à l'usine* (Paris, 1982); Jean-Louis Robert, "Women and Work in France during the First World War," in Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work, and Welfare in Europe, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>43</sup> SH 7 N 997, "Rapport Mensuel," July–August 1917, letter from Landriamanalina.

<sup>44</sup> The question of relations between French women and male colonial workers was crucial for French administrators. By 1918, they had become a major source of concern for the censors who supervised colonial correspondence, leading them to keep monthly reports on instances of such liaisons. SH 7 N 1001, report of June 1917; Favre, "Un milieu porteur," 2: 527–45; Horne, "Immigrant Workers," 80–81; Tyler Stovall, "Love, Labor, and Race: Colonial Men and White Women in France during the Great War," unpublished paper, "(Im)migrant Identities," 12th annual conference of the Critical Theory Program, University of California, Davis, October 1996.

<sup>45</sup> He went on to claim that he had four girlfriends himself, and that he was "au comble de la volupté." SH 7 N 1001, "Rapport sur les opérations de la commission militaire de contrôle postal de Tunis," April 1917.

attempt to reestablish the colonial hierarchies that their own policies had undermined.

The attitude of French unions also justified the decision of public authorities to isolate colonial workers. Labor organizations remained generally hostile to the massive infusion of non-European workers during the war. Before 1914, French unions paid virtually no attention to the dramatic growth of the overseas empire, judging it irrelevant to the direct concerns of French workers. During thirty-two national meetings held between 1886 and 1914, only two resolutions were passed dealing with the colonies, both merely demanding that national labor legislation be applied to the workers of the empire.<sup>46</sup> The Socialist Party paid more attention to colonial affairs, frequently criticizing government exploitation of indigenous populations. Yet the majority of French Socialists before the war, notably Jean Jaurès, stopped short of demanding independence for the colonies, recommending instead more humane forms of tutelage that would gradually prepare the natives for self-government.<sup>47</sup> As several historians have pointed out, French workers in the late nineteenth century were by no means immune to pro-colonial propaganda, which usually included an emphasis on white racial superiority. In spite of a theoretical commitment to working-class internationalism, therefore, the French labor movement's lack of concern with workers in the nation's colonies comes as no surprise.<sup>48</sup>

During the war, French unions reluctantly accepted the importation of foreign laborers for the needs of the national effort yet closely supervised the process in order to preserve the interests of union members.<sup>49</sup> The Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) insisted that foreign workers be as few as possible, that they be paid the same as French laborers to prevent them from lowering wages, and that the CGT take part in (or at least be consulted about) setting immigrant labor policies.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> These resolutions were passed by the Fédération des Bourses du Travail, at its meetings of 1901 in Nice and 1902 in Algiers. The CGT never addressed the issue. François Bédarida, "Perspectives sur le mouvement ouvrier et l'impérialisme en France au temps de la conquête coloniale," *Le mouvement social* 86 (January–March 1974): 25–43.

<sup>47</sup> Bédarida, "Perspectives sur le mouvement ouvrier"; see on this point the work of Charles-Robert Agéron, especially *L'anticolonialisme en France de 1871 à 1914* (Paris, 1973); *France coloniale ou parti colonial?* (Paris, 1978); "Jaurès et les socialistes français devant la question algérienne (de 1895 à 1914)," *Le mouvement social* 42 (January–March 1963): 1–29. The major French Socialist writer on imperialism was Paul Louis; see his *Le colonialisme* (Paris, 1905).

<sup>48</sup> Bédarida, "Perspectives sur le mouvement ouvrier"; Cohen, *French Encounter with Africans*; Jacques Ozouf and Mona Ozouf, "Le thème du patriotisme dans les manuels primaires," *Le mouvement social* 49 (October–December 1964): 5–31; William Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: the French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Thomas August, *The Selling of the Empire: British and French Imperialist Propaganda, 1890–1940* (Westport, 1985).

<sup>49</sup> Concerns about foreign labor paralleled union fears about the use of women in heavy industry during the war. While most unions and male workers accepted the national need for women to work in the war plants, many still expressed misgivings. Some feared that working women would be used to free men to be drafted and sent to the front lines. Another concern was the belief that employers would use women to lower wages for male workers and to promote Taylorist means of workplace organization that would devalue the talents of skilled workers and weaken workplace control. Some union leaders believed that, since women had lower rates of union membership than men, employers would use women workers to weaken the union movement. Finally, many male workers shared the natalist concern that work in heavy industry would weaken women's fertility and thus intensify the nation's crisis of reproduction. See Jean-Louis Robert, "La CGT et la famille ouvrière, 1914–1918," *Le mouvement social* 116 (July–September 1981): 47–66; Downs, "Women's Strikes."

<sup>50</sup> On the CGT's attitude to foreign labor during the war, see especially Jean-Louis Robert,



In September 1916, Léon Jouhaux, head of the CGT, wrote the labor minister to express his concerns about the use of Chinese workers.

I must in the name of the C.G.T. . . . protest against the introduction into our labor market of 20,000 new Chinese. After an earlier interview with you, we agreed that the introduction of Chinese workers would be limited to 5,000, solely for the needs of the arsenals and state [armaments] factories . . . we judge it necessary that the use of Chinese coolies be limited once and for all to the circumstances that motivated it, and that everywhere upon demobilization French workers should be able to find, in the factories, the workshops, the stores and the yards the jobs they held before they left for military service.<sup>51</sup>

As part of its new acceptance of European labor, the union did move to counter xenophobia against European immigrants during the war. A number of articles appeared in *La bataille syndicaliste* discussing the conditions of workers from Spain, Italy, and Belgium. Often written by immigrants or their national representatives, they argued that immigrants were not taking French jobs and instead emphasized solidarity between French and foreign workers.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, union attitudes toward colonial workers from the empire remained unenthusiastic at best. An article on the labor shortage in French mines at the end of 1916 commented on the possible use of nonwhites by saying, "Kabyle, Chinese, Annamite labor? . . . Hmph! . . . inept and mediocre."<sup>53</sup> In a major 1916 editorial on Chinese labor, Jouhaux reemphasized the theme of equality for all workers, French and foreign, arguing that, "no matter their color or their language, we cannot accept that the worker be brought among us as a slave, and be treated as a pariah." However, he then went on to say:

This land must not become a cosmopolitan boulevard where all races may meet each other, with the sole exception of the French, because they have disappeared. It is imperative that all, in spite of the necessities of the present hour, concern themselves with the problem of the survival of the race. This will be the most important means to ensure "that the French people do not lose the benefit of national prosperity, acquired at such cost."<sup>54</sup>

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"Ouvriers et mouvement ouvrier parisiens pendant la grande guerre et l'immédiat après-guerre," 9 vols. (Thèse doctorat d'Etat, Université de Paris-1, 1989), 2: chap. 9; John Horne, *Labour at War: France and Britain, 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1991), 107-13. CGT immigration policy was largely based on a report drawn up by Léon Jouhaux early in 1916 that emphasized union control of immigrants over their exclusion. See Jouhaux in *La bataille syndicaliste* (September 22, 1916): 1.

<sup>51</sup> AN 94 AP 135, letter of September 23, 1916. On the attitude of the CGT to the question of foreign labor during the war, see Cross, *Immigrant Workers*, chap. 1; Horne, "Immigrant Workers," 83-84. In July 1917, partly to allay the concerns of French unions about immigrant workers, the French government created the CIMO, the Interministerial Conference on Labor, to bring together government, employer, and union representatives in discussions of concerns about labor policies; see the documents in AN F 14 11334.

<sup>52</sup> *La bataille syndicaliste* (May 3, 1916): 1; (April 29, 1917): 1; (August 5, 1917): 1; (August 15, 1917): 1; (September 1, 1917): 2; (September 26, 1917): 2; (November 19, 1917): 3; (November 22, 1917): 2; (November 24, 1917): 1; (January 13, 1918): 1. The Belgians, frequent targets of pre-war hostility, were now portrayed as refugees from German oppression who deserved the support of French patriots.

<sup>53</sup> *La bataille syndicaliste* (December 22, 1916): 1.

<sup>54</sup> Léon Jouhaux, "L'emploi de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère: A propos des travailleurs chinois," *La bataille syndicaliste* (November 18, 1916): 1. Such fears of the disappearance of the French race as a result of the war once more linked discussions about colonial workers to questions of natalism. See Ruth Harris, "The Child of the Barbarian: Rape, Race and Nationalism in France during the First World War," *Past and Present* 141 (November 1993): 170-207. On the broader issue of natalism in

In the article, Jouhaux played on France's wartime peril to racialize the discussion of Chinese labor. He also used the presence of an alien people to set forth the concept of the French as a race, treating the Chinese as the classic Other on whom the construction of whiteness depended. Colonial workers thus linked hands with the Germans as a threat to France. Far from contributing to the struggle against Germany, they represented another way of achieving its objectives.

Given this kind of perspective, it is not surprising that the CGT's rank and file felt little inclination to welcome colonial workers into their midst. Delegates to union meetings frequently and loudly voiced anger against foreign and colonial workers during the war.<sup>55</sup> Opposition to European immigrants did not disappear; for example, in 1917, the Paris café workers' union engaged in a series of protests against the use of Spanish labor.<sup>56</sup> In spite of the arguments of union leaders, however, nonwhite laborers bore the brunt of this hostility; I have come across no records of physical attacks on European immigrants by French workers during the war. Whereas French workers sometimes took part in strikes along with European immigrants, especially Italians, colonial workers were left to their own devices. French unions made no appreciable attempts to broaden their conception of the working class to include these strangers from a distant shore. When the widespread hostility against colonial laborers degenerated into violence in 1917, their refusal to deal with the issue helped contribute to an explosive situation.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO IMPORT large numbers of non-European workers early in 1916, but serious conflicts between them and the local population did not occur until a year later. The spring of 1917, a time of crises and the low point of the French war effort, ushered in a series of racial incidents, ranging from brawls between individuals to riots involving hundreds of people. These continued through the summer months, declining in number after September but surfacing again at times in 1918. One report on Parisian attitudes toward foreign workers clearly noted the change of mood in the early months of 1917.

During the month of March no problems have come to my attention. The population observes the native workers with a kind, even benevolent, gaze.

During April one observes a change in mood, due perhaps to certain newspaper articles.<sup>57</sup> The crowd loses little by little its benevolent disposition; jeers become numerous and sometimes bitter.

Rumors circulate among the population of the working-class neighborhoods; in certain circles it is said that the North Africans are really soldiers stationed in Paris primarily to suppress any insurrectional movements that might erupt.

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wartime and postwar France, see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994).

<sup>55</sup> Favre, "Un milieu porteur," 2: 508–23; Robert, "Ouvriers," 2: 390–419; Vidalenc, "La main d'oeuvre étrangère," 540; AN F 14 11334, report of July 7, 1917; SH 6 N 149, letter of January 29, 1918.

<sup>56</sup> *Humanité* (July 19, 1917): 4.

<sup>57</sup> For example, on March 16, 1917, the right-wing newspaper *Le figaro* printed an article entitled "L'action kabyle," which lampooned Kabyle street sweepers for lounging around gawking at the sights of Paris rather than doing their jobs. Interestingly, on the very next page (p. 3) of the same issue, an article appeared praising the courage of Moroccan soldiers on the French front lines.

Finally violent incidents start to appear from the beginning of May on.<sup>58</sup>

Racial violence constituted an extreme expression of much more widely held prejudices against colonial workers. The public officials and employers who worked with them frequently portrayed colonials as inefficient, unskilled workers who also suffered from laziness and a propensity to the vices of gambling and drink. More significantly, many French civilians viewed them with suspicion. Louise Delétang, a Parisian seamstress, recorded in her diary an encounter with a Moroccan in the street. Delétang noted his "rough" appearance and the fact that he was accompanied by French street toughs; she gave thanks that an upright French policeman was there to save her from him.<sup>59</sup> In a January 1918 report subtitled "Kabyle Manners," a Parisian police spy noted,

These people are the terror of the neighborhood where they are housed. They provoke fights with the French and do not hesitate to resort to knives. Last week, several women working the night shift at CITROEN, quai de Javel, were attacked around 9 PM by Kabyles. A petition will be circulated in the factory to demand action against these attacks. It would be better if the Kabyles did not live in the Paris area and were housed in barracks. Their own manners and actions would justify such a measure.<sup>60</sup>

For some French soldiers, the colonial worker symbolized the ability of foreigners to enjoy the fruits of civilian life while the French risked their lives for France, in spite of the fact that colonials also served in the army and died at the front. Even though colonial subjects were almost always victims, not perpetrators, of racial violence, many in France considered them unsavory foreigners who caused trouble for innocent French men and especially innocent French women.

Most of the racial violence during the spring and summer of 1917 was brief and small in scale, usually conflicts between a few individuals. Reports of such violence are scattered and incomplete, often incidents alluded to in letters written by colonial workers and soldiers or mentioned in official reports.<sup>61</sup> Attacks on

<sup>58</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of June 19, 1917.

<sup>59</sup> Delétang, *Journal d'une ouvrière Parisienne pendant la guerre*, 50. The Moroccan never spoke to her or threatened her in any way.

<sup>60</sup> Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, B/a 1587, "Physiognomie de Paris: Kabyle Manners," report of January 8, 1918, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Thanks to the wartime practice of censorship and the desire to monitor the feelings of this new labor force, French archives contain detailed reports on the letters written by colonial workers to friends and relatives, including hundreds of copies of the letters themselves. These letters constitute an extremely valuable source, a rare example of testimony by people at the bottom of French society. Yet they are by no means the direct, unmediated voice of these individuals, and thus must be approached carefully. The censors had their own agendas, often choosing to emphasize examples of defeatist speech or sexual relations with French women, and their selection of specific letters for reproduction reflects both these perspectives as well as a real effort to understand colonial workers' state of mind. Many of the authors of these letters were illiterate, and the scribes who wrote their missives certainly must have altered their contents at times. Finally, the authors were aware that French authorities read their mail, and composed their messages with this in mind. One censor noted that letters written by Tunisian workers in French expressed contentment, whereas those written in Arabic were full of complaints. SH 7 N 1001, report of May 1917. Rather than dismissing the importance of these letters for such reasons, however, I would argue that the historian can use them as a way of analyzing relations of knowledge and power between colonial workers, the foremen who often served as scribes, French authorities, and the French public in general. On the history of the military censorship commissions, see the documents in SH 7 N 949, 7 N 995; G. Liens, "La Commission de censure et la Commission de contrôle postal à Marseilles, pendant la première guerre mondiale," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (October–December 1971): 649–67.

non-Europeans by French men, both soldiers on leave and civilians, constituted the general pattern.<sup>62</sup> At times, a provocative gesture of some sort would trigger an attack, but more often than not incidents of racial assault were unprovoked by the victim. The level of violence ranged from verbal insults to beatings to, all too often, mortal wounds with knives and guns. While reliable statistics do not exist, it seems clear that racial violence claimed the lives of at least twenty individuals, both foreign and French, during the third year of the war.<sup>63</sup>

A typical incident occurred in the Norman town of Dives-sur-Mer. On the evening of June 22, 1917, two Moroccans were returning home from work when they were suddenly attacked from behind by four French construction workers. The assailants knocked one of the Moroccans to the ground, kicked him in the shoulder and the chest, then struck the other in the face with a bottle. Hearing the noise of the fight, about thirty Moroccans from the same work regiment came running up, and only quick intervention by their French commander forestalled the outbreak of a pitched battle. As the commander commented in his report, "All the observers of the incident affirmed that the attack committed by the French workers against the Moroccan workers of my group had profoundly revolted them, since the aggressors had in no way been provoked."<sup>64</sup> A similar but more tragic series of attacks took place the same month in Versailles. On June 3, two French soldiers on leave and one civilian, all of whom had a history of racial assaults, attacked Moroccan workers in three separate incidents.<sup>65</sup> After unsuccessfully chasing one individual who refused to buy them wine, the group accosted Hamidi ben Allal ben Omar in a restaurant, and one of the soldiers stabbed him in the forehead. Brandishing the bloody knife above his head, the enraged soldier then shouted, "this is how we will cut their throats!" The three attackers lost no time in making good on this promise. Later that evening, they attacked another Moroccan, Allal ben Hossaine ben Mohamed, beating him and stabbing him to death.<sup>66</sup> As these incidents indicate,

<sup>62</sup> Conflicts between French and nonwhite individuals did not constitute the only kind of racial violence to take place in France during the Great War. There were also several incidents of fighting between different groups of nonwhite workers and soldiers. For example, a battle between Senegalese soldiers and Indochinese workers in Saint-Médard resulted in the death of one of the latter, as well as wounding several on both sides. ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of Agent Massebeuf to the Minister of War, Saint-Médard, July 26, 1917. Also see AN F 14 11334, report of June 9, 1917; SH 6 N 19, letter from Minister of War to Minister of Foreign Affairs (n.d.); SH 7 N 997, reports of July–August, August, and November 1917. A very different series of conflicts involved fights between white American military personnel and nonwhites, usually French colonial soldiers. In contrast to the racial violence discussed in this article, in these incidents French civilians at times intervened against the Americans in favor of French nonwhites. See Barbeau and Henri, *Unknown Soldiers*; Addie W. Hunton and Kathryn M. Johnson, *Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces* (New York, 1920); Louis Chevalier, *Montmartre du plaisir et du crime* (Paris, 1980), 323. Whereas conflict between colonial workers seems to have followed the general chronological pattern of French/colonial violence, fights with Americans took place mostly at the end of the war and during 1919.

<sup>63</sup> A good overview of this racial violence is provided by Minister of the Interior to Minister of Colonies, July 10, 1917, ANSOM, DSM, carton 5.

<sup>64</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of June 23, 1917, noting that the four Frenchmen had committed a similar assault on Moroccan workers a few weeks previously.

<sup>65</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of June 5, 1917. One of the two soldiers had lost a leg in the war and was equipped with a wooden leg and crutches, which he used to beat his victims that night.

<sup>66</sup> See reports on similar incidents in Le Mans (report of June 24, 1917), Bourg (report of May 3, 1918), and Rochefort (undated telegram). The latter document described the incident as "provoked by civilian workers and one soldier in a state of drunkenness. They wounded three Moroccans, one seriously, with bottles . . . the Moroccans in no way provoked this incident."

racial violence was often the work of a few individuals, and in fact many if not most French citizens strongly disapproved of their actions. Yet the violence took place in an overall context of hostility to colonial workers and, as such, represented the most extreme example of the reaction against them.

In a report to the War Ministry, the commander of North African workers in Paris recorded fourteen cases of racial assault in the French capital over six weeks during May and June 1917.<sup>67</sup> Most involved attacks by French soldiers and/or civilians on North Africans working in the streets of the city. The most significant example of the presence of colonial workers in Paris was the municipality's use of North Africans, especially Kabyles from Algeria, to clean its streets. The figure of the Arab street sweeper that would symbolize immigration in France after 1945 thus appeared for the first time during World War I and in 1917 became a convenient target for public hostility.<sup>68</sup> On May 31, Mena Brahim ben Sliman was peacefully cleaning the boulevard Macdonald in the city's 19th arrondissement when a French soldier suddenly stabbed him, fortunately only tearing his coat. On May 5, Rabah ben Ali Charbi was returning to his barracks from the movies when a dozen individuals surrounded him, robbing him, stabbing and beating him to the ground. Although these assaults took place primarily in working-class neighborhoods like the 19th and 15th arrondissements, they also occurred in more central areas, including the Palais Royal and the Latin Quarter. Seven were perpetrated by soldiers, seven by civilians.<sup>69</sup>

North Africans accounted for roughly 60 percent of the non-European workers in France, and they seem to have been the most frequent targets of racial violence in 1917 and 1918. However, other groups were not immune. In an August 1917 letter, an Indochinese worker named Cang Xuong described two separate conflicts with the French.

The other day, on returning from Renée's, I met a gang of French hoodlums who attacked me. I submitted to their blows and afterwards continued on my way.

Last Saturday, sergeants Sung and . . . [unknown] got into a fight with the French in the Café de la Fouquette. After receiving a few light blows, our sergeants took to their heels . . .

Here, relations between the French civilians and the Annamites are very poor.<sup>70</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1917, the large gunpowder factory at Saint-Médard near Toulouse, which employed roughly 5,000 Indochinese workers out of

<sup>67</sup> In addition to these, a report from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Colonies alludes to a riot in the Parisian neighborhood of La Villette between North African workers and French soldiers and civilians. ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, June 24, 1917. Another report, July 2, 1917, suggests that anti-North African violence in Paris may have resulted in a few deaths but gives no details.

<sup>68</sup> The presence of these workers provoked several discussions in the Paris City Council, frequently hostile. One such debate not only included a resolution from the Street Cleaners Union attacking North African labor but also used the derogatory term for Arab, "sidi"; on this occasion, the council drafted an appeal to the prefect of the Seine to recruit more French workers as street cleaners. *Conseil Municipal de Paris—Procès-verbaux, 1917*, November 30, 1917, no. 55.

<sup>69</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of June 19, 1917. A report from the Ministry of Colonies to the Ministry of War noted that, given popular hostility to North Africans, "it seems that it would make sense to utilize elsewhere, if possible, the Kabyle workers employed in the streets of Paris, whose presence in the capital has given rise on several occasions to regrettable incidents that could have had the gravest consequences." ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, July 26, 1917.

<sup>70</sup> SH 7 N 997, "Extraits de lettres adressées en Indochine," August 1917.



a total labor force of 16,000, witnessed numerous racial conflicts.<sup>71</sup> Several occurred between French and Malagasy workers in Toulouse at the end of January 1918. A fight on the 27th of that month seems to have assumed the proportions of a street battle: "gunshots were fired by the Europeans while the Malagasy defended themselves with sticks or attacked by throwing stones. There were several wounded, men and women, and perhaps even some dead. A bar next to the [Malagasy] encampment was literally torn apart."<sup>72</sup> A telegram of September 1918 noted that one Chinese worker had been killed and several injured in a riot near Troyes, and other reports noted the poor relations between the Chinese and French soldiers and civilians.<sup>73</sup>

Although assaults by the French on non-Europeans were the dominant pattern of racial violence in wartime France, exceptions to this general rule did occur. Sometimes, colonial workers fought back or even initiated the conflicts. In August 1918, several Vietnamese workers lay siege to the house of a French man who had beaten one of their fellow workers. The Indochinese completely destroyed the house, killing or critically wounding at least three of its inhabitants, while four of their number were wounded by gunfire from the French defenders.<sup>74</sup> In January 1918, a disagreement between a Chinese dockworker and his French superior in Rouen erupted into a full-scale battle between Chinese and French longshoremen. At one point, about seventy Chinese stormed the police station, where the unfortunate French officer had taken refuge, and were about to throw him into the Seine when police intervened to restore order. In commenting on the incident, the commander of the Chinese work battalion noted that his charges had been provoked by "the shouts of the civilians, mostly dockworkers, people of uncertain reputation whose opinions of Chinese workers are well known. They are convinced that the Chinese have come to France to take their jobs, thereby preventing them from earning a living."<sup>75</sup>

As these two examples demonstrate, individual instances of racial conflict could and sometimes did escalate into collective violence. Although much fewer in number, several race riots occurred during 1917. One broke out in the Breton port of Brest on the night of August 4, 1917. The Brest barracks for colonial workers, primarily Kabyles and Arabs, were located next to a large flea market, a haunt for French hoodlums and prostitutes, much frequented by the workers housed next door.<sup>76</sup> At 11:15 PM, about twenty colonial workers were attacked in the flea

<sup>71</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, reports of July 31, August 1, August 10, August 25, and September 4, 1917; SH 7 N 997, report of August 1917. On the Indochinese workers at Saint-Médard, see Favre, "Un milieu porteur," vol. 2. The largest concentration of Indochinese workers was located at the huge state arsenal in Toulouse, where they numbered over 9,000 out of a total number of 32,000 people employed there.

<sup>72</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8: "Contrôle Postal Malgache," report of February, 1918.

<sup>73</sup> SH 17 N 156, telegram of September 9, 1918; letter of May 12, 1918; letter of October 20, 1918; AN F 14 11331, reports of February 1, 1918, March 1, 1918, December 11, 1918, April 24, 1919; AN 94 AP 135, report of August 16, 1916; AN F 7 13619, report of November 20, 1918.

<sup>74</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8: "Contrôle Postal Indochinois," August 1918. In response, French authorities confined the Indochinese who took part in the attack to their barracks for three months.

<sup>75</sup> AN F 14 11331, "Rapport de l'ingénieur," Rouen, January 25, 1918; see also the letter from the Ministry of Public Works, February 8, 1918.

<sup>76</sup> French reports on colonial workers are full of warnings about the danger of allowing them to

market by a large number of French civilians, who forced them to flee and in the process destroyed many of the local merchants' stalls. As the fighting moved toward the workers' barracks, many of those inside poured out to join the battle, demolishing a wooden wall to arm themselves with planks. The local police, finding themselves quickly overwhelmed, telephoned for reinforcements, which soon arrived in the shape of two detachments of soldiers. Led by a sergeant one report described as "in an obviously inebriated state," the soldiers invaded the barracks, bayoneting and firing randomly on the remaining workers there. Unarmed and caught by surprise, the colonials inside had no chance to fight back. As a result, three were killed outright and thirty-four wounded, two of them fatally. In Brest, therefore, a riot between colonial workers and French civilians, initiated by the latter, was transformed into a bloodbath by French soldiers. Investigators of the incident blamed the nervousness and poor leadership of the troops, but their tragic errors in judgment resulted from a more general perspective that assumed nonwhite workers, not those who attacked them, to be the source of trouble.<sup>77</sup>

Although less bloody, the riot that broke out in Dijon on June 19, 1917, involved more people. The violence began in a paradoxically peaceful scene. That evening, five Moroccans were strolling through town listening to the sounds of a mandolin played by one of their number. The music prompted a drunken French sergeant in a nearby café to yell at him to shut up. Not understanding French, the young man continued to play, at which point the officer threw himself upon him, grabbed the mandolin, and stabbed its owner several times. The friends of both men intervened, and soon a large number of French civilians joined in the fighting. After the Moroccans fled, the crowd turned its fury on any others they could find, chasing them through the streets and beating those they caught. At one point, the crowd, estimated at 500 to 1,500 people, surrounded the workers' barracks, threatening to knock down the gates and massacre all the Moroccans inside. The rioters controlled the streets around the barracks for much of the night, only dispersing the next morning. Several Moroccans trapped between the crowd and their barracks took shelter for the night in a military infirmary, where the wounded were also brought for care. No one was killed, although several individuals suffered serious wounds. As one of the colonial workers' commanders commented, "it is intolerable that drunken fanatics can publicly and with impunity attack peaceful workers, solely for playing a mandolin."<sup>78</sup>

The most serious race riot in wartime France took place during the same week of June in Le Havre. The French made widespread use of nonwhite workers in port

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associate with less respectable elements in the society surrounding them. Judging from this and other observations, however, it seems likely that any French person, especially a French woman, who associated with nonwhites was considered amoral and criminal, or at least not respectable. See also ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of July 31, 1917. Laura Tabili has recently made a similar observation with regard to interracial settlements in interwar Britain. See *"We Ask for British Justice,"* 135–60.

<sup>77</sup> AN 94 AP 140, Rennes, telegram of August 6, 1917; ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, Brest, report of August 5, 1917.

<sup>78</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, Dijon, June 20, 1917, reports by Temsil, Benaich; telegram of June 19, 1917. Benaich's report suggests that troubles arose after a drunken French soldier tried to pluck a boutonniere from the jacket of a Moroccan worker.

cities, with large contingents living in Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Cherbourg, and Dunkirk.<sup>79</sup> By the spring of 1917, 1,300 Moroccans were employed on the docks of Le Havre. Unlike in other areas, they had not been regimented but were left to their own devices to find lodgings, usually in the poorest areas of town.<sup>80</sup> The conflict between French and colonial workers for jobs was thus reinforced by competition for scarce wartime housing.<sup>81</sup> On June 17, an exchange of insults between a Moroccan and a Frenchman quickly degenerated into an all-out brawl in the streets, as other French soldiers, civilians, and Moroccans intervened. By the time military and police authorities could stop the fighting, an estimated fifteen people had been killed and many more wounded. In order to protect the Moroccans from the enraged local population, authorities shut two to three hundred of them in a fort for the next three days. Immediately after the riot, the commanders of colonial workers in the area proposed sending the Moroccans back home, but local employers complained that this would leave them without sufficient labor resources. Ultimately, the tragedy led to the imposition of regimentation on colonial workers in the area; as the report on the riot noted, "our Arab colonial subjects are men and deserve to be treated as such . . . It is impossible, however . . . to leave them without benevolent but firm surveillance, both for their safety and our own."<sup>82</sup>

The official reaction to conflicts between colonial workers and the French varied but in general emphasized reestablishing control and preventing further clashes rather than bringing the perpetrators to justice. Military authorities invariably undertook investigations of racial violence, which usually concluded that the colonial workers were the victims of French aggression and often recommended their isolation from the surrounding population. Yet they made few arrests, none at all in the cases of the Brest, Dijon, and Le Havre riots, and no records exist of any judicial proceedings against the rioters. The objects of these attacks knew little of the French legal system and generally had no recourse beyond appealing to their commanders. Given a desire to avoid or downplay any indications of lack of discipline among their subjects, or conflict and disunity among the French population as a whole, the military authorities in charge of colonial labor seem to

<sup>79</sup> This was also true of both the United States and Britain. During the war, French ports were full of men of color from throughout the world unloading Allied ships full of war material. On the British, see Tabili, "We Ask for British Justice," 15–29; Albert Grundlingh, *Fighting Their Own War: South African Blacks and the First World War* (Johannesburg, 1987); P. Wou, *Les travailleurs chinois et la grande guerre* (Paris, 1939). On the employment of African-American laborers on French docks, see Barbeau and Henri, *Unknown Soldiers*; Hunton and Johnson, *Two Colored Women*; Emmett J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War* (Chicago, 1919); Isaac Marcossou, *S.O.S.: America's Miracle in France* (New York, 1919).

<sup>80</sup> The report on the riot emphasizes the exploitation of Moroccan workers by both French landlords and fellow Moroccans, painting a lurid portrait of a naïve population sunk in the iniquities of gambling and prostitution.

<sup>81</sup> On the housing of colonial workers during the war, see AN F 14 11331, reports of September 21, 1917, July 18, 1918; AN 94 AP 135, reports of March 18, March 21, 1916. On the French housing crisis during World War I, see Susanna Magri, *La politique du logement* (Paris, 1972); Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning, 1850–1970* (Montreal, 1971); Henri Sellier, *et al., Paris pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1926); Tyler Stovall, "Sous les toits de Paris: The Working Class and the Paris Housing Crisis, 1914–1924," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 14 (1987): 265–72.

<sup>82</sup> SH 6 N 149, "Rapport sur le fonctionnement du Bureau Annexe des Affaires Indigènes au Havre pendant le 2<sup>ème</sup> semestre 1917"; AN 94 AP 135, message of June 19, 1917; AN F 14 11334, letter of July 2, 1917; Vidalenc, "La main d'oeuvre étrangère," 536.

have done little to punish the instigators of racial violence. This failure to administer justice certainly sent a message to those most hostile to the presence of colonial workers in France that such attacks would be tolerated, or even sanctioned, by public authorities. Moreover, dealing with the problem by segregating colonial workers not only punished the victims of this violence but made them a more convenient and visible target for future assaults.<sup>83</sup>

If the authorities most directly concerned devoted little attention to racial violence, this was much more true of the civilian public sphere. One searches the French press at the time in vain for any mention of such incidents. Even the labor press remained largely silent about the issue and, for that matter, about colonial workers in general. *Humanité*, the official organ of the French Socialist Party, published only a few articles about them in 1917 and none at all in 1918.<sup>84</sup> Only one article actually dealt with racial violence; in an editorial condemning attacks personally observed against Kabyle workers in Paris during June 1917, Pierre Renaudel wrote:

This is all the more difficult to understand given that one cannot say about the Kabyles what has been rumored about the Annamites. The Kabyles are not armed, they are only employed as laborers, their presence should not give rise to any concern. If they are molested, the only excuse is a general hatred "of the foreigner" . . . The result of all this could be that these men, who have come from foreign lands *at the request of France*, let us not forget, since we brought them here for their labor, can report overseas how badly treated they have been by us. We could only lose from such a situation.<sup>85</sup>

Far more eloquent than Renaudel's denunciation of these attacks, however, was its singular quality. French labor, and the French public in general, manifested much more concern about the potential threat posed to France by colonial workers than about the very real attacks on them.<sup>86</sup>

In these incidents of racial violence in France during the war, a few patterns emerge.<sup>87</sup> Virtually all the violence consisted of attacks by French men on male colonial workers. They thus both fit into longstanding traditions of male violence and at the same time represented something new, racial assaults on people of color. French soldiers on leave played a notable role in many of these incidents. For many of these individuals, the presence of numerous exotic foreigners must have symbolized both changes on the home front and the hated *embusqués*, those lazy workers who stayed behind enjoying high wages while the French risked their lives

<sup>83</sup> This could also reflect a certain lack of concern with nonwhites in general. It is interesting to note that, of the few cases in which assailants were arrested, one involved the injured Moroccans themselves rounding up the culprits, whereas the other concerned the arrest of six Moroccans accused of attacking French civilians. ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, reports of June 5, 1917, June 24, 1917.

<sup>84</sup> *Humanité*, May 13, 1917, August 19, 1917, September 17, 1917. *La bataille syndicaliste*, official organ of the CGT, only devoted a little more attention to the issue: April 17, 1916, April 21, 1916, August 27, 1916, November 18, 1916, December 22, 1916, July 14, 1918, November 25, 1918.

<sup>85</sup> *Humanité* (June 23, 1917): 1.

<sup>86</sup> This lack of attention to racial violence undoubtedly reflects the isolation of colonial workers, their control by the military, and the broader impact of wartime censorship.

<sup>87</sup> All reports agree that violence between nonwhites and the French was almost always the fault of the latter. As a report noted in July 1917, "It has been established, almost every time, that the North African or colonial workers had been provoked by the military or civilian French population." ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of July 10, 1917.

in the trenches.<sup>88</sup> The soldiers' conviction that importing colonial labor enabled the government to draft more French men for service at the front lines, so that these foreigners were able to enjoy the pleasures of wartime France while they had to return to the slaughter of the trenches, fueled racist attacks. As Mary Louise Roberts has argued, the war represented a crisis of French masculinity, and attacks on nonwhite laborers represented one dimension of that crisis.<sup>89</sup>

In general, the segregation of colonial workers did not prevent them from suffering racial attacks. The Le Havre riot did provide an example of trouble breaking out when French and nonwhites mixed freely, but in Brest the concentration of North Africans in a military barracks enabled French soldiers to shoot them like fish in a barrel. Only a policy that hermetically sealed off colonial workers and reduced their contact with the local population to zero could have made a difference, and such a policy was simply not feasible.<sup>90</sup> Finally, although both the Dijon and Le Havre riots, as well as several smaller incidents, involved Moroccans, racial assault victimized all groups of colonial workers in wartime France: Indochinese, Chinese, Algerians, Tunisians, and Malagasy.

It is difficult to explain why the Moroccans seem to have been so singularly unlucky. Complaints from civilians against colonial workers did not mention them more than any other group. In fact, more than one report commented on them positively. For example, in 1916, authorities noted, "The workers from Morocco have given full satisfaction . . . [The Moroccan] is robust, sober, hardworking, and thrifty; placed in a good moral environment, directed firmly but without brutality, he will maintain his racial qualities."<sup>91</sup> Although it is possible that they were blamed for anti-French agitation and revolts in North Africa during the war, Morocco was in fact relatively free of armed resistance to colonial rule. In contrast, a major anti-French insurrection broke out in northeastern Algeria in 1916, while smaller revolts occurred in Tunisia in 1915 and 1916. Yet neither Algerians nor Tunisians suffered the level of violence experienced by Moroccans in France.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> On the hatred of French soldiers for shirkers, see Jean Norton Cru, *War Books: A Study in Historical Criticism*, Stanley J. Pincetl, Jr., ed. (San Diego, Calif., 1988); Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War, 1914–1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism during the First World War*, Helen McPhail, trans. (Providence, R.I., 1992); André Ducasse, et al., *Vie et mort des Français, 1914–1918* (1959; rpt. edn., Paris, 1969); Jacques Meyer, *La vie quotidienne des soldats pendant la grande guerre* (Paris, 1966). For a classic statement of the confusion experienced by a French soldier on leave, see the memoir by Louis Barthas: Cazals, *Les carnets*, especially 536–39.

<sup>89</sup> Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*. Such reasoning could, of course, lead a soldier on leave to attack civilians in general, but there is no indication of any significant number of such assaults. I would argue that colonial workers were more likely targets because civilians seemed to hate them as well (many attacks involved soldiers and civilians working together), and because French soldiers rarely if ever had the kind of kinship or affective ties to colonial workers that bound them to French civilians. The soldier's duty was to fight for France, but this idea of "France" did not necessarily include colonial workers.

<sup>90</sup> For one thing, it would have required a level of investment in colonial workers' encampments that the French were simply not prepared to undertake during the war.

<sup>91</sup> AN 94 AP 135, report of August 16, 1916. If any group of nonwhite workers had a notably bad reputation in France, it was certainly the Chinese. French authorities often considered them lazy, obstreperous, and particularly prone to violence. See, for example, AN F 14 11331, report of February 8, 1918; SH 17 N 156, letter of May 12, 1918.

<sup>92</sup> Gilbert Meynier, *L'Algérie révélée: La guerre de 1914–1918 et le premier quart du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, 1981), 565–98; Mohamed-Salah Lejri, *L'histoire du mouvement national*, Vol. 1: *Evolution du mouvement national, des origines à la deuxième guerre mondiale* (Tunis, 1974), 157–63.



A more likely reason for the assaults on Moroccans has to do with the history of Morocco and its role in the French imagination just before 1914. From 1900 to 1912, the gradual French takeover of Morocco produced two international diplomatic crises, making that nation a symbol of Franco-German rivalry and fueling bellicose French nationalism. In 1911, the French took advantage of an uprising against the sultan of Morocco to launch a full-scale military invasion of that country, capturing the capital city of Fez and declaring a protectorate the next year. This colonial war continued until the end of 1914, giving the French control of much of the country, until the demands of war in Europe led France to suspend operations there. The war, widely covered in the French popular press, gave Moroccans the image of warlike savages fighting the French, rather than loyal colonial subjects, and may have contributed to attacks against them during World War I. Moreover, the issue of loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, German ally and nominal suzerain of Morocco before the French conquest, also may have contributed to attacks on Moroccan workers.<sup>93</sup>

By far, the dominant pattern of racial violence lay in its timing. Most of these incidents took place in the summer of 1917, with further examples in the rest of the year and in 1918. It thus closely corresponded to the crisis of morale and the rise of war weariness in France. Moreover, most of these incidents involved French workers, a group whose patience with France's war effort was clearly being strained by the spring of 1917. It is therefore impossible to analyze the wave of racial assaults in France without placing it in the context of the working-class insurgency that shattered the wartime *union sacrée* and unleashed a wave of radicalism culminating in the general strike of 1920 and the foundation of the French Communist Party.<sup>94</sup> Thus the final section of this article will focus on the ways in which working-class militancy during World War I helped shape the climate of racial conflict.

THE INITIAL REACTIONS OF FRENCH WORKING PEOPLE to the new nonwhite population in their midst were not necessarily hostile. French authorities concerned with

<sup>93</sup> John P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Origins and Rise of Moroccan Nationalism, 1912–1944* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 3–40; Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (New York, 1982). During the war, German agents actively spread pro-Islamic and Ottoman propaganda throughout colonial North Africa, depicting Germany as the ally of the Arab world against the infidel French. In 1916, Germany created a Committee for the Independence of North Africa, based in Berlin, and also supported the anti-French propaganda of the Young Tunisians in Switzerland. Meynier, "La France coloniale de 1914 à 1931," 86.

<sup>94</sup> On the history of French labor during World War I, see above all Robert, "Ouvriers." See also Robert, "La CGT et la famille ouvrière, 1914–1918"; Fridenson, *French Home Front*; Patrick Fridenson, "The Impact of the First World War on French Workers," in Wall and Winter, *Upheaval of War*; Max Gallo, "Quelques aspects de la mentalité et du comportement ouvriers dans les usines de guerre, 1914–1918," *Le mouvement social* 56 (July–September 1966): 3–33; Horne, *Labour at War*; Albert Rosmer, *Le mouvement ouvrier pendant la première guerre mondiale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936, 1959); Annie Kriegel, *Aux origines du communisme français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964); Kriegel and Jean-Jacques Becker, *1914: La guerre et le mouvement ouvrier français* (Paris, 1964); Gilbert Hatry, *Renault usine de guerre 1914–1918* (Paris, 1978). For a more general view of working-class radicalism at the end of the war, see Charles Bernard, ed., *Situations révolutionnaires en Europe, 1917–1922 = Revolutionary Situations in Europe, 1917–1922* (Montreal, 1977); James E. Cronin, "Labor Insurgency and Class Formation: Comparative Perspectives on the Crisis of 1917–1920 in Europe," in Cronin and Carmen Sirianni, eds., *Work, Community and Power: The Experience of Labor in Europe and America, 1900–1915* (Philadelphia, 1983).

colonial labor generally noted acceptance or indifference to their charges in 1916.<sup>95</sup> A September 1916 article in *Humanité* on war industries in Bourges commented on “the foreign and colonial invasion” of the city in favorable terms:

One encounters, on their way to the factory, numerous stocky Serbs, Kabyles, Moroccans wearing strange clothing and religiously carrying their *chechias*. Italians follow a group of Annamites, small but well built. If blacks are not yet employed here, one sees on the other hand solid Portuguese workers. I imagine that, were Caesar to return to *Avaricum*, he would have trouble recognizing his legions in this new Babylon.

But what does the native population think of this veritable foreign and colonial invasion? I have asked many people and must say that the population is only grateful for these cosmopolitan workers.<sup>96</sup>

In April 1917, just as attitudes toward colonial workers were beginning to harden, a Tunisian stationed in Paris named Ahmed ben Haya wrote, “The people here honor foreigners; we do not encounter injustice in this land but only justice and freedom. These people love us more than our own parents.”<sup>97</sup>

Yet such relatively positive observations paled in comparison with the flood of indications of racial hostility and violence, by both French officials and colonial workers themselves, beginning in the spring of 1917. The early months of that year represented the low point of French morale during the war. Not only did mutinies break out in the French army,<sup>98</sup> but a series of strikes erupted in factories across the country, renewing the tradition of labor militancy in France that had abruptly ceased at the start of the war. The strike wave started among women dressmakers in Paris during April and May of 1917, spreading from the capital to munitions plants throughout the country. After dying down somewhat, but not completely, during the fall and winter, strikes returned, larger and more militant than ever in the spring of 1918, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. To a large extent spurred by inflation and the consequent decline in real wages, strikes in France during World War I gradually took on a certain antiwar, even revolutionary, dimension, especially those of May 1918. The crises of industrial discipline spilled over into French politics as well, as the French Socialists came out formally against the war at their July 1918 national congress. After long years of supporting the war effort, by the summer of its final year many French workers had clearly begun to tire of government policies that seemed to place the burden of the conflict disproportionately on working-class shoulders while enriching munitions makers and war profiteers.<sup>99</sup>

Attacks on colonial workers in France took place in this context; archival and newspaper sources do not indicate a single instance of wartime racial violence

<sup>95</sup> AN 94 AP 135, report of August 16, 1916; ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of August 27, 1916.

<sup>96</sup> *Humanité* (September 4, 1916): 1.

<sup>97</sup> SH 7 N 1001, letter from Ahmed ben Haya, April 1917. See also ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of May 28, 1917; and ANSOM, SLOTFOM, carton 8, report of February 1918, for instances of cooperation between French and colonial workers in 1917 and 1918.

<sup>98</sup> Guy Pedroncini, *Les mutineries de 1917* (Paris, 1967); Leonard V. Smith, *Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the French Fifth Infantry Division during World War I* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

<sup>99</sup> On the strike wave of 1917–1918, see, in addition to works cited above, Kathryn E. Amdur, *Syndicalist Legacy: Trade Unions and Politics in Two French Cities in the Era of World War I* (Urbana, Ill., 1986), 56–107; Downs, “Women’s Strikes.”

before the spring of 1917. Nonwhites had only come to France with the outbreak of war and thus constituted a highly visible symbol of the conflict. French workers did not attack their colonial counterparts simply because they hated war, however. In explaining the reasons for outbursts of racial violence, historians have frequently pointed to fears of economic and sexual competition, and both kinds of tension certainly played a role in France during 1917 and 1918. Racial antagonisms were frequently expressed in terms of the belief that colonial workers had come to France to take French jobs. Dockworkers in particular often argued that foreign and especially nonwhite labor threatened their economic survival. The same month the riot broke out in Le Havre, for example, the local dockworkers' union noted that it had been complaining about the "excessive" use of Belgian and Moroccan labor in the port since 1915, and claimed that 1,400 French dockworkers lacked jobs.<sup>100</sup> In general, fears of displacement, rather than actual job shortages, helped motivate hostility to colonial labor. It is interesting to note that complaints about colonial workers by French labor emphasized these concerns about job loss much more than the problem of the lowering of wage levels, for example, even though there was far more evidence for the latter than the former. In part, the idea of foreign labor, especially nonwhite foreign labor, threatening French jobs was already well established before the war, and wartime hostility was simply grafted onto previous stereotypes. At the same time, most people in France recognized that the war was temporary; they feared that even if there was enough work for all while it lasted, this would not be true once the soldiers came home. Such anxieties about economic competition appeared frequently in government reports on relations between French and non-European workers.<sup>101</sup>

Sexual competition also lay behind racial violence. Colonial workers who went out in public in the company of French women sometimes found themselves attacked by French men, both soldiers and civilians. In commenting on the January 1918 riot in Toulouse, a Malagasy worker named Emmanuel Rasafimanjary described how he and a friend beat up three Frenchmen who called them "dirty niggers" after seeing them walking with French women; Rasafimanjary added that "such incidents are frequent, French men being very jealous of the favors women show the Malagasy."<sup>102</sup> A report from Saint-Médard concerning assaults on Indochinese laborers by French soldiers noted, "Jealousy concerning women is usually the cause of these aggressions."<sup>103</sup> In contrast to the myths that portrayed France as a land where love recognized no boundaries, both French officials and

<sup>100</sup> AN F 14 11334, Senator Henry Berenger to the Minister of Labor, July 2, 1917. See also a similar protest by the docker's union of Dunkirk, letter of June 3, 1917.

<sup>101</sup> For example, "the opposition of French workers to the employment of [foreign and colonial] labor arises from two motives: wage differences between citizens and immigrants, and racial prejudice. The Interministerial Conference has always, in the contracts it has provided for immigrant workers, provided for equal wages with French workers, thus eliminating this first reason for opposition." AN F 14 11334, report of June 9, 1917. As I have tried to demonstrate, this was certainly not true. See also AN F 14 11334, report of July 7, 1917; AN F 14 11332, letter of December 5, 1919; AN F 7 13619, reports of August 25, 1918, November 20, 1918; SH 6 N 149, letter of January 29, 1918. In February 1918, a censor in Bourges noted that several letters accused foreign workers of contributing to wartime inflation in France by their large numbers. ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8, "Contrôle Postal Indochinois," report of February 1918.

<sup>102</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8: "Contrôle Postal Malgache," report of February 1918, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of May 28, 1917.

ordinary French men frequently made their dislike of interracial relationships clear during the war years. French authorities strongly disapproved of these interracial love affairs and pressured colonial workers to abstain from them, threatening them with prison terms; there was in fact a legal ban on marriages between French women and Chinese men. Of particular concern to the authorities was the interest displayed by many nonwhites in pornographic postcards featuring nude French women: censors prepared detailed statistical analyses of the flow of such materials to North Africa and Indochina. The postcards were especially disturbing because they threatened to undermine established racial and sexual hierarchies in the empire, giving its inhabitants a radically new image of white women. As one censor observed about Indochinese workers, "their private conduct, such that we would prefer in order to leave the prestige of the European woman in Indochina intact, leaves more and more to be desired."<sup>104</sup>

Whereas such tensions existed before the spring of 1917, they only produced racial violence in the last year and a half of the war. Colonial labor's role in the great strikes of 1917 and 1918 reinforced its position as a symbol of war in the eyes of many French workers, thus prompting violence against them. One key issue was the numerous rumors about colonial troops, especially Senegalese and Indochinese, firing on striking French workers. In June 1917, for example, one such rumor claimed that Vietnamese soldiers had shot women strikers in Paris after French soldiers had refused to.<sup>105</sup> Though never proven, the report was accepted by many and helped lead to new assaults against Indochinese workers in Bourges, Saint-Médard, and Toulouse.<sup>106</sup> Another rumor alleged that African soldiers had killed thirty demonstrators during a demonstration in Saint-Etienne. The revival of working-class activism in 1917 revived memories of the time a decade earlier when the French government had used troops to break strikes, memories reinforced by the return of Georges "Strikebreaker" Clemenceau to power in November. As a June 1917 report noted, "People interested in sowing trouble in our ranks have been saying that the Annamites were sent to France in order to shoot upon 'the People,' and that in Paris strikes have been suppressed by Annamite contingents."<sup>107</sup>

The belief that colonial workers worked as strikebreakers had perhaps more importance and certainly more validity. Indochinese laborers were used to break strikes at war plants in Angoulême, Bergerac, and Saint-Médard in June 1917. Colonial workers came from nations without functioning unions and had virtually

<sup>104</sup> See the October 1917 report "Moralité, liaisons, projets de mariage," SH 7 N 997.

<sup>105</sup> This image of men of color shooting white women, while white men refused, fits into colonialist stereotypes of colonized men as both unmanly and as brutish violators of women. On constructions of masculinity in the colonial context, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995).

<sup>106</sup> Favre, "Un milieu porteur," 2: 508–23. It is interesting that such rumors provoked attacks against colonial workers, not soldiers. The fact that soldiers were frequently armed and therefore a formidable target is of course one possibility. More significantly, whereas the general impression of colonial soldiers was positive, seen as defenders of France against the Germans, that of colonial workers was overwhelmingly negative; rumors of the former shooting strikers did not undo this basic dichotomy.

<sup>107</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, reports of June 20, 1917, June 14, 1917; ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, reports of June 19, 1917, July 10, 1917. In an article on the subject, a Paul Adam commented that "soldiers are writing in their letters that the Annamites are massacring their women and children in Paris." Cited in *Humanité*, September 17, 1917.

no experience with labor solidarity. Their isolation from French workers (language barriers at times preventing even the most elementary communication) meant that they knew little of French unions or the reasons for the dissatisfaction of French workers. Consequently, when French workers struck, their colonial colleagues simply went to work as usual. Yet colonial workers frequently staged their own strikes about work conditions, food, and other issues. The Chinese were particularly noted for this. During July 1917, for example, 1,100 Chinese workers went on strike at a factory in Unieux and were immediately fired and deported.<sup>108</sup> The greater level of repression faced by colonial workers, who found themselves in a foreign country and closely controlled by the military, must be considered in explaining their willingness to work during French strikes when ordered to.

In this case as in so many others, therefore, the policy of isolating colonial workers served to transplant another key characteristic of colonial life, the absence of established labor unions and interracial working-class coalitions, to the metro pole. A report from Saint-Médard praised Indochinese workers at the munitions factory for their “ardor for work” and their “resolute attitude” in face of a strike that ostensibly did not concern them at all.<sup>109</sup> As another report from Saint-Médard noted a month later, “French workers, a large number of whom have just left for other destinations, hate the Annamites, and one has felt this hatred, which has made cooperation impossible, since the strike, when the demonstrators wanted the natives to make demands like themselves.”<sup>110</sup> The refusal of colonial workers to go on strike with French unions confirmed for many French laborers the idea that their presence in France lowered wages and in general weakened the position of French workers on the job.<sup>111</sup>

In addition, many French workers suspected that the government used colonial labor to free up more French men for military service. In July 1917, the Ministry of the Interior remarked, “the wives of mobilized men believe that if the colonials had not come to France, their husbands would be working in the factories.” This conviction was powerfully reinforced by the Mourier law of August 1917, which sought to provide more (desperately needed) military manpower by drafting skilled workers from the war plants. The law not only deepened the hostility of striking workers to the *union sacrée* but also further underscored the distinction between them and colonial labor. Having been hired under contract to serve in farms and factories, colonial workers were exempt from conscription in spite of their status as French subjects (except for the Chinese). For many French workers, therefore, they came to symbolize the hated *embusqué*, the shirker who stayed behind in the safety

<sup>108</sup> Favre, “Un milieu porteur,” 2: 520–23; AN 94 AP 140, reports of July 5, 1917, July 17, 1917, September 5, 1917; SH 17 N 157, letter of March 2, 1918.

<sup>109</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of July 1, 1917. This report raises the intriguing possibility that the refusal of colonial workers to go on strike may have bolstered their reputation among French soldiers, who often viewed the strikes with deep hostility. However, at the same time, it notes that attacks on Indochinese workers by French soldiers seemed to be continuing.

<sup>110</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 10, carton 2, report of August 25, 1917.

<sup>111</sup> The idea of a dominant sector of the working class viewing a subordinate one as unfair and cheap competition is one of the key themes of split labor market theory. See Bonacich, “Advanced Capitalism.”



of the war plants taking the jobs of those forced to risk their lives in battle.<sup>112</sup> Colonial workers were well aware of this attitude; in a July 1917 letter, a Mr. Lestang, a worker from Tonkin at the munitions factory in Tarbes, noted, "The animosity manifested against the Annamites arises especially . . . from the fact that many French soldiers have been replaced in the factories by colonial workers."<sup>113</sup>

The relationship between women and colonial workers in wartime France further emphasizes the close connection between labor militancy and racial violence. While the two groups had much in common, the strikes of 1917 and 1918 graphically revealed the differences between them. Striking women often appealed to colonial workers in their factories to join their protests but almost always failed to win them over.<sup>114</sup> In consequence, like French men, some women workers came to view nonwhites primarily as strikebreakers and enemies of the people, and they reacted accordingly. Several of the attacks on North Africans in Paris during the spring of 1917 involved women strikers. One gardener watering a lawn found himself accosted by several women who asked him to stop work and join them; when he refused, they called him a "dirty Sidi come to France to eat the bread of French workers," and struck him in the face. He escaped by turning his hose on them, holding them at bay until two policemen came to his rescue. In another incident, a group of North Africans was surrounded by women strikers who called them "weaklings" and "shirkers."<sup>115</sup> Generally, racial violence in wartime France was almost exclusively a male affair; no one was killed or seriously injured in the encounters described above, and the attacks of most French women on colonial workers remained restricted to verbal aggression. It is nonetheless significant that the only instances of female participation in racial assault involved women strikers. The fact that only women directly participating in France's crisis of civilian morale became involved in racial violence underscores the link between the two phenomena. For women on strike, attacks on colonial workers represented another aspect of their commitment to militant activism.

While certainly not supporting racial violence, French unions did little to

<sup>112</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, Paris, July 10, 1917. One of the ironies of this viewpoint is that many in French society, especially on the right and in the army, tended to look at *all* men working in the war industries as idle, overpaid *embusqués* whose militant strikes represented the height of arrogance if not actual treason. On the Mourier law, see the writings of John Horne: "Immigrant workers," 85; "L'Impôt du Sang: Republican Rhetoric and Industrial Warfare in France, 1914–1918," *Social History* 14 (May 1989): 201–24.

<sup>113</sup> ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8, "Rapport du Contrôle Postal," July 1917; "Contrôle Postal Indochinois," August 1917; ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, letter of July 10, 1917.

<sup>114</sup> The July 1, 1917, report from Saint-Médard notes, "The working women who tried to hinder them [Indochinese workers] from going to work were forced to cede before their resolute attitude." See also ANSOM, SLOTFOM 1, carton 8, "Contrôle Postal Indochinois," August 1917.

<sup>115</sup> ANSOM, DSM, carton 5, report of June 19, 1917. One of the more interesting phenomena here is the prospect of women in a traditionally male role (workers in heavy industry) insulting colonial workers by in effect calling them women. On one occasion, for example, a Moroccan sweeping the Boulevard Saint-Michel was accused of performing "women's work" by a group of French men and women. Such incidents are related to a broader wartime discourse that characterized colonial workers as feminine. Such gender-bending stereotypes were most frequently applied to the Indochinese. One report called them "mild and submissive," while another emphasized their aptitude for work requiring dexterity rather than physical force. At the same time, some Frenchmen argued that the use of colonial labor was necessary precisely in order to avoid having to use women in the factories. AN 7 N 144, report of February 20, 1916; AN 94 AP 135, report of August 16, 1916; Pierre Hamp, *La France, pays ouvrier* (Paris, 1916).

condemn or restrain workers who took part in them. It is important to note that the attacks on nonwhites in 1917 and 1918, and the strike wave of those years, occurred independently of the CGT leadership and, in fact, represented a challenge to its support of the war effort. Yet both the embattled majority and the surging leftist minority in the CGT took a generally negative view of colonial workers. The perspective of antiwar union activists on colonial labor was especially complex and contradictory.<sup>116</sup> Most rejected xenophobia and believed strongly in working-class internationalism. At the same time, they recognized the strength of French feeling against non-European workers and spoke out against their use as another example of the evils of war and its negative impact on the French working class. In March 1916, for example, leading *minoritaire* Gabriel Péricat decried “the superpatriots who import Kabyles, Moroccans, and Chinese who will work for them without complaint.”<sup>117</sup> Supporters and ostensible leaders of the labor insurgencies of 1917 and 1918, they did nothing to restrain the racial attacks that accompanied them.<sup>118</sup> Itself ill-disposed toward the presence of colonial workers in France, the French labor movement was therefore unwilling and unable to prevent racism and racial violence from becoming one type of working-class anti-establishment discourse at the end of the Great War.

RACIAL VIOLENCE, AND NONWHITE WORKERS IN GENERAL, received relatively little attention from French society during World War I. Yet the phenomenon is significant for several reasons. The wave of racial attacks in 1917 and 1918 casts a new light on the history of working-class insurgency. The war itself brought about a temporary lessening of tensions between French and European immigrant workers. The pre-war violence against Italians was not repeated: the two groups worked together at times in strikes, and French unions commented favorably, or at least neutrally, on their presence in France. However, this was motivated in large part by the arrival of a new group, colonial workers, who assumed the previous position of European immigrants at the bottom of the nation’s socioeconomic hierarchy. As a result, during the war, xenophobia became racialized, and hostile comments about nonwhite workers spoke not just of their economic or sexual threats to French labor but also of racial differences and inferiority.<sup>119</sup> The rise of racial violence as a part of the movement against the *union sacrée* also suggests that a straightforward view of working-class activism in 1917 and 1918 as the revival of progressive politics in France is incomplete. French workers could and did reject national-defense policies for reasons and in ways that had little to do with the perspectives of the antiwar leadership. The anti-colonial subtheme suggests another

<sup>116</sup> On the antiwar and revolutionary minority in the CGT, in addition to works already cited see Maurice Labi, *La grande division des travailleurs, 1914–1921* (Paris, 1964); Nicolas Papayanis, “Collaboration and Pacifism in France during World War I,” *Francia* 5 (1977): 425–51; Roger Picard, *Le mouvement syndical durant la guerre* (Paris, 1927); Colette Chambelland and Jean Maitron, eds., *Syndicalisme révolutionnaire et communisme: Les archives de Pierre Monatte, 1914–1924* (Paris, 1968).

<sup>117</sup> Cited in Robert, “Ouvriers,” 2: 417–18.

<sup>118</sup> Favre, “Un milieu porteur,” 1: 81–85; Robert, “Ouvriers,” 2: 412–19.

<sup>119</sup> For example, in January 1918, the metalworkers union in Bourges complained about its members having to train Indochinese workers, “labor of an inferior race.” SH 6 N 149, letter of January 29, 1918.

perspective, one that sees war weariness as in part racially derived and dedicated to the preservation of white privilege. In this sense, violence against colonial workers strongly resembles the New York draft riots of 1863 in its combination of white working-class protest, opposition to war, and racial hostility.<sup>120</sup>

The widespread antagonism toward colonial workers contrasts sharply with the reception accorded colonial soldiers. Roughly 600,000 soldiers from the empire fought in France during the war. Like colonial workers, they were generally segregated from French civilians and sent home as soon after the war as possible. Yet the reaction of civilians to them was much more positive. In her memoir *Des inconnus chez moi*, the French woman Lucie Cousturier describes how the initial trepidation of her neighbors in a village where black African troops were stationed soon turned to a warm spirit of welcome.<sup>121</sup> (African-American soldiers serving in the U.S. Army reported similar treatment, in contrast to the bigoted attitudes of their own white officers.<sup>122</sup>) Many colonial soldiers viewed their encounters with the French favorably. Kande Kamera, from maritime Guinea in French West Africa, commented on the fair treatment he received in the French army, especially France's willingness to give black officers power over white soldiers.<sup>123</sup> The twenty African war veterans interviewed by Charles John Balesi all insisted on French racial egalitarianism: said one, "Blacks were highly esteemed there; there was no question of race."<sup>124</sup>

The striking difference between attitudes to colonial workers and colonial soldiers underscores the contextual nature of racism, and especially racial violence, in wartime France. In the years before 1914, a debate had raged in France over whether or not the nation, with its revolutionary tradition of a citizen army, should use colonial subjects as soldiers. The forces in favor, led by General Mangin, had carried the day, and the war itself was largely seen as proof that they had been right.<sup>125</sup> The use of colonial soldiers was highly popular in wartime France; they were seen as a way of counterbalancing Germany's larger population and, in fact, as a primary justification for the empire in general. Given France's loss of over a million soldiers by 1917, *anyone* who came to fight the Germans would most likely have been very welcome. Colonial workers, in contrast, were seen not only as competitors for French jobs and French women but also as a substitute labor force that permitted the government to send more French men to battle. Indeed, one of the most common complaints addressed against all foreigners, both European and

<sup>120</sup> See Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance in American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1990); Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington, Ky., 1974); James McCague, *The Second Rebellion: The Story of the New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (New York, 1968).

<sup>121</sup> Lucie Cousturier, *Des inconnus chez moi* (Paris, 1920).

<sup>122</sup> As one black soldier commented in a letter to his mother, "These French people don't bother with no color line business. They treat us so good that the only time I ever know I'm colored is when I look in the glass"; cited in W. Allison Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War* (Chicago, 1919), 195. Such reports helped foster the myth of color-blind France after the war.

<sup>123</sup> Lunn, "Kande Kamara Speaks," 44–45.

<sup>124</sup> Cited in Balesi, *From Adversaries to Comrades-in-Arms*, 117. As Gilbert Meynier has argued, "The French had, it seems, a rather favorable image of North African soldiers. The image of black Africans evolved: from bad savages, they became good savages." Meynier, "La France colonial de 1914 à 1931," 105.

<sup>125</sup> Charles Mangin, *La force noire* (Paris, 1910).

colonial, was that they were lounging around safe behind the lines in France while French soldiers risked their lives at the front.<sup>126</sup> Whereas the colonial soldier became a positive symbol of the international effort to free France from German aggression, the colonial worker became a negative symbol of all, especially shirkers, who profited at the expense of the average French person. Racial violence in wartime France was not directed indiscriminately against all nonwhites, therefore, only against those seen as a threat to French interests.

While the assaults and riots that took place in France during the war were very much tied to a specific time and place, they also offer insights into the more general history of race, class, and racial violence. In important ways, they correspond to analyses of whiteness and intraclass racial conflict proffered by David Roediger and Alexander Saxton, but with some significant twists.<sup>127</sup> French racial violence did represent a successful attempt to redefine the working class by excluding people of color, and to a certain extent, as in the United States, this process involved merging people of different European backgrounds into a common white identity. Yet the greater marginality and temporary presence of nonwhite labor in France brought about the triumph of a discourse of class over *any* conscious racial identity; unlike Americans, the French succeeded in so totally excluding people of a different race that the very concept of race disappeared from working-class life in metropolitan France, relegated back to the colonies where it belonged. Few French workers thought of themselves as white *workers* during the interwar years.<sup>128</sup> Many undoubtedly did participate in the French fascination with “exotic” and colonial cultures during the interwar years, listening to jazz and the biguine or visiting the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris. But they did so as undifferentiated members of a broader French public, rather than as workers. One indication of the absence of nonwhites was the reassertion of prejudices against European foreigners in the interwar years, culminating in the harsh and ultimately murderous anti-Semitism directed against foreign Jews during the Depression and the Vichy era. The French experience thus suggests that the ultimate goal of strategies of racial exclusion may not be integration into a racial upper stratum but rather the consolidation of racial hierarchy through a denial of its existence.<sup>129</sup>

Yet France’s spate of violence against colonial workers also demonstrates that working-class racial conflict cannot be separated from class conflict in general. Many French workers held racial stereotypes for a variety of reasons, but they

<sup>126</sup> For example, see Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris, “Physiognomie de Paris,” police report of January 3, 1918, p. 8; January 12, 1918, p. 8.

<sup>127</sup> Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness; Towards the Abolition of Whiteness*; Saxton, *Rise and Fall of the White Republic*.

<sup>128</sup> For example, none of the memoirs of interwar working-class life that I have examined mention whiteness or racial identity. See, among others, Fernand Grenier, *Ce bonheur-là* (Paris, 1974); René Michaud, *J’avais vingt ans* (Paris, 1967); Jeanne Bouvier, *Mes mémoires, ou 59 années d’activité industrielle, sociale et intellectuelle* (Paris, 1983); Laurent Azzano, *Mes joyeuses années au faubourg* (Paris, 1985); Mrs. Robert Henrey, *The Little Madeleine* (London, 1951). See also the works of Jacques Valdour, especially *Ouvriers parisiens d’après-guerre* (Paris, 1921); and *Ateliers et taudis de la banlieue de Paris* (Paris, 1923).

<sup>129</sup> Feminist historians of working-class life have for years demonstrated the ways in which appeals to class solidarity can conceal gender hierarchies. A particularly good example of this is Beatrix Campbell’s rereading of George Orwell’s classic *The Road to Wigan Pier*, in *Wigan Pier Revisited: Poverty and Politics in the Eighties* (London, 1984).

resorted to racial *violence* in a specific context of heightened tensions between labor and capital, as part of a strategy to bolster the position of labor. In investigating the dynamics of race and class as far as violence is concerned, historians should consider less who is to blame for racist behavior and more the ways in which the interests and strategies of all the parties to class conflict interact to create or reinforce racial hierarchies.<sup>130</sup> During the Great War, it took the willingness of employers and the French state to employ nonwhites against the interests of French workers as well as the refusal of French labor to reach out to these newcomers from overseas to produce an explosive situation.

In addition, racial violence in France must be considered in the broader context of total war. The tendency of twentieth-century race riots to erupt during wartime is well known and has generally been explained by historians as the result of the large-scale movement of racial groups to new areas. This is of course undeniable, but another way of looking at this conjuncture should be considered. Wartime intercommunal violence represents an implicit rejection of the war effort: it subverts the attempts of nation-states to create a climate of internal unity and refocus violence exclusively against the external enemy, instead reintroducing domestic conflict and calling into question the solidity of the national community. Racial violence, which throws into conflict physically and culturally distinct communities, not only undermines national unity but symbolically reproduces the war between nations on the home front. French attacks on colonial workers were also attacks on the spirit of the *union sacrée*, and those hostile to nonwhites at times represented them as enemies behind the lines. Racial conflict in this context thus shows how total war can not only suppress internal social divisions but accentuate and provide a model for them as well.

The introduction of 300,000 non-European workers into France during the war constituted a massive new demographic event, one that clearly would require some adjustment on the part of the local population. Yet the racial hostility that led to violence in 1917 did not develop naturally but arose from conscious policies undertaken by different groups in French society. Employers paid colonial workers the lowest wages in France and were happy to use them to break strikes when the opportunity arose. Unions fostered the idea that colonial labor would lower wages and take jobs from the French, but they made little effort to ensure equality of salaries for colonial workers or organize them to defend themselves. Above all, the French state, with its policy of regimentation, created a climate that effectively defined colonial workers as the Other, in both concrete and symbolic terms. Ostensibly set up to prevent racial clashes, regimentation also had the goal of preventing the integration of nonwhites into working-class militant culture and traditions. It achieved the latter goal but only at the cost of subverting the former. Racial violence in wartime France thus played a role in the strategies of both organized labor and the French state.

Racial violence during World War I represented France's introduction to an issue

<sup>130</sup> Some of the historical literature on whiteness tends to attack white workers for racism without sufficiently demonstrating how such groups could be both dominant and subordinate at the same time in the broader context of race and class relations. See, for example, Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995).



that would become a major preoccupation during the second half of the twentieth century. It demonstrates that race did not simply appear as an issue for the first time after 1945, it has played a role in French working-class life for most of the century. After 1918, the French government sent colonial workers home as quickly as possible, judging that France was not ready to become a multi-racial society. The massive immigration of the 1920s focused almost entirely on European immigrants.<sup>131</sup> Yet the interwar years represented not the disappearance of the racial question from French working-class life but rather its forced suppression; racial conflict thus became an artificially constructed silence during the 1920s and 1930s. Nonetheless, the wave of violence against colonial workers during the Great War both anticipated and prepared the ground for difficulties France would face in confronting new populations of color on its soil in the late twentieth century. French authorities may have wished to re-create a monochromatic image of French identity after the armistice, but, as with so many other changes unleashed by World War I, this was much easier said than done.

<sup>131</sup> A January 1920 article in the *Bulletin du Ministère du travail* justified importing European as opposed to colonial workers after the war in order to avoid bringing an "ethnographically distinct" population onto French soil. Cited in Robert, "Ouvriers," 2: 395.

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*Forum Essay*  
**Genocide in the Twentieth Century**

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*Genocide has been a far too recurrent reality of the twentieth century. And yet as we approach the century's end, our understanding of it remains frustratingly incomplete. This AHR Forum Essay addresses this critical subject and seeks to provoke a debate about the meaning of genocide in the modern world. Omer Bartov presents the Holocaust as a fundamental but not completely unique example of modern atrocity. In a thought-provoking interpretive essay, he argues that the process of defining enemies and making victims is critical to understanding both the origins of the Holocaust and its long-term effects on Germans, Jews, and Israelis. Moreover, he contends that this form of analysis can be used to understand other instances of twentieth-century genocide as well. Bartov also invites responses to his argument. And so do we.*

*This Forum initiates a new format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will select three or four of the most compelling and instructive responses and publish them along with a rejoinder from Bartov in the October 1998 issue. We ask those who would like to comment on Bartov's essay to send responses of 1,000–1,500 words to the American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. All comments should be double-spaced and clearly identify the author. And to be considered for publication, the responses must be received by August 14, 1998. We will forward copies of all responses to the essay's author. Questions about the Forum can sent to the same address or to our e-mail address: [ahr@indiana.edu](mailto:ahr@indiana.edu).*

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*Forum Essay*  
Defining Enemies, Making Victims:  
Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust

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OMER BARTOV

THE DISCOURSE ON ENEMIES AND VICTIMS, its effects on our conduct in and perceptions of war and genocide, and the extent to which such perceptions have in turn redefined our views of victimhood and identity can be viewed as among the most crucial issues of this century. This is a vast topic, and in the present context I do not presume to cover it all. Rather, though at the end of this essay I will suggest some of the broader implications of my argument for understanding genocide, I will focus on two related issues: German self-perceptions and attitudes toward Jews, especially in the Third Reich and the Federal Republic; and Jewish self-perceptions and attitudes toward real and perceived enemies in the past and the present, in Europe, the United States, and Israel. That there are numerous connections between the German discourse on nationalism, identity, and Nazism, and the Jewish discourse on identity, Zionism, and the Holocaust, indeed, that the two have a complex reciprocal relationship, is both obvious and in need of further elaboration. Moreover, while this relationship has been crucial in defining national and individual identities, it has retained a persistently pernicious potential that has often led to obfuscation, repression, and violence, rather than understanding and reconciliation.

Even this narrower focus is obviously too large to allow a comprehensive analysis. Hence the following article merely presents some ideas and conceptualizations that I hope will provoke further discussion. This is a synthetic essay that offers no new documentation, although some of the literature it cites may be new to some readers. My aim is not to provide any definitive answers but to raise questions, reformulate assumptions, and sketch out links that are not commonly recognized. I am well aware of the danger that, while some readers may find my generalizations open to criticism, others will be too familiar with at least some of the material. But I hope they will keep an open mind to the main thrust of this essay, which is to make us

I would like to thank the readers and editors of this article for their generous and instructive comments. I also wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for a research fellowship during 1996–1997 and Rutgers University for granting me sabbatical leave during 1995–1996. Without these two years of leave, I would not have been able to complete this article. Earlier and much shorter versions of this essay were presented in several forums: the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C., and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, both in November 1996; Yale University, in February 1997; Stanford University, in March 1997; and Rutgers University, in April 1997. I thank all the participants for their comments, criticism, and encouragement.

think whether, at the end of the twentieth century, we have succeeded in breaking out of the vicious circle of defining enemies and making victims, which has characterized much of the last hundred years and has been at the root of so much violence and bloodshed. Since historians have been implicated in much of this discourse in the past, I believe that they would do well to think about its ramifications for their own time as well.

THE GREAT WAR OF 1914–1918 came at the end of a long process of domestic consolidation and outward expansion of the great European powers. Indeed, among the most distinct features of the new nation-state were the eradication of inner resistance to its claim to sovereignty and control and the ceaseless striving to expand either its proper borders or its overseas empire. These in turn tended to create a mechanism of self-definition and legitimization based on two mutually dependent conceptual and material requirements, namely, the need to define enemies and the urge to make victims, even if the intensity and severity of its application depended on specific circumstances in each individual state. From the state's point of view, those seen as belonging to it had to be integrated, either willingly or by coercion, whereas those seen as not belonging to it had to be excluded or eliminated, no matter whether they wished to belong to it or not.<sup>1</sup> Hence the definition of both foe and friend, compatriot and non-patriot, entailed the making of victims, that is, compelling people to conform to a definition that they might not share, based on categories imposed on them by a larger community or a political regime. In the course of this process, some ethnic, religious, or linguistically distinct minorities within these large entities retained an especially ambiguous status. Paradigmatic of such ambiguity were the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For some examples, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991); Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1992); Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976).

<sup>2</sup> In the context of this article, I refer especially to Germany. See, for example, George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, 2d edn. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991). There are, of course, many other examples, each of which differs according to the different national circumstances. In France, for instance, the status of Jews was questioned at times of crisis, such as the Dreyfus Affair or the 1930s, not to mention Vichy. Some of the recent literature on the latter is reviewed in my article "The Proof of Ignominy: Vichy France's Past and Present," *Contemporary European History* 7, no. 1 (1998): 107–31. In Poland, anti-Jewish policies and an urge to expel Jews from the country increased throughout the interwar period. On the similarities and differences between Polish and German anti-Semitism, see, most recently, William W. Hagen, "Before the 'Final Solution': Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland," *Journal of Modern History* 68 (June 1996): 351–81, and the literature cited therein. The Polish example has many similarities to other East European countries. See also Deborah Dash Moore, ed., *East European Jews in Two Worlds: Studies from the YIVO Annual* (Evanston, Ill., 1990). Italy, by contrast, had a very small and well-integrated Jewish community but developed a sense of national identity very late, which may explain the relative absence of anti-Semitism there. The Gypsies, or Sinti and Roma, are another case in point, which cannot be discussed in this article for reasons of space and conceptual clarity. The most important study on the genocide of the Sinti and Roma is Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung der Zigeunerfrage"* (Hamburg, 1996). For an interesting discussion of

If the legal emancipation of the Jews coincided with the emergence of the modern nation-state, it was this very same process that brought about a profound transformation in the age-old anti-Jewish prejudices of Christian Europe into modern political and racial anti-Semitism. And if the Jews increasingly welcomed their economic and political integration into gentile society, the efforts of assimilated Jewish communities to retain some features of their specific identity and some links to their co-religionists across national borders made them into a symbol of the "insider as outsider." Thus the Jews served as both proof of and metaphor for the immense integrative powers of the new nation-state; simultaneously, they came to symbolize its exclusionary potential.<sup>3</sup> Ambiguous identities produced tremendous social, political, and psychological tensions, which in turn made for that complex relationship between creativity and disintegration, ingenuity and annihilation, so typical of our century. In this sense, the Jews can be seen as the paradigmatic example of the preoccupation with identity and solidarity, exclusion and victimization, that numerous states or at least some of their agencies have manifested in the modern era.

As it consolidated its domestic and international status, the nation-state was simultaneously beset by visions of decadence and degeneration, chaos and anarchy, disintegration and subversion, invasion and destruction. Europe on the eve of World War I was a society haunted by inarticulate fears and anxieties just as much as it was propelled forward by a fervent faith in progress and science. The hard-won domestic unity seemed to symbolize and facilitate the eternal grandeur of the nation; paradoxically, it also appeared to be in imminent danger of social, political, and moral upheaval. A source of confidence and security, the national community also generated anxieties about its potential dissolution, seemingly under attack from all quarters: organized labor "from below," destabilization of traditional gender roles "from within," and deterioration of international relations "from without." Moreover, confidence in European superiority vis-à-vis the rest of the world, rooted in the newly conquered vast colonial empires, was undermined by fears about the West's vulnerability to infiltration by other races and civilizations and alarm about the biological degeneration of the white race.<sup>4</sup>

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postwar German attitudes toward this group, see Gilad Margalit, "Die deutsche Zigeunerpolitik nach 1945," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 45, no. 4 (1997): 557–88.

<sup>3</sup> For documentation on early French discussions about Jewish citizenship, see Lynn Hunt, ed., *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston, 1996); Scott Glotzer, "Napoleon, the Jews and the Construction of Modern Citizenship in Early Nineteenth Century France" (PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 1997). See further, for instance, in Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews: The Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1968); Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); George L. Mosse, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism* (Hanover, N.H., 1993); Magdalena Opalski and Israel Bartal, *Poles and Jews: A Failed Brotherhood* (Hanover, 1992); Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, eds., *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover, 1985); Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays*, Werner J. Dannhauser, ed. (New York, 1976); David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (New York, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston, 1989); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 1993); and Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.*



With the outbreak of the war, it seemed at first that rumors of approaching internal disintegration had been greatly exaggerated, as all the aggressive potential of fear and anxiety and the dehumanizing and demonizing imagery of pre-war domestic enemies were mobilized against the foreign enemy at the gate. The German *Burgfrieden* and the French *union sacrée* were explicit attempts to create solidarity at home by focusing attention on the danger from without. Moreover, in Germany (as in other nations), those sectors of society that had remained to a greater or lesser degree excluded from the nation, such as the socialists, the Jews, and the Catholics, rallied to the flag in a show of patriotism meant to legitimize them as full members of the national community. Similarly, disgruntled intellectuals, skeptical bohemians, disengaged artists, and detached scholars all seized the opportunity of this uplifting event of cataclysmic military confrontation and took up the national cause. If the enemy was now clearly defined and easily identifiable, so, too, the victims of the war were obviously all those who fought for one's own nation. For a moment, then, the fog and confusion of war was accompanied by a miraculous clarification of identities.

Yet, as the casualties mounted at the front and deprivation and mourning increased in the rear, the classifications of foe and friend, victim and perpetrator, began shifting once more. This was a fundamental transformation, occurring simultaneously with the unprecedented expansion of the state's powers of mobilization and production, control and surveillance, propaganda and coercion. It has had far-reaching consequences for the rest of the twentieth century.

While propaganda and the brutalizing effects of the fighting enhanced a view of the world as divided between demonic foreign enemies and one's own victimized nation, the peculiar conditions in the trenches of the Western Front created a sense of solidarity between the fighting troops on both sides of the line and a growing resentment of the rear. Moreover, the scope and relentlessness of this new type of industrial killing also created a sense of breathless, if often morbid, fascination and, for some, even an overpowering enchantment and intoxication with the horror being perpetrated on the battlefield. The soldiers could thus both hate the war and experience a sinister attraction to its desperate camaraderie and ruthless, indifferent, wholly unambiguous, outright destructiveness; they could both hate the men across no-man's-land and appreciate that they alone could empathize with their predicament, due to that bond of blood and suffering that had been sealed between them. The "real" enemy was therefore to be found in the rear, among the staff officers, the noncombatants, the politicians and industrialists, even the workers in the factories, all those who were perceived as having shirked the fighting and thus having excluded themselves from that community of battle increasingly celebrated by the fighting troops. This was a grim, probably inevitable glorification of one's helplessness, of pain and death, just as much as of heroism and sacrifice; it was, that is, a glorification of victimhood.

The community of solidarity both crossed over the border and shrank into itself.

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1848–c. 1918 (Cambridge, 1989); Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York, 1990). A key and pioneering text for understanding the relationship between anti-Semitism, imperialism, and totalitarianism is still Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951).

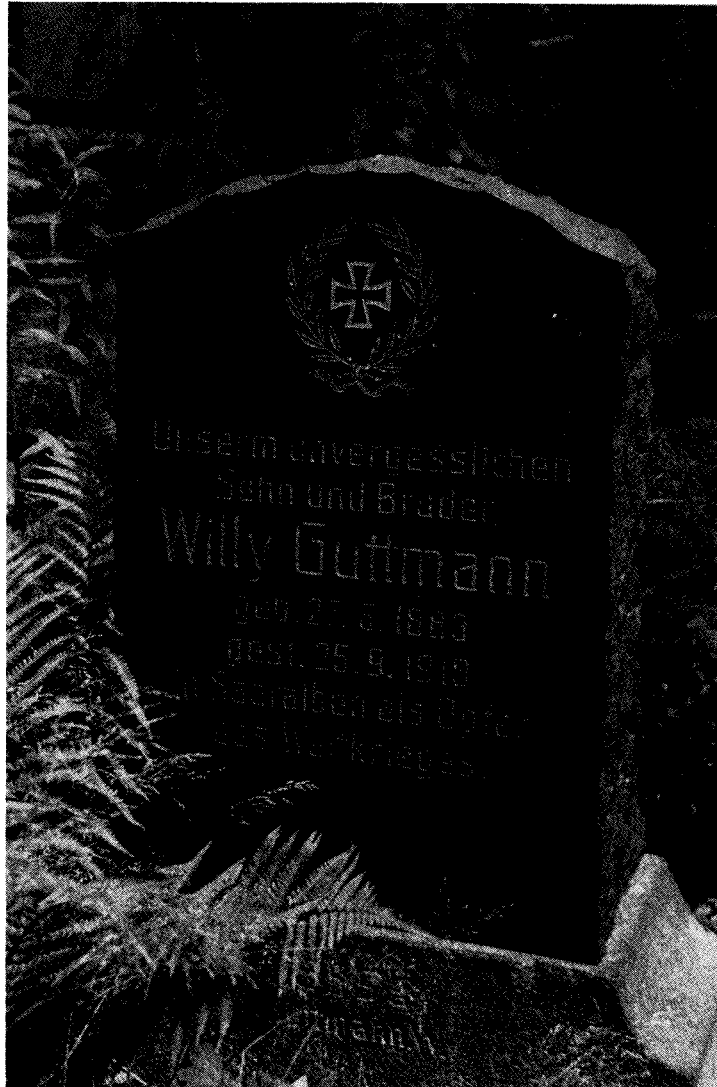
Precisely by fighting the enemy across the line, combat soldiers shared a front-line solidarity and a sense of alienation from their respective civilian hinterlands. This imaginary battle community continued to exert a tremendous influence on postwar society long after the fighting had ceased. Made of embittered, at times silent, at times rebellious and violent survivors of the front, this community was torn between a desire to be reintegrated into society and a sense of being separated from those who had not been “there” by what appeared to some, and was mythologized by certain extremist organizations, as an insurmountable barrier, more difficult to traverse than even that no-man’s-land into which the soldiers had stared with horror from both sides of the front for four long years.<sup>5</sup>

A sense of victimhood and alienation breeds an urge to look for culprits, for those who had perpetrated the slaughter and in the process both eschewed the suffering and profited from it. Hence the transformation of front-line solidarity into a quest for the “true” enemy, the “real” cause of evil. And because the evil was so keenly felt and of such vast dimensions, so, too, should be the punishment of the guilty. Yet the identity of that “true” enemy remained elusive, making for still greater rage and frustration, expressed in both passivity and listlessness, in violence and brutality. If the foreign enemy had become one’s comrade in suffering, if the glorious war for which one had sacrificed so much had been in vain, and if patriotism had been whipped up by a lying propaganda machine run by gutless intellectuals safely closeted in the rear, then how was one to make sense of it all?<sup>6</sup>

Disaster can be more easily confronted if traced to a cause, to human culprits, superhuman agency, natural forces. Destruction may not always be rooted in identifiable evil, but it often creates imaginary carriers of perdition. Scapegoats have the advantage of being readily accessible and defenseless, and if slaughtering them does not prevent future catastrophe, it can have a powerful psychological effect. For bewilderment and inaction in the face of catastrophe sap the will to hold out, while identifying a cause and acting against it helps cope with trauma, creating the illusion of fighting back and generating the energy and determination needed to ensure survival. Hence imagination and metaphor are crucial in liberating people

<sup>5</sup> See, among others, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War, 1914–1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War*, Helen McPhail, trans. (Providence, R.I., 1992); Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, Arnold Pomerans, trans. (Leamington Spa, 1985); Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, eds., *Authority, Identity, and the Social History of the Great War* (Providence, 1995); Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975); Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, and Irina Renz, eds., *Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als mensch . . . Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Essen, 1993); Leonard V. Smith, *Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the French Fifth Infantry Division during World War I* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984).

<sup>6</sup> On instances of frustration, rage, mutiny, and violence during and after the war, see, for example, Douglas Gill, *The Unknown Army: Mutinies in the British Army in World War I* (London, 1985); Guy Pedroncini, *Les mutineries de 1917* (Paris, 1967); Antoine Prost, *In the Wake of War: “Les Anciens Combattants” and French Society, 1914–1939*, Helen McPhail, trans. (Providence, R.I., 1992); Dennis E. Showalter, *Little Man, What Now? Der Stürmer in the Weimar Republic* (Hamden, Conn., 1982); Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, 2 vols., 2d edn. (Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1987); Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984). Read further on the veterans and the *Freikorps* of 1920s Germany in James M. Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany* (Bloomington, Ind., 1977); Robert G. L. Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: The Free Corps Movement in Postwar Germany, 1918–1923*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Volker R. Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm* (Düsseldorf, 1966).



*Jewish war victims of World War I. Tombstone for a fallen soldier, at the Jewish Cemetery in Breslau (now Wrocław). Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.*

from the perceived stranglehold of uncontrollable, invincible forces. In other words, the aftermath of disaster may have fewer devastating psychological and physical consequences for survivors if they can, in turn, victimize their real or imaginary enemies.

THE SEARCH FOR THOSE GUILTY OF THE MASSACRE in the trenches, the “real” enemy, began in Germany even before the deteriorating military situation at the front and its ultimate collapse made for open accusations of subversion against those least capable of defending themselves. The legend of the “stab in the back” (*Dolchstoßlegende*) was preceded by the notorious “Jew count” (*Juden-zählung*) of 1916, an

official inquiry aimed at gauging the alleged underrepresentation of Jews in the army. If, before the war, many generals had feared that the growing numbers of working-class recruits affiliated with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) would undermine the army's reliability as a tool against social unrest, during the war the notion of casting doubt on the loyalty of millions of fighting soldiers stemming from the lower classes would have obviously been counter-productive and might have seriously demoralized the troops. But turning against the Jews, a numerically almost irrelevant minority actually striving to demonstrate its loyalty to the regime by dying with frightening zeal at the front, was an almost foolproof way to direct the people's growing anger and frustration away from the political and military leadership without undermining morale (an old method employed often enough in Russia by the tsarist regime). Moreover, reports by Jewish soldiers indicate that they were encountering anti-Semitism even among their own comrades, an attitude also reflected in the diaries and correspondence of the officer corps, some of whose members eventually became Adolf Hitler's generals in the next war.<sup>7</sup> In this respect, the legendary battle community (*Kampfgemeinschaft*) was already in the process of becoming a racial or people's community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), from which the Jews were excluded by definition. The rapid and vast growth of the populist, ultra-nationalist, and anti-Semitic Vaterlandspartei (Fatherland Party) during the latter part of the war is also instructive in this context. The domestic enemy, whose presence could explain the military disaster and whose elimination would herald national salvation, was thus becoming an indispensable factor in the national imagery even before the fighting ended.<sup>8</sup>

The German soldiers and sailors who rebelled against their commanders were primarily motivated by a desire to put an end to the pointless carnage at the front and the navy's plan of a suicidal attack against the British. The widespread disenchantment among the troops would indicate that, by the last phase of the war,

<sup>7</sup> Twelve thousand German Jews were killed in the war. On the "Jew count" and its repercussions, see Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 31–35; Werner T. Angress, "Das deutsche Militär und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Militärhistorische Mitteilungen* 1 (1976): 77–146; Egmont Zechlin, *Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen, 1969), 524–37. Colonel-General von Fritsch wrote in a private letter in 1939, that is, after he was dismissed by Hitler as commander in chief of the army on the fabricated accusation of homosexual relations, that soon after the Great War he had concluded that for Germany to be powerful again, it would have to win the battle against the Jews. See John Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics, 1918–1945*, 2d edn. (London, 1980), 380. Ludwig Beck, who was later the architect of Hitler's army as its chief of staff, only to become a major figure in the resistance after 1938, wrote in a private letter on November 28, 1918, as a young staff officer: "At the most difficult moment in the war we were attacked in the back by the revolution, which I now do not doubt for an instant had been prepared long before" (my translation). Cited in Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *General Ludwig Beck* (Boppard am Rhein, 1980), 323. See further in Wilhelm Deist, *Militär, Staat, und Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1991), 83–233. For a remarkable account by a Jewish officer in the Austro-Hungarian army that illustrates the extent of anti-Semitism in its ranks, see Avigdor Hameiri, *The Great Madness* (1929; Tel Aviv, 1989 [in Hebrew]).

<sup>8</sup> Apart from works cited above, see also V. R. Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War in 1914*, 2d edn. (New York, 1993), for background to the war; Richard Bessel, *Germany after the First World War* (Oxford, 1993), for its aftermath. See also suggestive essays in Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Imperial Germany, 1867–1918: Politics, Culture, and Society in an Authoritarian State*, Richard Deveson, trans. (London, 1995); Geoff Eley, *From Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* (London, 1986). On popular pre-1914 nationalism, see also Marilyn Shevin Coetzee, *The German Army League: Popular Nationalism in Wilhelmine Germany* (New York, 1990); Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck*, 2d edn. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1991).

the myth of the battle community hardly expressed the rank and file's perception of reality. But revolutionary situations are a highly fertile breeding ground for fantasies and distorted perceptions. The legacy of the immediate postwar years in Germany was one of seething animosities and mutual victimization, violence and terror, all crucial elements in the subsequent rise of the Nazi party. The extremists on both the left and the right, but also to some extent the more moderate liberals and socialists, tended to view their political opponents as sworn enemies; the militants also often perceived themselves as victims. It is true that the Weimar Republic provided more opportunities for German Jews than ever before in the past, as can be seen from the growing prominence of Jews in the arts, academe, the media, and politics. At the same time, however, the 1920s were also a period of growing anti-Semitism, in which the Jews came to be viewed by much of the radical and conservative Right as the main cause and beneficiary of the military debacle and the collapse of the imperial regime and all it had stood for. The impact of this atmosphere on German Jewry was just as significant, although reactions were anything but unified. Some Jews turned to accelerated assimilation, others sought to recover their Jewish identity, still others made efforts to emigrate, but most were aware of the mixed signals given them by gentile society and were beset by a sense of crisis.<sup>9</sup> Conversely, if the socialists could be accused of adhering to a pernicious ideology, the working class as such could never take the place of the nation's foreign enemies, since the future army expected to undo the humiliation of the Versailles *Diktat* would eventually be raised from its ranks. To be sure, the carriers of "Bolshevism" had to be eliminated, but their followers were to be won over, not destroyed. Those on the lookout for domestic enemies needed a target group that would be both sufficiently visible and more or less universally disliked, perceived as both all-powerful and numerically marginal so that its elimination from society would not have a major detrimental effect on the nation, both an easy target for victimization and generally accepted as the chief instigator of its persecutors' own victimhood. An enemy, that is, whose very persecution would serve to manifest the power and legitimacy of the victimizer, while simultaneously allowing the persecutor to claim the status of the "true" (past, present, and potentially future) victim.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> One of the best recent studies of the growth of an anti-Semitic ideology among the young academic elites of the period is Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft, 1903–1989* (Bonn, 1996), part 1, and the literature cited therein; see also his 1996 unpublished paper, "Den Gegner vernichten, ohne ihn zu hassen: Loathing the Jews in the World View of the Intellectual Leadership of the SS in the 1920s and 1930s." Older studies on Weimar culture and the role of the Jews in it include Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: A Cultural History, 1918–1933* (New York, 1974); and Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York, 1968). A recent study on the revival of tradition in Weimar Jewry is Brenner, *Renaissance of Jewish Culture*. A recent work on Jewish emigration in Weimar and the Third Reich is Doron Niederland, *German Jewry—Emigrants or Refugees? A Study of Emigration Patterns between the Two World Wars* (Jerusalem, 1996 [in Hebrew]). See also the works cited above, especially Mosse, *Confronting the Nation*; Reinharz and Schatzberg, *Jewish Response*; and Scholem, *Jews and Judaism*. Interpretations of Weimar as the site of a crisis of modernity or of a new type of reactionary modernism, whatever their merits and problems, do not undermine the point made here, although I think that especially the former underestimates its importance. See Detlev J. K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New York, 1992); Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> See further suggestive comments in Michael Hughes, *Nationalism and Society: Germany 1800–1945* (London, 1988); Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York, 1986); and



Toward the end of the 1920s, and with much greater vehemence following Hitler's nomination as chancellor in 1933, increasing numbers of Germans began to identify the Jews as their most pernicious domestic foe. And precisely because the Jews were the elusive enemy *par excellence*, they served as a metaphor for all other domestic and foreign opponents of the nation (and the regime that claimed to represent it), making it appear possible to wipe out political opposition without casting doubt on the inherent unity of the *Volk*. Hence the image of "the Jew" as constructed by the regime played an important role in consolidating the Nazi state and preparing it for the existential struggle for which Hitler had always striven.<sup>11</sup>

While a consensus over the identity of the enemy was being reached, however, his elusive nature, as presented by the regime, meant that he might lurk everywhere, not only in one's social environment but even as a constant threat to each individual's alleged Aryan purity. Paradoxically, just as the Reich was declared progressively *judenrein* (Jew-free) the specter of Jewish presence seemed to haunt people's imagination all the more. It was as if the Jews had simply gone underground or had merged into the innocent Aryan population so well that they might be discovered even among Hitler's most obedient followers. At the same time, "the Jew" also came to represent the entirety of Germany's foreign foes, serving as the incarnation of Bolshevism and plutocracy just as much as the cause of the "stab in the back" and all the misfortunes that followed it. Hence individual psychological anxiety, domestic social threats, and foreign military opponents were merged into the image of that elusive yet all-powerful enemy, "the Jew."<sup>12</sup>

The image of "the Jew" as the state's most insidious enemy by dint of being both distinctly and irreversibly alien and capable of such mental and physical dissimulation that made him appear "just like us" was a legacy of late nineteenth-century political and racial anti-Semitism. The rapid transformation of European society in the wake of the industrial revolution, whose immediate outcome for much of the population was often poverty, disorientation, and fear, created the need to isolate and identify the evil forces lurking behind such an unprecedented upheaval. Simultaneously, the emancipation of the Jews, which, along with industrialization, accompanied the creation of the new nation-state, while providing the Jews with new opportunities, created unease and animosity within a gentile population still permeated by anti-Jewish prejudices.<sup>13</sup> And since the Jews appeared to be the main beneficiaries of the process, they quickly came to be identified as the instigators of the suffering it caused. Thus, especially among the threatened old middle class of small shopkeepers and artisans, the argument could be made that by putting the

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Steven E. Aschheim, *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontations with National Socialism and Other Crises* (New York, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> For conflicting views on this issue, see Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1983); David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> On the manner in which this was expressed in German attitudes toward foreign enemies, see Jürgen Förster, "The German Army and the Ideological War against the Soviet Union," in *The Policies of Genocide: Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany*, Gerhard Hirschfeld, ed. (London, 1986); Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> For an account of the origins of anti-Semitic thinking within German liberalism and its links to the politics of gender, see Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

Jews “back in their place” all the confounding and wretched realities of modernization would go away and the good old order would return.

If the new economic forces were anonymous and faceless, Jewish emancipation and assimilation created a new kind of Jew who could no longer be identified as such with the same ease as in the past. Seemingly indistinguishable from his gentile neighbors, “the Jew” as an identifiable “other” was disappearing, at the same time that his power, according to the anti-Semitic logic, was expanding immeasurably. Modernity and the Jews thus shared the same elusive qualities and could be presented as inextricably linked. To be sure, a rather significant leap of the imagination was needed in order to conclude that an international Jewish conspiracy was at work, where “real” Jews, stripped of their modern, emancipated garb, were plotting in the dark to take over the world. But in both popular and elite circles, the idea was gaining ground that behind the mask of the new Jew lurked the “Asiatic” features of the proverbial Jew of medieval lore and Christian imagery. And, as in all nightmares, this elusive enemy generated much greater anxiety than the easily identifiable one. The notion that the enemy is among us yet cannot be unmasked has always been the stuff of fear and paranoia and the cause of destructive imaginings and violent eruptions.<sup>14</sup>

Modernity also brought with it a belief in science and progress, accompanied by fears of physical and mental degeneration. Scientific racism soon asserted that humanity was divided into higher and lower species, thereby positing racial purity as a goal and miscegenation as racial pollution. According to the skewed logic of racial hygiene, the Jews were both the lowest and most insidious race and the most zealous guardians of their own racial purity, even as they threatened to contaminate the higher races with inferior blood. Yet the same scientists who claimed to have identified the different strands of the human race were haunted by the protean nature of “the Jew” and his ability to defeat scientific diagnoses. This implied that every individual was potentially a carrier of precisely those Jewish qualities one was striving to eliminate, that is, that everyone was suspect of belonging to the enemy’s camp without even being aware of it. Indeed, anti-Semitism was imbued with this fear of “the Jew within,” just as the glorification of masculinity was undercut by anxieties regarding one’s feminine predilections. The most nightmarish vision of the elusive enemy was, that is, to discover that he was none other than oneself.<sup>15</sup>

World War I strengthened the state’s ability to identify, control, and supervise its population to an unprecedented degree; it thereby also greatly contributed to the spread of anxiety about the presence of a seemingly inexhaustible number of elusive

<sup>14</sup> See esp. Reinhard Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus* (Göttingen, 1975); Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, rev. edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Shulamit Volkov, *Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1990). See also Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, rev. edn. (Harmondsworth, 1970); Benjamin W. Segal, *A Lie and a Libel: The History of the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,”* Richard S. Levy, trans. and ed. (Lincoln, Neb., 1995).

<sup>15</sup> See esp. Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989); Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: “Euthanasia” in Germany c. 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1994); Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995). See also George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996).

enemies in society's midst. The modern surveillance techniques developed in that period were designed to acquire *knowledge* about the population, *influence* it in ways deemed necessary by the regime, and *eradicate* domestic enemies. This does not mean, of course, that such techniques and policies were employed in the same manner everywhere, and there is a vast difference in the development of surveillance in the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and subsequently Nazi Germany versus interwar France and Britain. Yet the potential was definitely there, expressed, for instance, in postal control, mass public opinion surveys, lists of political suspects to be arrested at a time of emergency, and even the proliferation of popular fiction and film on spies, treason, and infiltration of the state by foreigners disguised as patriots. Indeed, by acknowledging the difficulty of identifying the enemy within, the emerging surveillance state, which reached its fully fledged form in the Third Reich and Stalinist Russia, asserted that anyone was a potential foe, however well-integrated and assimilated he or she seemed to be. A society of Doppelgängers, where each individual might discover in himself an unknown Mr. Hyde or be metamorphosed overnight into a repulsive insect was also one being prepared to apply the most powerful insecticides to rid itself of its perceived monstrous traits.<sup>16</sup>

OBSESSION WITH "THE JEW WITHIN" was also the lot of many assimilated and even baptized Jews, who often internalized the anti-Semitic imagery of their environment and consequently held a highly ambivalent perception of their own identity. This could be expressed in self-torment and ultimate self-destruction, as was illustrated, for instance, in the celebrated case of Otto Weininger.<sup>17</sup> It was also, of

<sup>16</sup> See the important article by Peter Holquist, "'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (September 1997): 415–50, and the literature cited therein. See also Michael B. Miller, *Shanghai on the Métro: Spies, Intrigue, and the French between the Wars* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). Some of Alfred Hitchcock's 1930s films reflected (and at the time also enhanced) the period's obsession with espionage, intrigue, and conspiracy. See, for example, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934), *The Secret Agent* (1936), *Sabotage* (1936, title in the United States: *The Woman Alone*); *The Lady Vanishes* (1938). For a discussion of French interwar apocalyptic films and novels, see also Philippe Burrin, *France under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise*, Janet Lloyd, trans. (New York, 1996), 43–46; and for views about foreigners and fear of war, see Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York, 1994), 87–110, 237–56, respectively. I refer here, of course, to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) and Franz Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* (1916), translated as *Metamorphosis*.

<sup>17</sup> Another twist in this history is the play by Yehoshua Sobol, *Otto Weininger's Last Night* (Tel Aviv, 1982 [in Hebrew]), first performed in Israel on October 2 that year under the name *Nefesh yehudi* (The Soul of a Jew), which created a stir on the intellectual scene. Weininger, who committed suicide in Vienna in 1903 at the age of twenty-four, was the author of the book *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Vienna, 1903), translated as *Sex and Character* (New York, 1908), which presented Judaism as an extreme manifestation of the feminine principle, about to clash with Aryanism, the manifestation of the masculine principle. According to Weininger, Zionism embodied all that was good and noble in the Jewish soul, but it would be defeated from within by Judaism, which would return the Jews to their natural place: Destruction and the Diaspora. Rejected by Sigmund Freud, obsessed by the "Jewish principle" within himself (which led him to convert to Protestantism in 1902), and devastated by the cool reception of his book (based on his PhD dissertation in philosophy, and subsequently a sensational best-seller), Weininger shot himself in the same room where Beethoven had died. On Jewish, and especially Zionist, preoccupation with degeneration around the turn of the century, see, for example, John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); Delphine Bechtel, et al., eds., *Max Nordau, 1849–1923: Critique de la dégénérescence, médiateur franco-allemand, père fondateur du sionisme* (Paris, 1996); Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, Md., 1986).

course, apparent in the thinking of the fledgling Zionist movement, whose desire to create a “new Jew” in his own (home)land was accompanied by urgent calls to purge the Jews of what had made them into a Diaspora people, or of what the Diaspora had made of them, namely, those same insidious traits proclaimed by the anti-Semitic movement, which both created the occasion for Zionism and provided it with much of its anti-Diaspora rhetoric. Zionism pledged not only to take the Jews out of the Diaspora but also to take the Diaspora out of “the Jew.” The assimilated Jew’s “discovery” of his monstrosity or abnormality lay in his awareness of the discrepancy between his alien “essence” and his conventional outer appearance, whereby he ended up as neither Jew nor gentile. For just as the Jews were abandoning most, but not quite all, of what had made them into Jews, and seeing themselves as almost, but not wholly, indistinguishable from their environment, they were increasingly reminded that it was precisely these remnants of their identity that made them appear all the more suspect to the rest of society. The proverbial “self-hating Jew” was predicated on this condition of almost yet not quite complete assimilation. And the solutions to this predicament were either self-annihilation, whether by physical or cultural suicide, or self-assertion, whether by return to Jewish tradition or by Jewish nationalism.

If, in Germany, many gentiles both before and after World War I could still say that some of their best friends were Jews, many German Jews discovered that some of *their* best friends still preserved anti-Semitic sentiments. Indeed, the elusive social enemies of the Jews were precisely those liberals who, while supporting Jewish emancipation and integration, insisted that they must eventually disappear as a distinct religious or ethnic category. This meant in turn that, especially in Central Europe, Jews in this period were torn between a desire to enter into gentile society as equals and a reluctance or inability wholly to give up their own sense of history and identity. Tragically, just as German and Austrian Jews were desperately and often creatively seeking a solution to this dilemma, their environment was rapidly edging toward a total rejection of the Jewish-German symbiosis for which they had striven.<sup>18</sup>

For Hitler, the destruction of the Jews was a *sine qua non*, a fundamental precondition for the re-creation of the Germans as an Aryan master race in a new thousand-year Reich. What he meant by his calls for eliminating the Jewish influence in Germany may have changed over the years, but he always maintained that “Judaism” must be removed, uprooted, or annihilated in order to preserve Germany from degeneration and decline. This was an extreme position, espoused even in the 1920s by a relatively small minority. Hitler himself was hardly in a position to envision Auschwitz when he wrote *Mein Kampf* (1925). But many others of his generation in Germany and elsewhere were haunted by exterminatory

<sup>18</sup> Apart from the literature cited above, see also Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, Noah Jonathan Jacobs, trans. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975); George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews: The Right, the Left, and the Search for a “Third Force” in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York, 1970); Jacques Kornberg, *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993); Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, 2d edn. (New York 1995); Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds., *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1989).



fantasies. Moreover, if most Germans in the 1920s were not particularly preoccupied with the “Jewish question,” anti-Semitic sentiments of varying intensity were becoming increasingly prevalent in the Weimar Republic, fed by economic hardship and political turmoil in the aftermath of the war and soon thereafter the Great Depression.

The tendency to perceive the Jews as somehow related to all the evils that beset postwar Germany greatly facilitated the Nazi party’s anti-Semitic propaganda and the popular appeal of the Third Reich’s subsequent anti-Jewish policies. Eventually, it meant that the regime never faced any difficulties in recruiting personnel to organize, administer, and perpetrate genocide, and could count on the implicit support for, or at least general indifference to, these policies by the rest of the population. This was achieved in part thanks to the regime’s ability to present the Jews as the real, albeit elusive, enemy lurking behind all other evils that plagued Germany. Thus, while widespread circles in Germany saw Communism and Bolshevism as the greatest domestic and foreign danger, the Nazi argument that the Jews were the “real” instigators of Bolshevism could both popularize anti-Semitism and offer the not insignificant minority of Communist Party supporters in Germany a convenient rationale to rejoin the emerging racial community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) as they “liberated” themselves from Jewish influence. Similarly, by arguing that “plutocracy” was also part of a Jewish world conspiracy, the Nazis could attract at least some members of the working class (and apparently more than has been estimated until recently) without thereby antagonizing big capital and industry, on whose cooperation Hitler’s expansionist policies were largely dependent. The argument that Hitler had played down anti-Semitism in the years immediately preceding and following his nomination as chancellor because it was far less popular than his promises of economic recovery and national reassertion is insufficient. Rather, the very image of “the Jew” as the “real” but elusive enemy of the German nation enabled the regime to maneuver between contradictory ideological assertions and policies. Hence anti-Semitism, even when it was least discussed, served along with economic anxiety and hardship, fear of revolution, a longing for national unity and greatness, and a generally xenophobic climate as an important adhesive that kept together an otherwise incoherent and irreconcilable ideological hodgepodge.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For an excellent discussion of the importance of the myth of the *Volksgemeinschaft* in pre-war Nazi Germany, which revises the previous tendency to dismiss it altogether, see Gisela Diewald-Kerkmann, *Politische Denunziation im NS-Regime, oder die kleine Macht der “Volksgenossen”* (Bonn, 1995), 33–50. The most extreme position on the role of anti-Semitism was recently taken by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); my own criticism of it, arguing that anti-Semitism is insufficient in explaining the Holocaust, can be found in Omer Bartov, “Ordinary Monsters,” *New Republic* (April 29, 1996): 32–38. Another argument for the importance of anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria is presented in John Weiss, *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany* (Chicago, 1996). A more subtle interpretation, which highlights what the author calls “redemptive antisemitism,” can be found in Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Vol. 1: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York, 1997). The previous position, which asserted the relative unpopularity of anti-Semitism within the German population, is well argued in Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans, and the “Jewish Question”* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); it is criticized in turn by Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1990). The classic argument for the evolution of Nazi anti-Jewish policies with anti-Semitism largely left out is in Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy toward German Jews, 1933–1939*, 2d edn. (Urbana, Ill., 1990). The most important arguments for the resistance



The elusive and yet ubiquitous presence attributed to the Jews by the regime played an even more important role in creating an inverted perception of victimhood throughout the Nazi era. While the regime glorified both nation and race, it invariably presented Germany as a victim of its enemies, among whom the Jews stood out most prominently. In January 1939, Hitler "prophesied" that if the Jews were once more to unleash a war aimed at the "Bolshevization of Europe," this time their attempt to victimize the Germans would lead to their own annihilation. He never budged from this position, asserting in his testament that it had indeed been the Jews who had caused the destruction of his thousand-year Reich.<sup>20</sup> The impact of this view can be seen just as clearly in individual Germans' perceptions of reality. Soldiers tended to ascribe massacres perpetrated by their own units to Jewish criminality, even when the actual victims of such atrocities were Jews, and civilians in the rear similarly attributed the destruction of cities by aerial bombing to Jewish thirst for revenge. Indeed, fear of "Jewish" retribution was very much at the back of Germany's stubborn resistance in the last and desperate months of the war, when the invading "Asiatic hordes" in the East and the *Materialschlacht* (war of attrition) in the West were presented as expressions of the Jewish will for world domination.<sup>21</sup>

In this context, it should be stressed that, even while they were murdering Jews in unprecedented numbers, many of the perpetrators perceived themselves as acting in their own defense against their past and potential victimizers. That the Jews *appeared* defenseless and helpless seems only to have enhanced the need among the perpetrators to view themselves as the "real" victims and those they murdered as the culprits. The children, if allowed to survive, would take revenge; the women would bear more children; the elderly would tell the tale. Hence Germany's misfortune could only end by means of a terrible, final solution, and

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of the working class to Nazi ideology are to be found in Timothy W. Mason, *Social Policy in the Third Reich: The Working Class and the "National Community"*, John Broadwin, trans., Jane Caplan, ed. (Providence, R.I., 1993), orig. pub. as *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich: Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft* (Opladen, 1977).

<sup>20</sup> Hitler's speech on January 30, 1939, cited in J. Noakes and G. Pridham, eds., *Nazism, 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader*, Vol. 3: *Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination* (Exeter, 1988), 1049. On references to the Jews in his political testament, see Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, rev. edn. (New York, 1962), 794; Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*, Richard Winston and Clara Winston, trans., 2d edn. (New York, 1982), 746; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 186–89, and reproduction of the original document between pages 92 and 93. On his foreign policy "program," see Noakes and Pridham, *Nazism*, 609–23; Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's World View: A Blueprint for Power*, Herbert Arnold, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). A recent interpretation gives this speech special prominence as Hitler's commitment to annihilate the Jews in case of a world war (*Weltkrieg*). Thus, it is argued, Hitler ordered the "Final Solution" only after the Soviet counter-offensive and the German declaration of war on the United States, both in December 1941, which transformed the war into a prolonged universal confrontation. Hitler's (still elusive) order therefore came just in time to change the original agenda of the postponed Wannsee Conference, ostensibly intended to discuss only the status of the *Mischlinge* (half-breeds). See Christian Gerlach, "Die Wannsee-Konferenz, das Schicksal der deutschen Juden und Hitlers politische Grundsatzentscheidung, alle Juden Europas zu ermorden," *Werkstattgeschichte* 18 (1997): 7–44.

<sup>21</sup> Omer Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–1945: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (London, 1985); Bartov, *Hitler's Army*. See also Ian Kershaw, *The "Hitler Myth": Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 1987); Marlis Steinert, *Hitler's War and the Germans: Public Mood and Attitude during the Second World War*, Thomas E. J. de Witt, trans. (Athens, Ohio, 1977). For more on soldiers' attitudes, see Stephen G. Fritz, *Frontsoldaten: The German Soldier in World War II* (Lexington, Ky., 1995); Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford, 1989).

genocide was “a harsh, but just atonement of Jewish subhumanity,” whose execution merely proved the German nation’s determination to survive against all odds and enemies.<sup>22</sup>

While it is impossible to establish how many Germans shared this view, indeed, what proportion of the population was even aware of the Holocaust, it would appear that it was prevalent among those directly involved in perpetrating genocide.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, elements of this kind of reasoning had much deeper roots. The fact that the genocide of the Jews was planned and executed by German bureaucrats, soldiers, and policemen, just as much as the manner in which it was both carried out and rationalized, tells us a great deal about the crucial role played by the fabricated image of the elusive enemy in preparing German society to take the path to inhumanity and barbarism. It could be argued that the very notion of elusive enemies—who especially in the German case were invariably the Jews—is a crucial precondition for atrocity and genocide, since it postulates that the people one kills are never those one actually sees but merely what they represent, that is, what is hidden under their mask of innocence and normality. Thus the encounter of Germans with “real” Jews in Poland and Russia, who conformed to the anti-Semitic imagery of a traditional garb and way of life, only confirmed the suspicion that “their” German Jews were merely hiding behind a westernized façade. Moreover, even these “real” Jews were not the old men, women, and children they appeared to be but pernicious enemies in no way different from fanatic Red Army commissars and vicious partisans. When asked how he had felt about killing children though he himself was a father, the death camp commander Franz Stangl said that he “rarely saw them as individuals. It was always a huge mass . . . they were naked, packed together, running, being driven with whips.” On another occasion, he noted that upon reading about lemmings he was reminded of Treblinka.<sup>24</sup>

Central to the “world view” and functioning of the Third Reich was the assertion

<sup>22</sup> Quotation from order of the day issued by the commander of 6 Army, Field Marshal von Reichenau, on October 10, 1941, cited in Bartov, *Hitler's Army*, 129–30. See also speech by Heinrich Himmler to SS soldiers on October 4, 1943, in Posen, where he speaks of “the extermination of the Jewish people” as an action that “appalled everyone, and yet everyone was certain that he would do it the next time if such orders should be issued and it should be necessary.” And Himmler’s speech at a meeting of army generals in Sonthofen on May 5, 1944, where he said: “You can understand how difficult it was for me to carry out this military [*soldatisch*] order which I was given and which I implemented out of a sense of obedience and absolute conviction. If you say: ‘We can understand as far as the men are concerned but not about the children,’ then I must remind you of what I said at the beginning. In this confrontation with Asia we must get used to condemning to oblivion those rules and customs of past wars which we have got used to and prefer. In my view, we as Germans, however deeply we may feel in our hearts, are not entitled to allow a generation of avengers filled with hatred to grow up with whom our children and grandchildren will have to deal because we, too weak and cowardly, left it to them.” Both citations in Noakes and Pridham, *Nazism*, 1199–1200; further examples in Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *“The Good Old Days”: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, Deborah Burnstone, trans. (New York, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> The extraordinary extent to which all representatives of the Reich in occupied areas were involved in the killing of Jews, and the intentional selection of known anti-Semites to positions of power in such territories, has now been thoroughly documented at least for one very important region. See Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien, 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich, 1996). Pohl also argues that it was impossible for Germans not directly involved in the killing, as well as for the population in the rear, to be unaware that mass murders were taking place, although precise details were not always known.

<sup>24</sup> Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience* (1974; rpt. edn., New York, 1983), 201, 232–33. To my mind, this is also the manner in which one should read the evidence presented in

that its elusive enemies were at once ubiquitous, indestructible, and protean. That is why Nazism was not only committed to killing all the Jews but was predicated on the assumption that there would always be more "Jews" to kill. This is the crucial link between the "euthanasia" campaign and the Holocaust, quite apart from the well-documented fact that the killing of the mentally and physically handicapped, which began before the "Final Solution," provided the expertise and experience, as well as the crews and the psychological make-up, necessary for the launching of a vast genocidal undertaking.<sup>25</sup> For if there was always a fear of "the Jew within," the urge to cleanse society of all deformity and abnormality was truly a promise of perpetual destruction. In this quest for perfection, everyone was potentially tainted, and no proof of ancestry could protect one from allegations of pollution. Even in a totally *judenrein* universe, the definition of "health" could always exclude more and more members of society, whose elimination would promise a better future for the rest. The boundless definition of "purity" thus made for an endless pool of potential victims certain to feed the nihilistic dynamics of Nazism for as long as it survived self-annihilation. Nor has this urge for purity and health in modern civilization wholly disappeared with the final destruction of the Nazi regime.

THE UBIQUITY OF PERPETRATORS AND VICTIMS, and the frequent confusion between them, is at the core of the destructive energy characteristic of modern genocide, taking place as it does within an imaginary universe that encompasses every single individual in a cycle of devastation and murder. And, since a neutral position is no longer available, both individuals and collectives will naturally tend to present themselves as victims. Thus the unique features of the Nazi genocidal enterprise illustrate an important characteristic of state-organized industrial killing, whereby the fabrication of elusive enemies makes everyone into a potential victim and the assertion of elusive perpetrators makes everyone into a potential killer.

The question of German guilt was raised already during the war by their opponents: were all Germans guilty, or were they themselves victims of a criminal dictatorship? Conversely, while the Jews were acknowledged to have been (among) Germany's victims, the Allied war was not presented as being waged on their behalf, not least for fear of arousing anti-Semitic sentiments among the Allies' populations.<sup>26</sup> This created a great deal of ambiguity regarding the identities of both victims and perpetrators at the end of the war, much enhanced by the rapidly

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Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> Apart from the works by Burleigh, Henry Friedlander, Proctor, and Weindling cited above, see also Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986); Michael H. Kater, *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); Ernst Klee, "Euthanasie" im NS Staat: Die "Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens" (Frankfurt am Main, 1983); Klee, ed., *Dokumente zur "Euthanasie"* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985); and Klee, *Was sie taten—was sie wurden: Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> For the best and most balanced assessment of the liberal states' attitudes toward the Holocaust, see Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Oxford, 1994). The earlier literature on this issue is cited and analyzed in the introduction to this book, especially 1–18.



*Universal victimhood.* The “Neue Wache,” Berlin, copy of a statue by Käthe Kollwitz. Inscription reads: “To the victims of war and tyranny.” A plaque at the entrance to the monument elaborates that it is dedicated to practically all possible victims of all tyrannies: “We commemorate the peoples who have suffered through war . . . their citizens, who were persecuted and lost their lives . . . the fallen of the world wars . . . the innocent, who died in war and through the consequences of war, in the homeland, in captivity, and during the expulsions . . . the millions of murdered Jews . . . the murdered Sinti and Roma . . . all those who were killed because of their descent, their homosexuality, or because of illness and weakness . . . all the murdered, whose right to life was denied them . . . the people who had to die because of their religious or political convictions . . . the women and men who sacrificed their lives in resisting the tyranny . . . the women and men who were persecuted and murdered because they resisted totalitarian dictatorship after 1945.” Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

changing political and ideological circumstances after 1945.<sup>27</sup> The Cold War transformed old enemies into allies and former allies into sworn enemies; denazification applied a narrow definition of perpetrators, thereby making for a highly inclusive definition of victimhood. The perceived need of the democracies to unite against Communism meant that normalization in the West was accomplished by representing the war as a site of near universal victimhood.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See examples in Steven E. Aschheim, “The German-Jewish Dialogue and Its Limits: The Case of Hermann Broch and Volkmar von Zuehlsdorff,” and Aschheim, “Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers: Friendship, Catastrophe and the Possibilities of German-Jewish Dialogue,” both in Aschheim, *Culture and Catastrophe*, 85–114; Hannah Arendt, “The Aftermath of Nazi Rule,” *Commentary* 10 (October 1950), which also appeared in German during the *Historikerstreit* as “Arbeit macht frei oder wie Deutschland vergaß und genas,” in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (August 16, 1986); Dan Diner, “Negative Symbiosis: Germans and Jews after Auschwitz,” in *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians’ Debate*, Peter Baldwin, ed. (Boston, 1990), 251–61.

<sup>28</sup> For a recent attempt to associate the Holocaust with other war-related atrocities and instances of mass killing of civilian populations, see Eric Markusen and David Kopf, *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century* (Boulder, Colo., 1995).

Germany's destruction was there for everyone to see; in the midst of this landscape of utter desolation, the concentration camps easily blended in. Although viewed as examples of Nazi depravity and criminality, they did not readily divulge the identity of their victims. Moreover, the death camps were situated far from what had remained of the Old Reich.<sup>29</sup> Whereas the German and Austrian inhabitants of towns in the proximity of the camps had come to think of the inmates as "criminal elements,"<sup>30</sup> in subsequent postwar representations they often appeared as political prisoners who had fought against the Nazis.<sup>31</sup> This supplied the enormity of the Nazi "concentrationary universe" with a false logic, according to which the regime had simply, albeit ruthlessly, suppressed all opposition. It also implied that there had indeed been a tremendous amount of resistance to Nazism. The far more numerous victims who had been murdered in the name of racial ideology without ever presenting any objective danger to the regime were at best relegated to a position of secondary importance, if not altogether ignored. In other words, the genocide of the Jews, which defied the liberal logic by appearing wholly counter-productive to the German war effort, was left largely unexplained for many years following the Holocaust, whether by historiography, legal discourse, documentaries, or other forms of representation.<sup>32</sup>

It has been noted that Germans experienced the last phases of World War II and its immediate aftermath as a period of mass victimization. Indeed, Germany's remarkable reconstruction was predicated both on repressing the memory of the Nazi regime's victims and on the assumed existence of an array of new enemies, foreign and domestic, visible and elusive. Assertions of victimhood had the added benefit of suggesting parallels between the Germans and their own victims. Thus, if the Nazis strove to ensure the health and prosperity of the nation by eliminating the Jews, postwar Germany strove to neutralize the memory of the Jews' destruction so as to ensure its own physical and psychological restoration.<sup>33</sup>

To be sure, the crimes of the Nazi regime became a necessary component of both West and East German identity and self-perception, even if the meanings ascribed to them were very different.<sup>34</sup> But it must be stressed that Nazi criminality itself was persistently associated with the suffering of the *Germans*. Both the murder of the

<sup>29</sup> For the long pre-war history of Auschwitz, once part of the medieval German eastern expansion, its impact on Nazi plans in the area, and subsequent postwar attempts to dissociate it from German history, see Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York, 1996).

<sup>30</sup> See esp. Gordon J. Horwitz, *In the Shadow of Death: Living outside the Gates of Mauthausen* (New York, 1990).

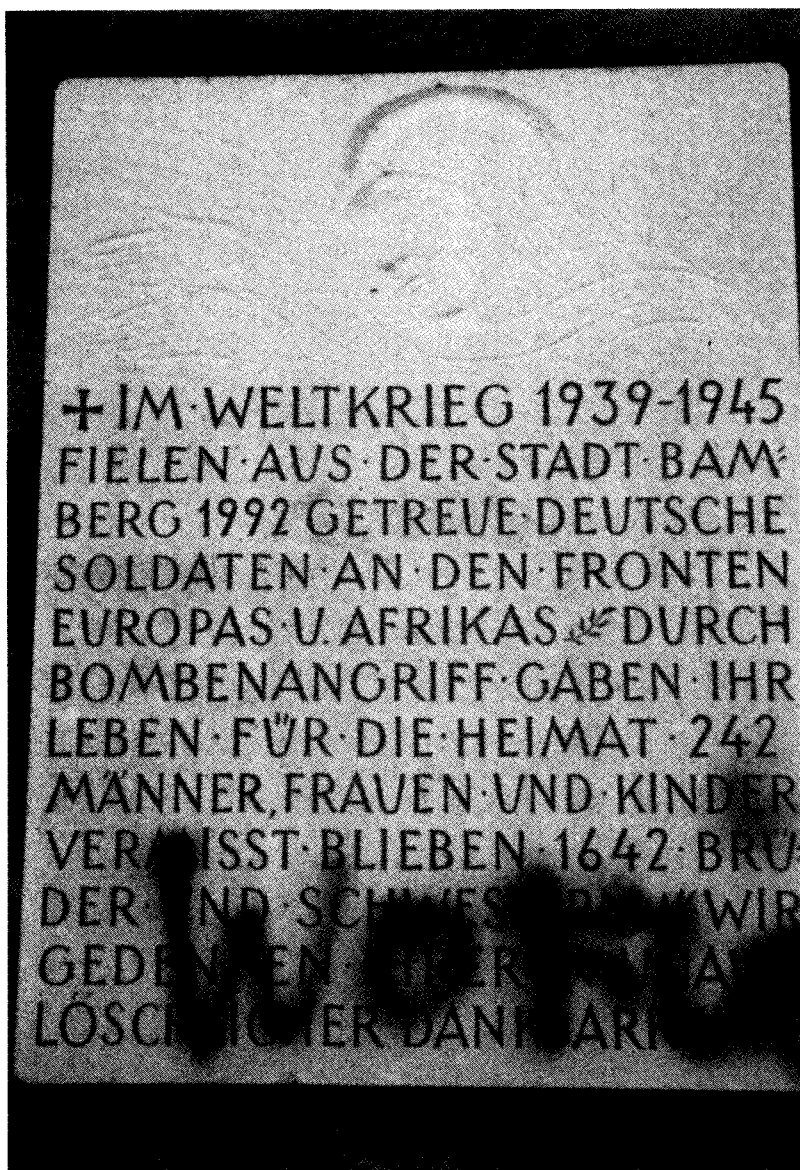
<sup>31</sup> As, for example, in Alain Resnais' 1955 documentary film *Night and Fog*, where the Jewish identity of the victims is never mentioned.

<sup>32</sup> An excellent summary and analysis of Holocaust historiography can be found in Dieter Pohl, "Die Holocaust Forschung und Goldhagens Thesen," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 45, Heft 1 (1997): 1–48.

<sup>33</sup> For a recent important analysis, see Robert G. Moeller, "War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany," *AHR* 101 (October 1996): 1008–48; and more specifically for the 1950s, Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997). For recent examples, see Klaus Naumann, "Die Mutter, das Pferd und die Juden: Flucht und Vertreibung als Themen deutscher Erinnerungspolitik," *Mittelweg* 36 4 (August–September 1996): 70–83; and Naumann, "Dresdner Pietà: Eine Fallstudie zum 'Gedenkjahr 1995,'" *Mittelweg* 36 4 (August–September 1995): 67–81. For an argument on the centrality of the politics of collective memory for German postwar politics, see Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich, *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997).

<sup>34</sup> For an incisive analysis of the role of the Holocaust in German sexual politics, see Dagmar Herzog,





*German victims of World War II. Plaque in Bamberg, Bavaria: "In the World War 1939–1945 1,992 faithful German soldiers from the city of Bamberg fell on the fronts in Europe and Africa; 242 men, women, and children gave their lives to the homeland in bombing raids; 1,642 brothers and sisters have remained missing. We remember them with eternal gratitude."* Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

Jews and the victimization of the Germans were described as acts perpetrated by a third party; however, while Germans believed they had little in common with the Jews, they naturally felt their own suffering very keenly. Thus the Holocaust was an event carried out by one group of "others" on another such group, whereas the destruction of Germany was perpetrated by (possibly even the same) "them"

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"'Pleasure, Sex, and Politics Belong Together': Post-Holocaust Memory and the Sexual Revolution in West Germany," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (Winter 1998): 393–444.

directly on “us,” the Germans. In this manner, the perpetrators of genocide were associated with the destroyers of Germany, while the Jewish victims were associated with German victims, without, however, creating the same kind of empathy.

Postwar German perceptions of victimhood entailed both inversion and continuity. In the Federal Republic, the Third Reich’s population was seen as the victim of both Hitler’s terroristic regime and Joseph Stalin’s no less criminal Communist order. This was reflected in the so-called *Berufsverbot* (employment ban), which barred German civil servants from membership in either Nazi or Communist organizations, thereby indicating that both ideologies were of an equally despicable nature. At the same time, however, the view persisted in some quarters that Germany had also been the victim of Western (and especially American) military might and imperialistic policies, now pursued by other means in a campaign of “cultural imperialism” that threatened the German way of life.<sup>35</sup> Conversely, in East Germany, the official view of Fascism as the product of capitalism made it possible to deny all responsibility for the Nazi past and to retain pre-1945 prejudices against the West. In both Germanies, therefore, “Americanization” took on the appearance of an elusive enemy, not least because of its appeal for so many young Germans on both sides of the “Iron Curtain,” also making it thereby into the enemy within. Moreover, while East Germany presented Communism as the destroyer of the criminal Nazi clique and its capitalist supporters, deeply ingrained prejudices against Russians never quite disappeared there either, making them into yet another elusive enemy whose presence could not be openly criticized.<sup>36</sup>

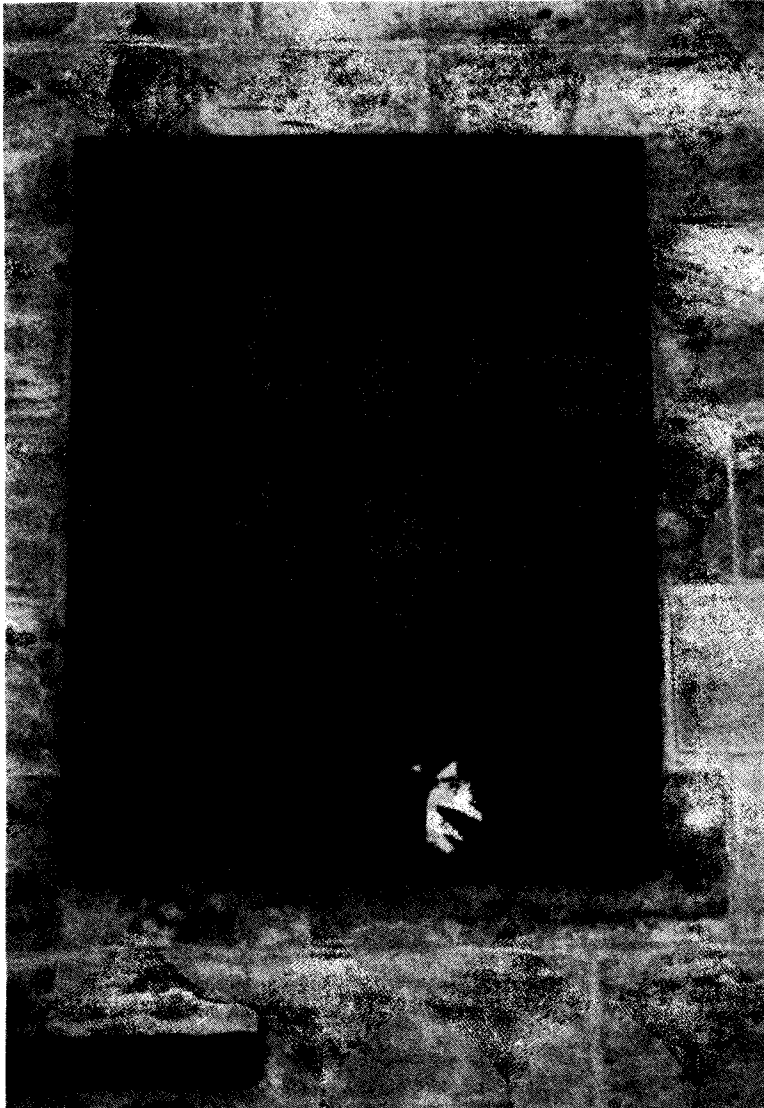
West German representations of the past have often included the figure of “the Nazi.”<sup>37</sup> This elusive type, rarely presented with any degree of sympathy, retains a complex relationship with its predecessor, “the Jew.” Serving as a metaphor for “the Nazi in us,” it inverts the discredited notion of “the Jew in us” (which postwar philo-Semitism in turn has inverted into a positive attribute).<sup>38</sup> Simultaneously, it

<sup>35</sup> This is evident, for instance, in the last part of Robert Busch and Edgar Reitz’s 1984 TV saga *Heimat*, which presents the final loss of the homeland as occurring after Nazism, with the infiltration of American norms and values. The same could be said about Rainer Fassbinder’s film *The Marriage of Maria Braun* (1979). On another German filmmaker’s view of history, see Omer Bartov, “War, Memory, and Repression: Alexander Kluge and the Politics of Representation in Postwar Germany,” in Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York, 1996), 139–52. See also Dan Diner, *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism*, Allison Brown, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

<sup>36</sup> These themes were of course reflected in the German historians’ controversy, or *Historikerstreit*. See, for example, *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the “Historikerstreit,” the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust*, James Knowlton and Truett Cates, trans. (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1993); Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Richard Evans, *In Hitler’s Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past* (New York, 1989). More recently, this issue has been revived in the controversy surrounding the above-cited book by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. See, for instance, Julius H. Schoeps, ed., *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust* (Hamburg, 1996). A balanced review of the historiography is Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 3d edn. (London, 1993).

<sup>37</sup> Examples can be found, for instance, in the early works of Siegfried Lenz, Heinrich Böll, and Günter Grass. For a more detailed analysis, see Omer Bartov, “‘... seit die Juden weg sind’: Germany, History, and Representations of Absence,” in *A User’s Guide to German Cultural Studies*, Scott Denham, Irene Kacandes, and Jonathan Petropoulos, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1987); and Bartov, “Trauma und Leere seit 1914: Teil 2,” *Mittelweg* 36 4 (August–September 1996): 29–40.

<sup>38</sup> Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, William Templer, trans. (Oxford, 1992). On Jewish life in postwar Germany, see Michael



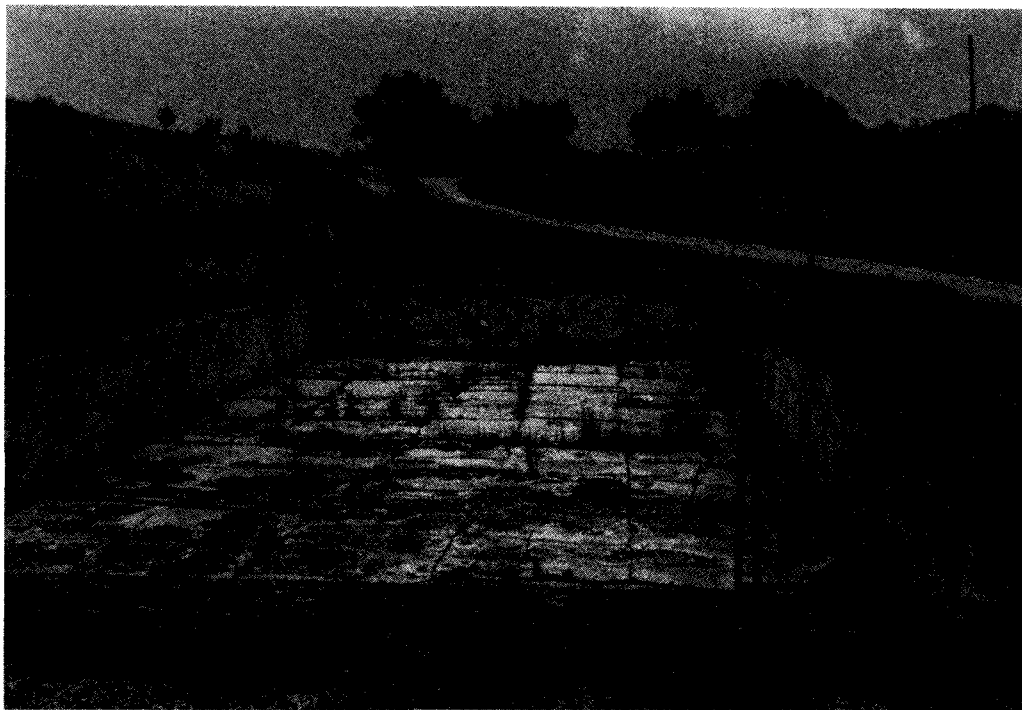
*Jewish victims of Nazism.* Plaque in Bamberg, Bavaria: "In memory of the Jewish fellow citizens and all those who resisted, were abused, persecuted, and murdered during the National Socialist tyranny." Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

presents "the Nazi" as the paradigmatic other, just as "the Jew" had been in the past (and in many senses remains despite "his" newly discovered moral qualities). If the 1935 Nuremberg Laws could define "Aryan" only negatively as having no Jewish ancestry, postwar representations defined "German" as not being (truly) Nazi. Both instances made for an array of "racial" or ideological *Mischlinge* (half-breeds). After all, just as in the Third Reich there was always the fear or suspicion that everyone might have some Jewish ancestor in the remote past (quite apart from the

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Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, Barbara Harshav, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1997); John Borneman and Jeffrey M. Peck, *Sojourners: The Return of German Jews and the Question of Identity* (Lincoln, Neb., 1995).



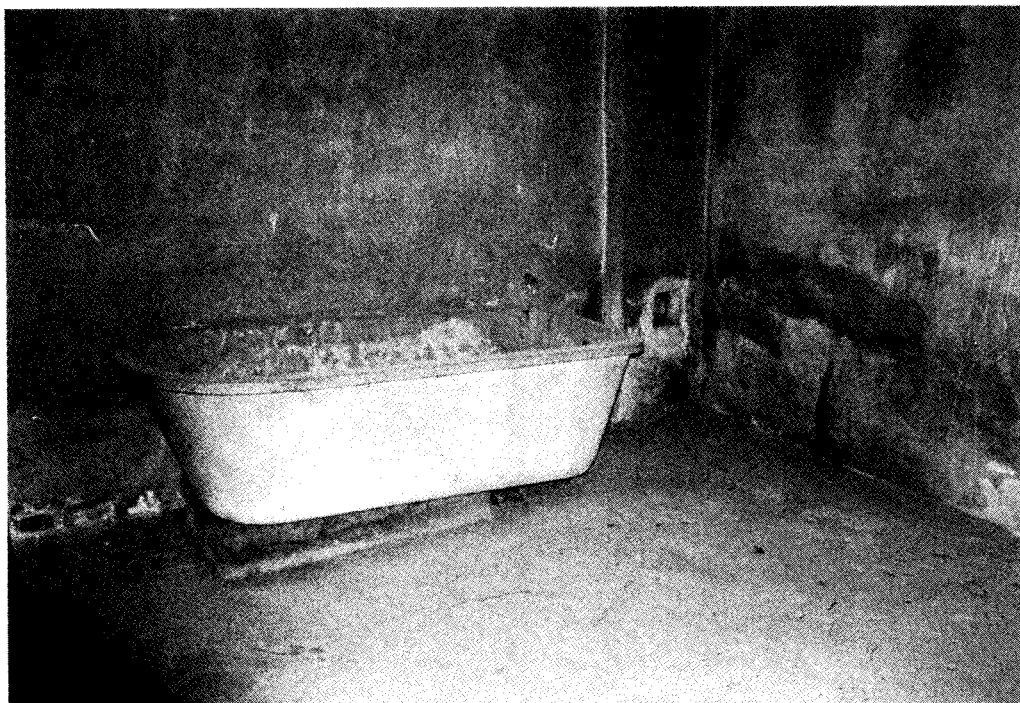


*Distance and proximity.* The swimming pool of the German guards in the concentration camp at Terezín, Czech Republic, the Little Fortress, located next to the path leading to the execution wall. Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

fact that many “pure” Aryans did not display the physical attributes expected from Nordic types),<sup>39</sup> so, too, it was rather hard to find any Germans who had completely abstained from affiliation with the various agencies of the Nazi party and its innumerable offshoots throughout the Third Reich’s twelve years. Only the Jews were innocent on both counts, having been excluded from both the racial and the ideological community. But Jews rarely appear in German postwar representations of the past. Hence only those who had, by their actions or words, shown that they were “pure” Nazis were seen as such by postwar Germans, and even in that case they were rarely pursued and punished with much energy or severity. The innumerable others were said to have been affiliated with the regime unwillingly, unknowingly, naïvely, innocently, opportunistically, but in any case not out of true conviction. They were not, therefore, “really” Nazi, which left open the possibility that they were “good” Germans.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The category of *Mischlinge* was the focus of a debate during the Wannsee Conference, where Reinhard Heydrich coordinated the participation of state and party agencies in the “Final Solution” and asserted his overall responsibility for this undertaking. Several other meetings took place in order to decide on the question of whether murdering Germans of mixed “Aryan” and Jewish ancestry would ensure the total elimination of the Jewish peril or, rather, destroy the good “Aryan” blood that might otherwise be saved in such *Mischlinge*. See Kurt Pätzold and Erika Schwarz, *Tagesordnung: Judenmord; Die Wannsee-Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942; Eine Dokumentation zur Organisation der “Endlösung,”* 3d edn. (Berlin, 1992).

<sup>40</sup> The cover page of the widely read weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* greeted the screening of Steven Spielberg’s film *Schindler’s List* (1993) with a photograph of Liam Neeson, the actor who played Oskar Schindler in the film (rather than the man himself), accompanied by the possibly ironic caption: “The



*Distance and proximity.* The bathtub used by the commander of the crematorium at Majdanek, Poland, facing the ovens. Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

The new enemy of postwar Germany, “the Nazi,” is thus both everywhere and nowhere. On the one hand, “he” lurks in everyone and, in this sense, can never be ferreted out. On the other hand, “he” is essentially so different from “us” that he can be said never to have existed in the first place in any sense that would be historically meaningful or significant for “us,” namely for contemporary Germany and especially for the vast majority of individual Germans, who were either not in positions of power in the Third Reich or who belong to succeeding generations.<sup>41</sup> Hence “we” cannot be held responsible for “his” misdeeds. Just like the Devil, “the

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good German” (*Der gute Deutsche*). See further, including a reproduction of the magazine’s cover, in Liliane Weissberg, “The Tale of a Good German: Reflections on the German Reception of *Schindler’s List*,” in *Spielberg’s Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler’s List*, Yosefa Loshitzky, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1997). There are several other interesting articles in this collection.

<sup>41</sup> It has been argued that the enthusiastic reception by third-generation Germans of Goldhagen’s book, which argued that in the Third Reich Nazis and Germans were synonymous, was related to this sense of the past being “another country,” or rather the grandparents’ Fatherland. See, for example, Evelyn Roll, “Goldhagens Diskussionsreise: Der schwierige Streit um die Deutschen und den Holocaust; Eine These und drei gebrochene Tabus,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (September 9, 1996); Volker Ullrich, “Daniel J. Goldhagen in Deutschland: Die Buchtournee wurde zum Triumphzug,” *Die Zeit* 38 (September 13, 1996); Josef Joffe, “Goldhagen in Germany,” *New York Review of Books* (November 28, 1996): 18–21. Conversely, recent outbreaks of neo-Nazism in Germany, especially after reunification, also very much among the young and far more prevalent in the former German Democratic Republic, are attributed both to economic hardship and widespread unemployment, and to the Communist rejection of any responsibility for Nazism and hence the lack of anti-Nazi education. See, for instance, Alan Cowell, “Neo-Nazis Carving Out Fiefs in Eastern Germany,” *New York Times* (February 8, 1998). More generally, see Hermann Kurthen, Werner Bergmann, and Rainer Erb, eds., *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification* (New York, 1997).

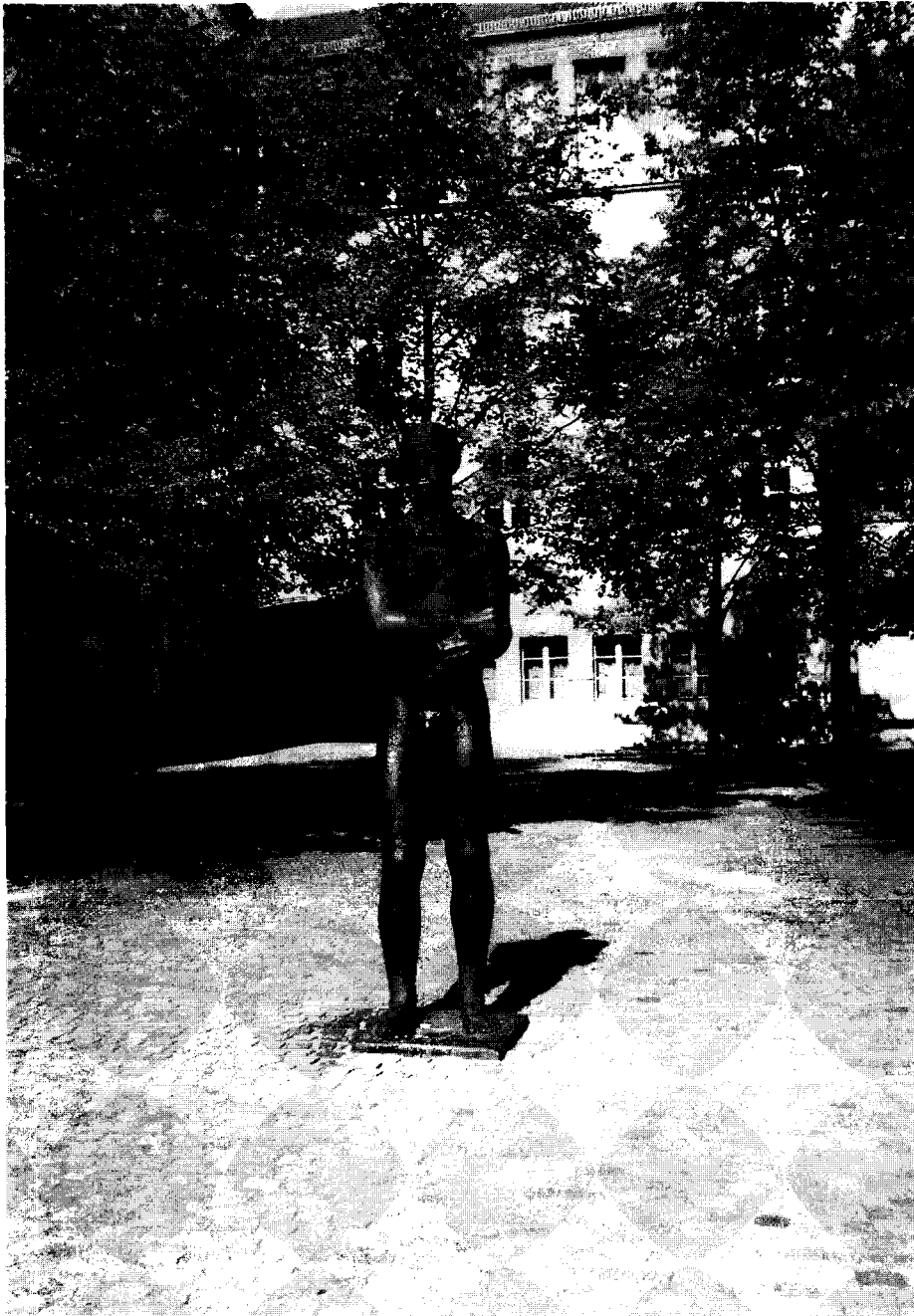


Nazi” penetrates the world from another sphere and must be exorcised; conversely, “he” is a metaphor of the satanic element in humanity. Both faces of “the Nazi” abound in German representations of the Third Reich, and both greatly facilitate identifying with its (German) victims. But the latter view, that of “the Nazi” as an inherent potential in humanity, while it can be construed as apologetic, also generates deep anxiety about the ubiquity of evil even in our own post-Nazi universe.

The public discourse on the Holocaust in postwar Germany has, until recently, largely concentrated either on the social marginality of the perpetrators or on the anonymous forces that made it into a reality. The Jewish victims have rarely been featured as anything more than the by-products of this process. So-called “ordinary” Germans appear to have been either untouched by or irrelevant to genocide, and arguments to the contrary have been seen and condemned as attempts to assign collective national guilt. The largely defensive reaction to such arguments shows the difficulty many Germans still have in accepting that the Third Reich perpetrated crimes on such a vast scale with the support and complicity of large sections of the population. Instead, it is *German* victimhood and, in some cases, martyrdom, that tends to be stressed time and again.<sup>42</sup>

This can also be seen by reference to the debate over resistance to the Nazi regime. Notably, the conservative opposition, associated primarily with the Bomb Plot of July 20, 1944, has received much more attention in the Federal Republic than the resistance by the Communists and socialists, especially during the early years of the regime. This is partly related to the available documentation, partly to the ideological inclinations of postwar historians, and partly to the circumstances of the Cold War. It should be pointed out, however, that the Nazi regime associated socialist and Communist opponents, both domestic and foreign, with the Jews, and persecuted them from the very beginning. Indeed, the early concentration camps housed mainly members of the left-wing opposition, along with a variety of “asocials.” Conversely, the conservative opposition came from the social and military elite and often had impeccable anti-Semitic credentials and a record of early support for the regime, which turned sour only when Hitler appeared to be taking Germany on a dangerous war course, or even later, after it became clear that, for all intents and purposes, the war was lost. This is not to cast doubt on the moral motivation of some conservative conspirators, or on the fact that they were appalled by the crimes of the regime. Yet it is just as true that they were potentially acceptable allies of Hitler, and for a long time they indeed served in that capacity, making possible the creation of the regime and the organization of the army that facilitated the disasters and crimes against which they ultimately rebelled. It should also be remembered that the conspirators were a very small minority, hardly representative of the milieu from which they stemmed. Nevertheless, during the Cold War, it was as difficult for the Federal Republic to concede that resistance to Nazism had begun on the left as it was for the German Democratic Republic to admit that the single most dangerous domestic challenge to Hitler had come from

<sup>42</sup> Apart from the literature cited above, see also the excellent analysis in Elisabeth Domansky, “‘Kristallnacht,’ the Holocaust and German Unity: The Meaning of November 9 as an Anniversary in Germany,” *History and Memory* 4 (Spring–Summer 1992): 60–94.



*Ambiguous heroism.* Statue in Berlin commemorating the *Putsch* attempt against Hitler on July 20, 1944. The memorial, redesigned in 1980, includes several plaques. One asserts that the officers “died for Germany.” Another says that they “did not endure the shame” and gave their lives “for freedom, justice, and honor.” Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

the old German elites. Moreover, the very notion of resistance to the regime at the time of the war remained problematic, since it could be construed as another “stab in the back” along the model of 1918, a point of which the resisters themselves were well aware. Indeed, casting doubts on the legitimacy of the Nazi regime by praising the conspirators threatened the far more numerous officials who defended themselves from postwar accusations by asserting their legal and moral obligation to obey the regime, especially in wartime.<sup>43</sup>

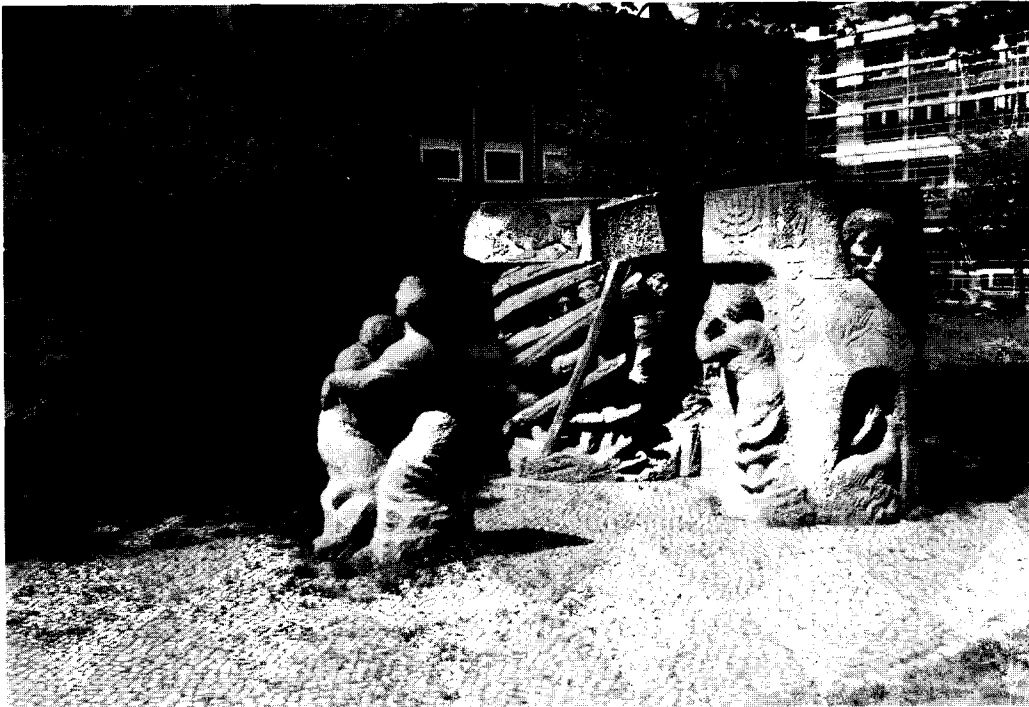
The resisters have therefore retained a dual position long after 1945. Seen as both conspirators and heroes, they represent the ambivalent attitude toward resistance to the regime, so well reflected in the treatment by the Federal Republic of lesser acts of resistance or subversion by the lower ranks in the army, such as insubordination, desertion, and self-inflicted wounds. The Wehrmacht meted out severe punishments for such allegedly political offenses, including the loss of pensions, and the Federal Republic has upheld these sentences without consideration for the circumstances of the time, yet it pays pensions to retired members of the Waffen-SS or their families. If the senior officers who rebelled in 1944 have been glorified, rebellious soldiers of the rank and file are thus still seen as traitors and criminals.<sup>44</sup>

For historians, determining the identity of the Nazi regime’s domestic opponents is also a matter of definition, not always corresponding to contemporary perceptions. While scholars engaged in reconstructing the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*) of the Third Reich have noted resistance by the population to this or that governmental measure, this level of resistance was not always perceived by the regime itself as outright opposition, especially since it was often accompanied by conformity with or support for other aspects of Nazi rule: if everyone was a potential enemy, complicity was nevertheless pervasive.<sup>45</sup> Conversely, until

<sup>43</sup> Early histories of the resistance by non-German scholars were critical of the army’s involvement in politics and collaboration with Hitler’s regime. See Wheeler-Bennett, *Nemesis of Power*; F. L. Carsten, *The Reichswehr and Politics 1918 to 1933* (1966; Berkeley, Calif., 1973); and Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945* (London, 1964). Less negative views of the generals are to be found in Harold C. Deutsch, *The Conspiracy against Hitler in the Twilight War* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1968); and Deutsch, *Hitler and His Generals: The Hidden Crisis, January–June 1938* (Minneapolis, 1974). Early German scholarship tended to glorify the resisters. See, for instance, Gerhard Ritter, *Carl Goerdeler und die deutsche Widerstands-Bewegung* (Stuttgart, 1954); Joachim Kramarz, *Stauffenberg: The Architect of the Famous July 20th Conspiracy to Assassinate Hitler*, R. H. Barry, trans. (New York, 1967); Hermann Graml, et al., *The German Resistance to Hitler*, Peter Ross and Betty Ross, trans. (London, 1970). However, see also the far more critical position taken in Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *The Army, Politics and Society in Germany, 1933–45* (New York, 1987).

<sup>44</sup> For more recent works on the resistance, see Peter Hoffmann, *German Resistance to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), which is relatively apologetic; and Joachim Fest, *Plotting Hitler’s Death: The Story of the German Resistance*, Bruce Little, trans. (New York, 1996), which is somewhat less so. See also Peter Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg: A Family History, 1905–1944* (Cambridge, 1995). For a useful survey of the literature, see Martyn Housden, *Resistance and Conformity in the Third Reich* (London, 1997). On the treatment of soldiers tried by the Wehrmacht in postwar Germany, see Wolfram Wette, ed., *Deserteure der Wehrmacht: Feiglinge—Opfer—Hoffnungsträger? Dokumentation eines Meinungswandels* (Essen, 1995); Norbert Haase and Gerhard Paul, eds., *Die anderen Soldaten: Wehrkraftzersetzung, Gehorsamsverweigerung und Fahnenflucht im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995). See also contributions to “Gehorsam bis zum Mord? Der verschwiegene Krieg der deutschen Wehrmacht—Fakten, Analysen, Debatte,” in *Zeit-Punkte*, special issue of *Die Zeit* (n.d.); and Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg, 1995).

<sup>45</sup> An excellent analysis of this problem is Mary Nolan, “The Historikerstreit and Social History,” in Baldwin, *Reworking the Past*. For a more general discussion of *Alltagsgeschichte*, see Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, William Templer, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1995).



*Discreet heroism.* A memorial in Berlin to the women of the Rosenstrasse protest of 1943, in which the "Aryan" wives of Jews achieved, after several days, the release of their husbands arrested by the Gestapo. This new installation carries no explanatory plaque. Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

recently, the everyday life of the regime's declared enemies received little attention, an implicit acceptance of Nazi distinctions, internalized by much of the population, between "Aryans" and Jews. This has been changing in recent years, but it should be noted that there is still a general tendency to write the history of the Germans and the Jews separately, even though many German Jews saw themselves first and foremost as Germans, at least as long as the Nazis did not force them to think otherwise.<sup>46</sup> It could thus be argued that postwar scholarship has institutionalized an ideologically imposed perception, with the result that the historiographies of perpetrators and victims rarely overlap. Although the lives of German Jews and gentiles were separated by the regime, it is the process of segregation that needs to be clarified rather than accepted as natural; and, although the categories of victims and perpetrators are distinct, it is the encounter between the two that facilitates

<sup>46</sup> The best recently published example of this attitude is, of course, Victor Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1995). Fischer Verlag has been publishing a series of studies on Jews in Germany under the title "Jüdische Lebensbilder," which is now being issued in an English translation by Northwestern University Press. See also Avraham Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation: The Economic Struggle of German Jews, 1933-1943*, William Templer, trans. (Hanover, N.H., 1989). There are, of course, important studies of German Jewry in English. In addition to works cited above, see, for example, Ruth Gay, *The Jews of Germany: A Historical Portrait* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Marion A. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1991); Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1998); Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1987); Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle, Wash., 1995).



genocide, while keeping them strictly apart only blurs the fact that persecution, discrimination, and murder are actions in which one side does something to another side, that is, where there is an encounter, physical and material, mental and imaginary, between killer and victim.<sup>47</sup>

THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST has been constructed as an elusive, unstable entity by both Germans and Jews. Shortly after the war, Hannah Arendt wrote that the past had become a matter of opinion, rather than fact, for many Germans.<sup>48</sup> More recently, Holocaust deniers in several countries have adopted to their own purposes relativist and postmodern assertions regarding the instability or nonexistence of facts about the past, said to be as elusive as memory itself.<sup>49</sup> One of the perpetrators interviewed by Claude Lanzmann in his film *Shoah* (1985) admits that Hitler's dislike of the Jews "was well known . . . But as to their extermination, that was news to us. I mean, even today some people deny it. They say there couldn't have been so many Jews. Is it true? I don't know. That's what they say."<sup>50</sup> Indeed, the very nature and unprecedented scale of the destruction has tended to put into question the capacity to remember, represent, and reconstruct it.<sup>51</sup> Atrocity becomes elusive precisely because it is ubiquitous, inconceivable because it is fantastic, faceless because it is protean. Devastation of such proportions destroys not only the mechanisms capable of measuring its scale but even the ability to imagine it.<sup>52</sup> It

<sup>47</sup> See more on this in the last section of Omer Bartov, "German Soldiers and the Holocaust: Historiography, Research and Implications," *History and Memory* 9 (Fall 1997): 162–88. Conversely, for a recent example of confusing the political and "racial" victims of the regime, see the otherwise excellent study by Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*, William Templer, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1997).

<sup>48</sup> Arendt, *Aftermath*.

<sup>49</sup> Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, Jeffrey Mehlman, trans. (New York, 1992); Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York, 1993); Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," in *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*, Saul Friedländer, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Omer Bartov, "Intellectuals on Auschwitz: Memory, History, and Truth," in Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst*.

<sup>50</sup> Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust; The Complete Text of the Film* (New York, 1985), 138, interview with Walter Stier, ex-member of the Nazi party, former head of the Reich Railways Department 33.

<sup>51</sup> In the present context, I cannot go into the question of comprehending the Holocaust even while it was happening, whether by the victims, the bystanders, the Allies, or potential victims in countries not yet occupied by the Germans. There is a growing literature, for instance, on reactions by the Jewish community in Palestine to news about the Holocaust, as well as to the reactions of the Allies. See, for example, Dina Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David: The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust, 1939–1945*, David Ben-Nahum, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); William D. Rubinstein, *The Myth of Rescue: Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis* (London, 1997). This last book dismisses the argument that the Allies could have done more, but although it presents some interesting evidence, I find its final argument unconvincing.

<sup>52</sup> Jean-François Lyotard, *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute*, Georges Van Den Abbeele, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1988), 56, has a different position: "Suppose that an earthquake destroys not only lives, buildings, and objects but also the instruments used to measure earthquakes directly and indirectly. The impossibility of quantitatively measuring it does not prohibit, but rather inspires in the minds of the survivors the idea of a very great seismic force. The scholar claims to know nothing about it, but the common person has a complex feeling, the one aroused by the negative presentation of the indeterminate." See also Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster*, Ann Smock, trans. (Lincoln, Neb., 1986). Two insightful recent discussions on the difficulties of representing Auschwitz both in legal discourse and in academic and intellectual writings are Lawrence Douglas, "The Memory of Judgment:



must therefore be reduced to a more manageable size and more conventional nature, so that the mind can take it in rather than totally blot it out. Paradoxically, those who want to keep the memory of atrocity and those who wish to deny it are both engaged in a similar attempt to force the event into an acceptable imaginary mold. If their goals are radically opposed to each other, their means are much less so: for both denial and remembrance begin by diminishing the event. Denial starts off by casting doubt on the minutiae of destruction, undermining thereby our acceptance of the whole; reconstruction similarly begins from the details, because the scale of the enormity is so vast that it denies its own existence and vanishes from the mind. Having created a reality beyond its wildest fantasies, humanity cannot imagine what it created. In this context, human agency remains tenuous, the disaster being ascribed either to insane genius or to anonymous forces. Language, too, disintegrates; hence the resort either to medieval imagery of hell and metaphysical speculation or to radical skepticism about reality and a perception of the world as text—complex and elusive but purged of the inarticulate screams of the millions, inscribed into every word pronounced since the Holocaust.<sup>53</sup>

For the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, it would seem, there was nothing elusive about the identity of either the perpetrators or the victims. Yet both the event of the Holocaust itself and the identity of its human agents and victims have remained highly elusive in what has become by now a substantial body of Jewish ruminations on and representations of the event.<sup>54</sup> This has to do with the inherent nature of the event and with the fact that its Jewish representation depends to a large extent on the ideological, national, and religious affiliations of the survivors, their offspring, and those who have been spared direct or family-related contact with the event. To be sure, the manner and extent of Jewish preoccupation with the Holocaust, more evident perhaps at present than at any other time in the past, seems tragically both to recapitulate and to invert the urging of the Haggadah (read during Passover) to tell the story of the liberation from slavery in Egypt as if they themselves had experienced it. For the Holocaust is not a story of liberation but of annihilation. In this sense, due to the scope of the destruction and the exterminationist aspirations of the Nazis, every Jew is a survivor by dint of having been a potential victim, including those born after the event, who would not have seen life had Hitler had his way. But precisely because the Holocaust poses the most profound existential questions to Jewish life since the Exile, any interpretation of it

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The Law, the Holocaust, and Denial,” and Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi, “Representing Auschwitz,” both in *History and Memory* 7 (Fall–Winter 1996): 100–20 and 121–54.

<sup>53</sup> Recent works on the links between genocide and modernity have both the potential of distancing us from the horror (by sanitizing it) and of making us all complicit in it (since we belong to an age that perpetrates horror). See, for example, Detlev J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Peukert, *Weimar Republic*; and Peukert, “The Genesis of the ‘Final Solution’ from the Spirit of Science,” in *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds. (New York, 1993). See also Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989).

<sup>54</sup> By this, I do not mean to accept the specious distinction between the so-called mythical memory of the Holocaust among the Jews and the scholarly (*wissenschaftlich*) analysis of the event by a less involved younger generation of German historians. Such an argument was made by Martin Broszat in his correspondence with Saul Friedländer, now included in Baldwin, *Reworking the Past*, 106. See also Kershaw, *Nazi Dictatorship*, 80–81.

cannot be isolated from its implications for the present. And because the event as a whole defies the imaginative capacities of the human mind, it is open to an array of interpretations and ascribed meanings, whose single common element is that they all agree on their incapacity to “save” it completely from its inherently inexplicable nature. Hence the Holocaust can serve to legitimize contradictory choices of various Jewish communities in the postwar era and simultaneously to cast doubt on each and every one of them, exposing them as precariously founded on a reading of an event that is perceived to be beyond comprehension. In this sense, the Holocaust is both at the root of the extraordinary revival of Jewish life after the genocide and the cause of the deep anxiety and bewilderment that characterizes much of postwar Jewish thought and creativity.<sup>55</sup>

In the years immediately following the Holocaust, the two most influential and articulate Jewish communities left in the world, American Jewry and the State of Israel, largely kept silent about the event. While Soviet Jewry, that other major survivor of the Holocaust, found itself under political circumstances that made public, or even private, discussion of the Holocaust almost impossible, American Jews and Israelis, with some important exceptions, largely accepted the very different official state perceptions in their respective lands. To be sure, both narratives were constructed as tales of ultimate triumph, either of American democracy and values or of Zionist ideology and Jewish statehood, and both claimed to have discovered the best remedy to the condition of Jewish Diaspora in Europe. Indeed, while American Jews were convinced that their country of choice had led the eventual victory over Nazism, Israelis believed that the very existence of their newly founded state constituted a defeat for Nazi aspirations to destroy the Jewish people. These narratives were not wholly consistent with historical reality. The United States did not fight Germany to save the Jews and could hardly be said to have pursued opportunities to hamper the killing process during the war with any conviction. Moreover, the U.S. government had refused to accept any significant numbers of Jewish refugees during the 1930s, a decision that proved to have literally fatal consequences. Nevertheless, there was little doubt that the United States did play a major role in destroying the Third Reich, thereby putting an end to the extermination of the Jews (by which time, of course, the vast majority of European Jewry had already been murdered). What was just as important for Jewish perceptions of the United States was the fact that, following the war, many survivors were allowed to immigrate here and to begin a new and at least materially successful life.

The Zionist/Israeli narrative similarly contained some baffling contradictions. After all, the minuscule *Yishuv*, or pre-state Jewish community in Palestine, which numbered just over half a million people during the war, was hardly in a condition to fight Nazism. While the Zionist rhetoric subsequently claimed that unlike the Jews of the Diaspora, the “new” Jews of Palestine would not have gone as “sheep to the slaughter,” the fact of the matter is that had General Rommel broken

<sup>55</sup> See, most recently, Yisrael Gutman, ed., *Major Changes within the Jewish People in the Wake of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 1995 [in Hebrew]); Y. Kashti, et al., eds., *A Quest for Identity: Post War Jewish Biographies* (Tel Aviv, 1996); Rafael Moses, ed., *Persistent Shadows of the Holocaust: The Meaning to Those Not Directly Affected* (Madison, Conn., 1993).

through at El Alamein and reached Palestine, the *Yishuv* would have probably ended up just like any other major ghetto in Europe. What saved the Jews of Palestine was not Zionism but the same factor that saved British Jewry, namely, the British armed forces. No less disturbing for subsequent reconstructions of the period was the knowledge that, while the Holocaust was happening in Europe, the *Yishuv* was preoccupied mainly with ensuring its own survival and prosperity, building the economic and political infrastructure for the establishment of the future state, and preparing for the anticipated military confrontation with the Palestinian Arab population and the surrounding states. Similarly, American Jewry was extremely slow to acknowledge the reality of the genocide in Europe and was greatly troubled by the prospect that putting too much pressure on the American government to act on behalf of European Jews might have a detrimental effect on the still not fully established position of Jews in the United States. In this sense, the same mechanism of repression functioned in the *Yishuv* and American Jewry during the Holocaust. Both communities found it difficult to believe the tales of horror coming from Europe, and they blotted out for as long as they could the growing amount of information indicating that a whole Jewish world, including the families and towns from which so many American and Palestinian Jews had originated, was being systematically annihilated. Both communities also shared a certain level of complacency and self-satisfaction in view of the fact that their respective choices of residence had been justified by the plight of their brethren in Nazi-occupied Europe.<sup>56</sup>

At this point, of course, there was nothing particularly elusive about the self-declared enemy of the Jews. Yet, even while the Holocaust was still happening, the enemy was also being defined both more widely and more narrowly, closer to local concerns, on the one hand, and associated with traditional images, on the other. Moreover, the nature of the Holocaust itself made for a reluctance to concentrate on its details, producing instead an obsession with its implications and a preoccupation with the relationship between victim and perpetrator, complicity and resistance, individual and community, altruism and self-interest.

Many of these strands came together in the United States and Israel during the trial in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann (1961), the first major public confrontation with the Holocaust in either country. Until that point, the murder of the Jews was presented in the United States as part and parcel of World War II, specifically of the political persecution that had characterized the Nazi regime and had therefore made the struggle against it into a just war. The genocide of the Jews was still not referred to as the Holocaust, and the symbols of Nazi oppression were Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, and Buchenwald, namely those concentration camps—and not death camps—that had been liberated by the Western Allies and that had indeed

<sup>56</sup> For some recent literature on the United States, see Henry L. Feingold, *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1995); Gulie Ne'eman Arad, "American Jewish Leadership and the Nazi Menace" (PhD dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 1994); Peter Novick, "Holocaust Memory in America," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, James E. Young, ed. (New York, 1994). On the *Yishuv* and Israel, see Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, Haim Watzman, trans. (New York, 1993); Porat, *Blue and the Yellow Stars*; Dalia Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust: Illegal Immigration to the Land of Israel, 1939–1944* (New York, 1990); Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

served during much of their existence for the incarceration of the real and imaginary political enemies, rather than “biological” enemies, of the regime.<sup>57</sup> In Israel, of course, the *Shoah*, as it was called there, was perceived as the most important event of the war, as well as a major disaster for the Jewish people. But public discourse and education tended to emphasize such events as the Warsaw Ghetto rebellion and other instances of Jewish resistance, on the one hand, and the eventual illegal immigration (*Ha'apala*) of the survivors to British-occupied Palestine, on the other. The mass slaughter of the Jews was acknowledged but with a distinct measure of embarrassment and discomfort, since, while it could be used to justify the Zionist argument about the urgent need to create a new Jewish “type” in an independent Jewish state willing and able to fight for its existence, it was also perceived as a case of national humiliation and highlighted the *Yishuv*’s own vulnerability as well as its inability to defend the vast majority of the Jewish people murdered in Europe by the Nazis. This combined sense of shame and anxiety made it appear all the more urgent during the early postwar years in Palestine and then Israel rapidly to convert the arriving survivors from Diaspora Jews into Zionist Israelis, that is, to erase those qualities in the new arrivals that had allegedly made the victims go “like sheep to the slaughter” and to remake them as patriotic citizens of the Jewish state, new “types” unburdened by the shadows and ghosts of the past, and capable of protecting the Jewish state from any more genocidal assaults. That the state was increasingly made up of survivors and that the *Yishuv* itself had been saved from the Holocaust due to circumstances wholly beyond its control was not, and perhaps could not, be acknowledged in those early and precarious years of Jewish statehood.<sup>58</sup>

The Eichmann trial redefined many of the categories hitherto employed by the two communities in representing the Holocaust. Receiving wide media exposure in Israel and the United States, the trial greatly complicated previous perceptions of the event, both by providing the public with masses of the information that until then had been the domain of only a few specialists and by casting doubt on the conventional narratives and interpretations that had been employed in confronting, or avoiding, the reality and implications of the Holocaust. This was also the reason for the furor with which Arendt’s controversial reports and subsequent book on the trial were greeted by both Jewish communities, posing (but also dodging) as she did some of the most crucial questions about the significance of the Holocaust for postwar society, issues that in large part have not been resolved to our own day. One major aspect of this controversy involved the nature and identity of both the enemy and the victim.

Jewish interpretations of the Holocaust conventionally assumed that the Nazi genocide was motivated mainly by a particularly virulent strain of anti-Semitism, perceived more generally as inherent to European Christian civilization. Arendt’s argument—that the genocide of the Jews was carried out by loyal, law-abiding, and opportunistic bureaucrats, who cared little about ideology and a great deal about

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, the forthcoming book by Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust in the United States, 1945–1995*.

<sup>58</sup> For greater detail, see Omer Bartov, “Kitsch and Sadism in Ka-Tzetnik’s Other Planet: Israeli Youth Imagine the Holocaust,” *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (Spring 1997): 42–76, and references cited therein.

their own status and reputation as civil servants capable of executing their allotted tasks flawlessly and efficiently—introduced a highly disturbing element to the debate. Moreover, if previously the Jews had perceived themselves as the main victims of the war, Arendt claimed that Jewish traditions of compliance and accommodation in the face of adversity, and the inability of community leaders to recognize the true genocidal intent of the Nazis, led to fateful complicity of the victims in their own annihilation. While infuriating her critics, Arendt's assertion also indicated the need for more subtle analyses of victimhood and complicity. Conversely, while American public opinion had previously subsumed the murder of the Jews under the Nazi regime's persecution of its political enemies, the Eichmann trial heralded the emergence of the Holocaust in the United States and subsequently also in Western Europe as the paradigm of evil and the fate of the Jews as the epitome of victimhood.<sup>59</sup>

It should be noted that much of the historical evidence for Arendt's essay was taken from Raul Hilberg's magisterial study on the Holocaust. Interestingly, Hilberg's study was rejected by the Research Institute of Yad Vashem when he asked for assistance in publishing it, mainly because, in the view of the institute's staff, Hilberg had failed to pay due attention to Jewish fate and resistance and had instead focused primarily on the perpetrators.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, neither Hilberg's work nor Arendt's most important contributions to the debate, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963), have been translated into Hebrew. However, Arendt borrowing evidence from Hilberg should not create the impression that they were in agreement with each other. Not only has Hilberg voiced

<sup>59</sup> Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, rev. edn. (New York, 1977). A typical attack on her book can be found in the introduction to Shmuel Ettinger, *Modern Anti-Semitism: Studies and Essays* (Tel Aviv, 1978 [in Hebrew]), x–xi. See also Segev, *Seventh Million*, 357–60, 465; *History and Memory* 8 (Fall–Winter 1996), special issue: *Hannah Arendt and Eichmann in Jerusalem*; and Steven E. Aschheim, “Nazism, Culture and the *Origins of Totalitarianism*: Hannah Arendt and the Discourse of Evil,” *New German Critique* 70 (Winter 1997): 117–39.

In this context, mention should be made also of the offspring of victims. While the children of war veterans could say proudly that their father had been a soldier, those of Holocaust survivors tended to hide the fact that their parents were victims; there was nothing heroic or satisfying about that status, quite apart from the fact of growing up in a traumatized family environment. On the case of Britain, see, for example, Jeremy Adler, “The One Who Got Away: H. G. Adler and Theodor Adorno: Two Approaches to Culture after Auschwitz,” *Times Literary Supplement* 4879 (October 4, 1996): 18–19. He writes: “In my childhood, there were no secrets at home about this period simply called ‘the wicked age’ (*die böse Zeit*) or ‘the camp years’ (*die Lagerjahre*) . . . ; yet outside the home a taboo occluded discussion of what, later, was debated as avidly as it had been repressed in terms of ‘Auschwitz,’ ‘the Holocaust’ and ‘the Shoah.’ My friends could boast of how dad had fought with Monty in the desert. My own father’s experiences were unmentionable. They had no place, until recently. The public cycle from repression to obsession in Britain took about fifty years.” See also Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York, 1979). On children of the perpetrators, see Dan Bar-On, *Legacy of Silence: Encounters with Children of the Third Reich* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). On children in the Holocaust, see Nechama Tec, *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood* (1982; New York, 1984); Debórah Dwork, *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1991); Laurel Holliday, *Children in the Holocaust and World War II: Their Secret Diaries* (New York, 1995); Jane Marks, *The Hidden Children: The Secret Survivors of the Holocaust* (New York, 1993).

<sup>60</sup> Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3 vols., rev. edn. (1961; New York, 1985). Also see Hilberg, *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian* (Chicago, 1996), 110–11, where he cites the letter of rejection from Yad Vashem, dated August 24, 1958, which argued that since his “book rests almost entirely on the authority of German sources,” and because of “reservations concerning” his “appraisal of the Jewish resistance (active and passive) during the Nazi occupation,” Yad Vashem “cannot appear as one of the publishers.”



strong criticism of Arendt only recently, there is little doubt that these two scholars were of a very different cast of mind and were motivated in their work by very different agendas.<sup>61</sup>

While Hilberg's focus on the perpetrators was based on his assumption that this was the only way to explain the genocide of the Jews, Arendt's intention was overtly to diminish the centrality of anti-Semitism in explaining the Holocaust and to show the inherent genocidal potential of the modern state. As other studies have since demonstrated,<sup>62</sup> her dismissal of anti-Semitism as a motivating factor among the perpetrators and within German society more generally can no longer be supported, but her insistence on the pernicious traits of the modern bureaucratic state greatly contributed to our understanding of the twentieth century and makes her work into a cardinal text of postwar scholarship. Conversely, Hilberg's analysis of the Third Reich has had a tremendous influence on all subsequent studies of the period, yet its limited focus has encouraged the views that the Holocaust can be explained with the victims more or less left out and that Nazi Germany can be analyzed in isolation from other totalitarian and genocidal systems. At the same time, while Arendt took a much wider and less precise view and Hilberg a narrower and more detailed one, both scholars have implied that the Jews were somehow complicit in their murder and did little to prevent it. They ignored, or did not know about, the numerous instances of Jewish resistance, on the one hand, and, on the other, failed to acknowledge the more or less unresisting annihilation by the Nazis and other regimes of many groups not normally charged with "having gone like sheep to the slaughter," such as, most prominently perhaps, the millions of Soviet prisoners of war murdered by the Nazi regime and its associates, but also the genocide of Armenians by Turks. (Today, we would add Cambodians by Cambodians, Tutsis by Hutus, and "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia.) Both Hilberg and Arendt tried to steer away from the monocausal interpretation of the Holocaust as motivated only by anti-Semitism and, in the process, minimized its impact more than the evidence warrants. Yet Arendt was apologetic for German cultural traditions, Hilberg accusatory of German bureaucratic mentality. Both works threatened to replace one monocausality with another. But Hilberg was interested mainly in the mechanism of genocide, Arendt in its moral and philosophical implications.

Arendt's criticism of Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem and of Jewish behavior in the Holocaust, her unwillingness to condemn German culture as a whole, her impatience with the simplistic narrative of the Holocaust as the culmination of European anti-Semitism, and her association with and subsequent defense of Martin Heidegger cast her in the role of the proverbial self-hating Jew and critic of the newly established Jewish state.<sup>63</sup> Such so-called self-hating Jews were a social and

<sup>61</sup> See esp. Hilberg, *Politics of Memory*, 147–57. Hilberg also attacked Arendt publicly in a lecture given at a conference on Arendt in Berlin during the summer of 1997.

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, Herbert, *Best*; Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*; Weiss, *Ideology of Death*; S. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*; Bartov, *Hitler's Army*; Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*.

<sup>63</sup> Ettinger, *Modern Anti-Semitism*, x–xi, writes that Arendt "charged the Jews, their conduct, their leadership, and their actions, with much of the responsibility for the crime of antisemitism and even with the extermination of the Jews . . . At the basis of such arguments are concepts prevalent in German society (and to a large extent even the effects of antisemitic and even Nazi views). In the past, Jews who have sought the roots of antisemitism occasionally came to accept the approaches and modes of

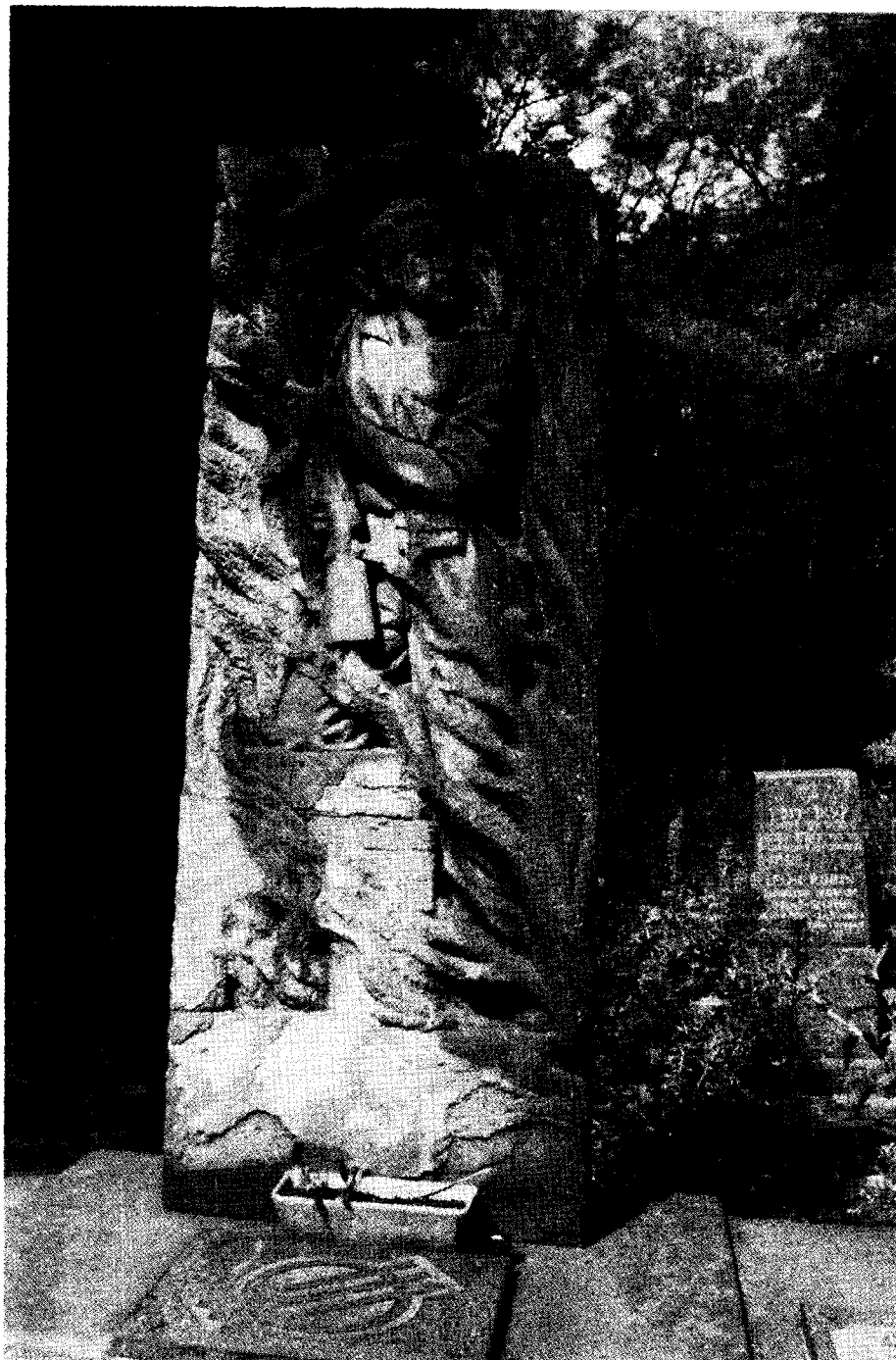
psychological phenomenon related to the secularization and often only partially successful assimilation of European Jews beginning in the nineteenth century and were anathema to the Zionist and Orthodox establishments alike. Often seen as the enemy within, they reflected the profound crisis in Jewish identity that Zionism, along with other political movements, had sought to rectify.

Especially in its early years, Israeli society found it much easier to deal with the image of the Jew as resister and fighter, even if he or she ended up as a victim, than with the Jew as the victim of another's perception, irrespective of his or her actions. In other words, while Jewish resisters were glorified, "passive" Jewish victims were treated with greater distance and discomfort. Conversely, the early tendency in the United States to view the Jews as a whole as political opponents of the Nazi regime, while it glorified them, did very little justice to their actual fate and arguably made for an integration into American society based on silence and repression. The Nazi regime, of course, ultimately differentiated only between part and full Jews, and occasionally (and temporarily) between Jews who could work and those who could not. Arendt, however, proposed yet another category of Jews, namely, those who in one way or another were complicit in their own genocide, whether (and most especially) as members of the Jewish councils (*Judenräte*) or as policemen and guards (*Kapos*) recruited to control the Jewish population in the ghettos and concentration camps. Unlike previous distinctions, then, between types of Jewish victimhood, Arendt's notion of Jewish complicity blurred the boundaries between victims and perpetrators. Indeed, it is likely that precisely because there was a tremendous amount of resentment toward such Jewish "collaborators" among both the survivors and the Jewish communities that received them (especially in Palestine), Arendt's emphasis on this phenomenon in a public (gentile) forum, well beyond the closed Jewish circles in which it was acknowledged, was perceived as a particularly pernicious type of treason.<sup>64</sup>

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thinking of their environment . . . and internalized the image of the Jew as seen by their environment. One might have expected that following the Holocaust this approach would change, but this did not happen to Hannah Arendt, and her attachment to the negative Jewish stereotype distinguishes her from other scholars" (my translation). See also Shmuel Almog, ed., *Antisemitism through the Ages: A Collection of Essays*, Nathan H. Reisner, trans. (Oxford, 1988), especially the essays by Almog, Shmuel Ettinger, Yisrael Gutman, and Yehuda Bauer. These writers referred also with a great deal of criticism to Arendt's earlier massive study, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

<sup>64</sup> On the Kasztner Affair in Israel, which preceded the Eichmann trial, see Segev, *Seventh Million*, 255–320. For a precise historical reconstruction of Israel Kasztner's actual role in attempts to save the Jews from genocide, see Bauer, *Jews for Sale*, 145–251. Apart from the literature cited above on the reception of survivors in Israel, see Hanna Yablonka, *Foreign Brethren: Holocaust Survivors in the State of Israel, 1948–1952* (Jerusalem, 1994 [in Hebrew]). For a recent controversial study, which claims that the political leadership in Palestine pursued policies of illegal immigration not out of sympathy for the survivors in European "displaced persons" camps but merely to increase the population of the future state, see Idith Zartal, *From Catastrophe to Power: Jewish Illegal Immigration to Palestine, 1945–1948* (Tel Aviv, 1996 [in Hebrew. Original title is *Zehavam shel ha'yehudim*, or "the Jews' gold"]). This book has elicited a public debate in Israel. Among the most interesting reactions is an essay by the poet, writer, and veteran of the 1948 war, Haim Gouri, "On Books and What Is between Them" [in Hebrew] *Alpayim* 14 (1997): 9–30. Gouri makes reference to another relevant collection of essays by the writer, journalist, and veteran of World War II and the 1948 War, Hanoah Bartov, *I Am Not the Mythological Sabra* (Tel Aviv, 1995 [in Hebrew]). Bartov is also the author of the novel *The Brigade*, David S. Segal, trans. (New York, 1968), which describes the encounter of young Jews from Palestine, serving in the Jewish Brigade of the British army with the remnants of European Jewry at the end of the Holocaust. For striking examples of the contradictory reactions of immigration agents sent from Palestine upon



*Victims' heroism.* A statue commemorating the fighters of the Polish Bund (Jewish socialist party) who died in the Warsaw Ghetto rebellion. Plaques only in Yiddish and Polish. Located in the vast and mostly overgrown Jewish cemetery in Warsaw. Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

Arendt's case is related in yet another way to more subtle, albeit not always cautious, distinctions between and within categories of victims and perpetrators. Educated in Germany and steeped in the German philosophical tradition, Arendt was unwilling to condemn German culture per se or to speak of German collective guilt for the Holocaust. However critical she might have been of early postwar Germany's failure to face up to its murderous past, its tendency to concentrate on its own victimhood and reconstruction, and its lack of empathy for the victims of the Nazi regime, she rejected interpretations that linked Hitler with earlier German history or assertions about the unique (or uniquely evil) German "character." The product of that remarkable, if also deeply troubled, Jewish-German (negative) symbiosis of Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany, Arendt was affiliated for a while with Zionism and retained a strong association for much of her adult life with Heidegger, that great German philosopher who greeted the advent of the Nazi regime with so much enthusiasm. In this, she had a great deal in common with many other German Jews in pre-state Palestine and Israel, whose allegiance to and love for the culture from which they had been forced to flee was expressed in the libraries of German classics they had taken along with them on their way to exile in the Jewish homeland. These were not "self-hating Jews" but men and women who refused to condemn the world that had been part and parcel of their own identity and formation, even if they would never return to it. The survivors of German Jewry knew their enemy better than anyone else, since they had lived in his midst until they were finally driven out. Their ambivalence resulted from the fact that, while enemy and victim were so much alike, having largely shared the same educational and cultural background, they were also ultimately defined as stark opposites, so that their fellow citizens became their potential murderers, and they in turn were transformed from patriotic Germans into often ardent, even if at times somewhat schizophrenic, Zionists.<sup>65</sup>

This was only part of the troubled relationship between enemies and victims within the Israeli discourse on national identity. Zionism had formed in Europe as a reaction to political anti-Semitism, the view that "the Jew" was European society's most dangerous and yet elusive enemy. The Zionists, in turn, presented gentile European society as the greatest danger to Jewish existence and promoted the idea of a Jewish state, applying to it the very model of Central European nationalism that had increasingly viewed Jews as an alien race but combining it with traditional Jewish attitudes to their non-Jewish environment. Yet the new Jewish state was created in the Middle East, on the rim of an Arab and Islamic world, while the

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their first encounter with survivors, see Irit Keynan, "Between Hope and Anxiety: The Image of the Survivors among the Emissaries from Palestine to the DP Camps in Germany, 1945," in *Haapala: Studies in the History of Illegal Immigration into Palestine 1934–1948*, Anita Shapira, ed. (Tel Aviv, 1990 [in Hebrew]), 222. One agent wrote: "I believe that those who survived lived because they were selfish, and cared first and foremost for themselves." Another: "They became used to seeing death, they trampled on the living and on the dead and the will to help others was almost extinguished in them." Yet a third agent claimed that "among the survivors there are people, whose souls were cleansed even by the crematorium, and who speak with such Zionist fervor, that I cannot imagine any circumstance, or any individual who could surpass them" (my translation). See also Irit Keynan, *Holocaust Survivors and the Emissaries from Eretz-Israel: Germany, 1945–1948* (Tel Aviv, 1996 [in Hebrew]).

<sup>65</sup> On the so-called Yekes, or German Jews in Palestine, see Segev, *Seventh Million*, 15–64.



original vision of Zionism was to establish a political and social entity very much in line with liberal or socialist ideas brought over from Europe. This made for a great deal of ambivalence vis-à-vis Europe, seen as both the persecutor of the Jews and the model for an independent Jewish existence. Conversely, while Zionism aspired to create a “new Jew” closer to the ancient Israelites than to Diaspora ancestors, the only available example was the Arabs, who for their part increasingly resisted Jewish nationhood in Palestine. Hence the ambivalent attitude toward the Arab world, which was seen as both a model for a resurrected Hebrew culture and its worst enemy. Meanwhile, the arrival of large numbers of Sepharadim from the Arab lands in the newly established state was also greeted with mixed feelings. For while these “Orientals” appeared closer to the Hebraic precursors of the modern Jew, their traditional culture, social norms, and religious practices seemed positively alien and primitive to the largely secular Ashkenazim, even if it had the exotic appeal of biblical times.<sup>66</sup>

All this made for a complex process of inversion and denial, whereby anti-Semitic stereotypes were employed by Zionism both in order to mold a new type of Israeli Jew and to forge a negative image of the Arab, while the virtues of that very European civilization from which the Zionists had emigrated were both appropriated by the state and set against the “oriental” nature of its Arab environment. At the same time, and in apparent contradiction to this first image, the Arabs were presented as the local manifestation of European anti-Semitism, and fighting them as a continuation of, and this time victory over, the genocidal aspirations of gentile Europe. Thus the Israelis could see themselves both as an outpost of European civilization on the fringe of barbarism and as winning the war against the collaborators of Nazism that their European ancestors had lost. Ironically, if the Arabs saw the Jewish state as a modern reenactment of the Crusades, to be ultimately destroyed by a latter-day Saladin, the Jewish memory of the Crusaders pictured them as the precursors of Europe’s anti-Jewish pogroms, stretching from the Middle Ages all the way to Hitler; and if the Arabs saw the Jews as European colonizers, the Zionists claimed to have regained their ancestral homeland, whence they had been exiled into a two-thousand-year-long existence as the perennial victims of European civilization.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948*, William Templer, trans. (New York, 1992); Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, 1995); Yosef Gorny, *The State of Israel in Jewish Public Thought: The Quest for Collective Identity* (New York, 1994); Nurit Gertz, *Captive of a Dream: National Myths in Israeli Culture* (Tel Aviv, 1995 [in Hebrew]).

<sup>67</sup> See Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State*, David Maisel, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Anita Shapira, *New Jews Old Jews* (Tel Aviv, 1997 [in Hebrew]); and Shapira, *Visions in Conflict* (Tel Aviv, 1997 [in Hebrew]); Emmanuel Sivan, *The 1948 Generation: Myth, Profile and Memory* (Tel Aviv, 1991 [in Hebrew]); Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (New York, 1993); Meir Litvak, “A Palestinian Past: National Construction and Reconstruction,” *History and Memory* 6 (Fall–Winter 1994): 24–56. On the “new historians” and the so-called *Historikerstreit* in Israel, see Jonathan Mahler, “Uprooting the Past: Israel’s New Historians Take a Hard Look at Their Nation’s Origins,” *Lingua Franca* 7 (August 1997): 24–32; Gulie Ne’eman Arad, ed., *Israeli Historiography Revisited*, special issue of *History and Memory* 7 (Spring–Summer 1995); Amos Elon, “Israel and the End of Zionism,” *New York Review of Books* (December 19, 1996): 22–30. For a savage attack on the critics of traditional Zionist historiography, see Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The “New Historians”* (London, 1997). For an illuminating



THE ORIGINS OF MODERN GENOCIDE, as well as its long-term consequences, are thus deeply rooted in a history of metaphors of evil, or, perhaps, of evil metaphors claiming to be history. The Israeli case presents only one important aspect of the discourse on persecution and victimhood that has become a central feature of our century. It is no coincidence that, while some Israelis have seen the Palestinians as the incarnation of Nazism, Palestinians have presented themselves as the Jews of the Middle East and some anti-Israeli speakers have compared the Israelis to the Nazis. Whatever the shortcomings of her thesis, Arendt's argument on the elusive nature of victimhood, complicity, and crime provides an important insight into the larger context of the Holocaust. For it is not only an event that defies conventional interpretations but one that has been appropriated by many groups, yet ultimately it belongs to us all.<sup>68</sup>

The Holocaust has been used to justify the unjustifiable; it has served as a measuring rod for every other atrocity, trivializing and relativizing what would otherwise be unacceptable; it has created an image of an enemy so monstrous that it can be employed to demonize all other enemies (as being the same) or to let them off the hook (as being not as bad); it has created an image of victimhood so horrific that all other suffering must be diminished in comparison or inflated to fit its standards. Itself the product of the idea of elusive enemies, the Holocaust has by now been repeatedly mobilized to perpetuate victimhood.<sup>69</sup>

What makes the event so maddening, so frustrating, so resistant to human understanding and to ordinary empathy and emotion is the elusiveness of its perpetrators and victims. The former because of the bureaucratic and detached manner in which they organized genocide (even if it was ultimately carried out by run-of-the-mill sadists or quickly brutalized "ordinary men"), the latter since the vast majority of them disappeared without a trace, and the few who survived have found it almost impossible to recount their experience, not only because humanity would not, and could not, accept the sheer horror of the event but also because they themselves have been torn between the urgent need to recount the tale and the terror of plunging into infinite despair by evoking it once more. What is so devastating about the Holocaust is that there can never be any acceptable relationship between the crime and the punishment, between what humanity has been able to imagine and what it has wrought upon itself. This was already evident

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comparison between the German and Israeli historical controversies, see José Brunner, "Pride and Memory: Nationalism, Narcissism and the Historians' Debates in Germany and Israel," *History and Memory* 9 (Fall 1997): 256–300.

<sup>68</sup> In this context, see also Dan Diner, "Historical Experience and Cognition: Perspectives on National Socialism," *History and Memory* 2 (1990): 84–110.

<sup>69</sup> This is by no means to say that I accept such relativizing arguments as those recently propounded in Alain Brossat, *L'épreuve du désastre: Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle et les camps* (Paris, 1996), 20, 23. Brossat writes that "the prevailing contemporary propensity to perceive extremity and catastrophe as strictly a matter of the past [*résolument passéifiés*]" has resulted in preventing those who "only stress the singularity" of the *Shoah* from recognizing that "the Palestinian camps are inexorably linked to the Jewish disaster," and that, "so long as the plunder and oppression of the Palestinians appears as compensation for the crime of Auschwitz, so long as the 'uniqueness' of the Nazi crimes serves *also* as the alibi for the avoidance, indeed the uninhibited negation of the Soviet extermination or the colonial atrocities—the life without end of catastrophe will continue to pierce the flesh of the democratic order as it expands throughout the world" (my translation). For my rejection of this position and a contextualization of such arguments currently being aired in France, see Bartov, "Proof of Ignominy."



*Appropriated victims.* A section of the commemoration complex called “Valley of the Communities” (Bik’at ha’kehilot), next to Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. The plaque at the entrance to the labyrinth reads: “This memorial commemorates the thousands of Jewish communities that came under the rule of Nazi Germany and its collaborators. The vast majority were destroyed in the Holocaust . . . For over a thousand years the Jews dwelt in Europe, built their communities, and preserved their national and religious distinctiveness. They experienced periods of calm . . . and periods of decline when they were compelled to wander in search of new places to restore their communities. Wherever they dwelt, they contributed of their talents to the peoples in whose midst they lived. In this valley their memory will be preserved forever” (translated from the Hebrew by the author; the English plaque differs in some details). The names of all major European cities and towns in which the Jews lived are inscribed on the steep walls of tunnels dug into the mountain. There is no mention of the continued existence of Jews in the Diaspora. Photograph copyright Omer Bartov.

during the postwar trials, where the murderers of thousands, having been given a public hearing, were often let off with the lightest of punishments, while their victims had no voice at all. It was manifested by the necessary normalization of both the perpetrators' and the victims' existence, accomplished by repressing the memory and erasing the traces of a past that could not be assimilated into the present. It was, finally, established through the decision that life must continue after the apocalypse. And, as a result of this seemingly inevitable process, much that has been at the root of the original evil has persisted beyond its enactment and extended into the present. Hence the spectacle of victims being accused of complicity in their own destruction, of perpetrators enjoying a prosperous postwar respectability, of shattered, disjointed, and guilt-ridden memories of survivors, for whom the categories of victim and perpetrator as we understand them cannot have the same calming effect, cannot order the past into those convenient distinctions that we wish so much to draw in retrospect. For the final and most tragic legacy of the Holocaust is that even the few who survived know that they could have just as easily joined the endless rows of the "drowned," yet at the same time they are burdened by the sense that they owe a debt to the murdered they can never repay, the debt of their own lives. This is the atrocity after the event; for while so many perpetrators have neither paid for their crimes nor suffered from guilt, the "saved" are doomed to remain their own unrelenting enemies, struggling with the memory and vision of their death for the rest of their tortured lives.<sup>70</sup>

THE VICTIM TROPE IS A CENTRAL FEATURE OF OUR TIME. In a century that produced more victims of war, genocide, and massacre than all of previous recorded history put together, it is both a trope and a reflection of reality. Yet, at the same time, it is a dangerous prism through which to view the world, for victims are produced by enemies, and enemies eventually make for more victims. Traditional societies often create elaborate rites of vengeance and pacification; modern, industrial societies have the capacity to wreak destruction on such a vast scale that ultimately everyone becomes its victim. This essay has attempted to examine only one case, that of German and Jewish views of enemies and victims, and the extent to which the legacy of the Holocaust has molded the fate and identity of these two peoples over the past fifty years. Although I have used the past tense, I believe that this legacy is still an inherent part of German and Jewish consciousness. Moreover, this is merely a

<sup>70</sup> I am referring here to Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, Raymond Rosenthal, trans. (New York, 1988), published following Levi's death, possibly by suicide. These essays are about coming to terms not only with the memory of the Holocaust but also with life after the event. See also Ferdinando Camon, *Conversations with Primo Levi*, John Shepley, trans. (Marlboro, Vt., 1989). The same problem is confronted in a very different manner by Jean Améry, *At the Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and Its Realities*, Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld, trans., 2d edn. (New York, 1986), and in much of the poetry of Paul Celan. Both Améry and Celan committed suicide. On the latter, see John Felstiner, *Paul Celan: Poet, Survivor, Jew* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Israel Chalfen, *Paul Celan: A Biography of His Youth*, Maximilian Bleyleben, trans. (New York, 1991). The question of life after death in the camps is addressed differently by the Israeli writer Ka-Tzetnik, *Shivitti: A Vision*, Eliyah Nike De-Nur and Lisa Herman, trans. (San Francisco, 1989), who came from a religious background and underwent psychiatric treatment many years after Auschwitz. See more on this issue in my above-cited essays, "Intellectuals on Auschwitz" and "Kitsch and Sadism."

single, albeit especially pertinent, example of the pernicious effects of the discourse of victimhood in many other parts of the world. By way of conclusion, and without going into much detail, it may be instructive to point out a few more cases in which competing memories and representations of violence have embedded themselves in the historical consciousness and politics of identity of other twentieth-century nations.

The similarities and differences between German and Japanese “coming to terms” with the past have recently drawn the attention of several scholars and journalists. Most relevant to the present context is the tendency of the Japanese, throughout most of the postwar period, to portray their nation primarily as the victim of nuclear annihilation. The shrines erected in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are thus more than symbols of the destructive nature of modern war and cannot be seen as mere expressions of pacifist sentiments. Rather, by celebrating Japanese suffering, these sites have facilitated a process of long-term repression, if not denial, of Japan’s own war of annihilation in China and other parts of Asia, as well as its criminal conduct toward enemy prisoners of war. In a recent ironic twist, the German citizen and member of the Nazi party who saved thousands of Chinese lives during the “Rape of Nanking” was described as the “Oskar Schindler of Nanjing.” Thus another “good German” was discovered just as Japan’s war of extermination was brought back to the public consciousness. At the same time, it should be stressed that the Chinese government has long been reluctant to portray its own nation as the victim of Japanese atrocities, both for internal reasons and because of its relations with postwar Japan.<sup>71</sup>

Politics have played a major role also in the case of the Turkish genocide of the Armenians. While the Armenians have seen themselves not only as victims of Turkish extermination policies but also of many decades of concerted Turkish efforts to repress and deny their veracity, the Turks have asserted that claims about genocide were merely part of Armenian nationalism, which had allegedly sparked anti-Armenian policies during World War I in the first place. In this case, too, differing views of victimhood have been reflected in controversies over academic politics and educational policies. This was demonstrated, for instance, in the recent debate over the alleged intervention of the Turkish government in an appointment at an American university, as it was in the no less embarrassing dispute over teaching the Armenian genocide in Israeli schools. In yet another characteristic twist, recent revelations concerning the involvement of the German government in the Armenian genocide reveal the highly complex links between instances of mass

<sup>71</sup> Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York, 1994); Carol Gluck, “The Rape of Nanking: How ‘The Nazi Buddha’ Resisted the Japanese,” *Times Literary Supplement* (June 27, 1997): 9–10; Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, 1997). In this context, see also the discussions of Alain Resnais’ film in Nancy Wood, “Memory by Analogy: *Hiroshima, mon amour*,” in *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*, H. R. Kedward and Wood, eds. (Oxford, 1995); Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, Md., 1996), 25–56; Michael Roth, “*Hiroshima Mon Amour*: You Must Remember This,” in *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past*, Robert A. Rosenstone, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 91–101. For an interesting attempt to find links between Chinese and Jewish history and memory, see Vera Schwarcz, “Chinese History and Jewish Memory,” in *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*, Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed. (Oxford, 1994), and her forthcoming book on this topic.



murder in the twentieth century, as well as their perception by groups of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders.<sup>72</sup>

Similarly, the genocide of his own people by the leader of the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot, has been used and abused in political debates and ideological confrontations. Dating back to the American involvement in Cambodia during the Vietnam War, the genocide in Kampuchea has been presented by some as the consequence of Western imperialism, by others as one more instance of Communism's destructive urge. It was used by the "revisionists" of the German *Historikerstreit* to relativize the Holocaust and has most recently become the focus of an attack on the director of the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University, a research project launched by a grant from the U.S. State Department.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, in one of the most grotesque, yet not untypical, statements by a modern genocidal dictator, Pol Pot himself was reported in October 1997 to have said to an interviewer what Hitler too might have said had he found refuge in some remote jungle: "I feel a little bit bored, but I have become used to that."<sup>74</sup>

Finally, the two most glaring instances of genocide in the 1990s are also deeply mired in a discourse on victimhood and enemies, traced by the protagonists many centuries back and showing few signs of being resolved any time soon. Thus the recent genocide in Rwanda was only the latest of a series of mass killings between Hutus and Tutsis. Moreover, new scholarship has demonstrated how the self-perception of the populations in Burundi and Rwanda has been molded by European ideas regarding the supposed "racial" differences between Hutus and Tutsis, very much in the service of colonial and postcolonial powers as well as of the Catholic church. That the media latched onto the stereotypes propagated by such interest groups indicates that easy access to information in the electronic age by no means facilitates knowledge and understanding, let alone prevention of atrocity.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence, R.I., 1995); and Dadrian, *German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity* (Watertown, Mass., 1996); Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); Roger W. Smith, Eric Markusen, and Robert Jay Lifton, "Professional Ethics and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 9 (Spring 1995): 1–22; Yair Auron, *The Banality of Indifference: The Attitude of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine and the Zionist Movement to the Armenian Genocide* (Tel Aviv, 1995 [in Hebrew]); Auron, "Again Musa Dag? And Again the World Is Silent?" *Ha'aretz* (April 18, 1997 [in Hebrew]); and Auron, "The Writing Is (Still) on the Wall," *Ha'aretz* (February 25, 1997 [in Hebrew]). In this context, one might also note that while during the *Historikerstreit* "revisionist" historians used the Armenian genocide as an event that negated the "uniqueness" of the Holocaust, until today millions of second and third-generation Turks in Germany are being denied German citizenship.

<sup>73</sup> Ben Kiernan, ed., *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia: The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community* (New Haven, Conn., 1993); and Kiernan, "Genocidal Targeting: The Two Groups of Victims in Pol Pot's Cambodia," in *State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression*, P. Timothy Bushnell, et al., eds. (Boulder, Colo., 1991); Eyal Press, "Unforgiven: The Director of the Cambodian Genocide Program Rekindles Cold War Animosity," *Lingua Franca* (April–May 1997): 67–75.

<sup>74</sup> Seth Mydans, "Confined, Pol Pot Tells of Feeling 'Bit Bored,'" *New York Times* (October 24, 1997).

<sup>75</sup> Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1982); Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York, 1995); Raymond Verdier, Emmanuel Decaux, and Jean-Pierre Chrétien, eds., *Rwanda: Un génocide du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1995); Dominique Franche, *Rwanda: Généalogie d'un génocide* (Paris, 1997); Timothy P. Longman, "Christian Churches and the Genocide in Rwanda" (unpublished paper, 1997); Longman, *Zaire: Forced to Flee; Violence*



As for the genocide in Bosnia, the long memories of southeastern Europe go much farther back than the world wars and horrendous massacres that have afflicted that region in the course of this century. As in the case of the Middle East, political discussions in the former Yugoslavia invariably begin and end by evoking the memory of ancient wars and animosities, deeply inscribed in popular lore, legend, and song. Chronological time and detached historiography play a minor role in people's perceptions of reality, especially at times of crisis (produced to some extent by precisely this hiatus of historical perspective). The heroes and martyrs of days gone by reappear on late twentieth-century battlefields, reenacting the sacrifices and atrocities of their forefathers. Thus the Croats describe the Serbs as "Chetniks," the Serbs call the Croats "Ustase," and the Muslims are seen as "Turks." The horrors of the past are told, remembered, and repeated. The war, it has been said, was never over, "it was a question of waiting for the right moment to recommence it."<sup>76</sup>

All of this should amply demonstrate that perhaps more attention should be devoted to exposing the process of defining enemies and making victims in future historical work. And yet, just as identifying the similarities between such cases is necessary, no less crucial is the need to make distinctions. Criticizing the recent revival of equating the Soviet and Nazi systems, Peter Holquist notes that, "in contrast to the National Socialist regime's biological-racial standard, the Soviet regime employed a fundamentally sociological paradigm to key individual experience to its universal matrix."<sup>77</sup> Hence, he rightly argues, a comparison between Nazi and Soviet state violence indicates that "the Soviets did not see their task as intrinsically related to the total physical annihilation of a particular group," nor to the "outright physical elimination of every living being in that [sociological] category." The Soviets did not "engage in industrial killing" precisely because they viewed extermination as a means to a goal, unlike the Nazis, for whom it was the goal itself.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, here, too, the Jews came to play a unique role. As Amir

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against the Tutsis in Zaire (New York, 1996); Longman with Alsion DesForges, *Zaire, Attacked by All Sides: Civilians and the War in Eastern Zaire* (New York, 1997); Charles de Lespinay, "Les idéologies d'exclusion importées en Afrique des Grands Lacs" (unpublished paper, 1997).

<sup>76</sup> Citations from Mark Danner, "Bosnia: The Turning Point," *New York Review of Books* (February 5, 1998): 34–41. Other articles in this remarkable series by Danner in the *Review* include "America and the Bosnia Genocide" (December 4, 1997): 55–65; "Bosnia: Breaking the Machine" (February 19, 1998): 41–45; "Bosnia: The Great Betrayal" (March 26, 1998): 40–52. Danner reviews a large number of works concerned with events in the former Yugoslavia. See also Michael A. Sells, "Religion and Genocide in Bosnia" (unpublished paper, 1997); and Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Sarah A. Kent, "Writing the Yugoslav Wars: English-Language Books on Bosnia (1992–1996) and the Challenges of Analyzing Contemporary History," *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 1085–1114. Emir Kusturica's extraordinary recent film *Underground* (1995) provides some insight into the tangled web of Serbian history, myth, and violence.

<sup>77</sup> Peter Holquist, "State Violence as Technique: The Logic of Violence in Soviet Totalitarianism" (unpublished paper, 1998), 29. For recent attempts to grapple with this century's genocides and tyrannies, see, for instance, Daniel Chitot, *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age* (New York, 1994); Yves Ternon, *L'état criminel: Les génocides au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1995). A recent study that fails to distinguish between the Soviet gulag and the Nazi camps, despite its otherwise admirable moral commitment, is Tzvetan Todorov, *Facing the Extreme: Moral Life in the Concentration Camps*, Arthur Denner and Abigail Pollak, trans. (New York, 1996).

<sup>78</sup> Holquist, "State Violence," 23, also citing Tony Judt, "The Longest Road to Hell," *New York Times* (December 22, 1997). See further in Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst*, 72, 86–88, 142–44, 193–94, n. 6, and the sources cited therein. Harry Wu, *Troublemaker: One Man's Crusade against China's Cruelty*

Weiner has shown, the post-1945 “twin institutions of hierarchical heroism and universal suffering,” which constituted “the cornerstones of the Soviet ethno-national ethos of the war,” both erased the Jewish participation in the Soviet struggle against the Germans from official commemoration and historiography and incorporated the Holocaust “into the epic suffering of the entire Soviet population.” Indeed, while it practiced ethnic deportations already in the 1930s and continued them on a much greater scale after the war, following the defeat of Nazism the Soviet leadership increasingly turned to a view “of the Jew as an undifferentiated biological entity,” an image that combined traditional anti-Semitic features, racial characteristics borrowed from the Nazis, and inherent socio-economic, class, or “cosmopolitan” attributes that were allegedly impossible to correct. Consequently, despite the Soviet allegiance to sociological categories, “the postwar discourse on the Jewish question” became central to the “fight over the memory of the war and genocide,” which “was rapidly turning into the dominant point of reference in the articulation of identities in the Soviet polity.”<sup>79</sup>

The rapid realignment of forces and normalization of conditions after 1945, and the resulting tendency to blur the distinctions between the numerous victims of war and genocide, thus left Holocaust survivors as defenseless against the ravages of traumatic memory and mental devastation as they had been against the Nazi murder machine.<sup>80</sup> From this perspective, one may view the fate of the Jews under Nazism as especially tragic; for while in the camps action was often either impossible or counter-productive, even those who survived were unable to act against the perpetrators, both in the context of post-Holocaust reality and in their fantasies. In this sense, Holocaust survivors have remained eternal victims, devoid of any recourse to meaningful, even if ineffective and irrelevant, action, trapped within the very conditions of their original victimhood. Conversely, the far more numerous “Aryan” survivors of Hitler’s Germany were also faced with the troubling fact that, while they perceived themselves as victims (and were therefore on the lookout for perpetrators), they were largely seen by their former enemies, who dominated much of the international discourse in the years immediately following the war, as perpetrators.<sup>81</sup>

As the protagonists of the Holocaust are slowly leaving the scene, we, as

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(London, 1996), makes analogies to the Holocaust in speaking about Chinese camps, without, however, troubling to make such important distinctions as can be found in Holquist. Bizarre links between Chinese oppression and Nazism are also present in the recent Hollywood production *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997), produced and directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud.

<sup>79</sup> Amir Weiner, “Delineating the Soviet Body National in the Age of Socialism: Ukrainians, Jews and the Myth of the Second World War” (unpublished paper, 1997), 2–7. See also Weiner, “Excising Evil: The Soviet Quest for Purity and the Eradication of the Nationalist Movement in the Vinnytsia Region” (unpublished paper, 1997); Norman Naimark, “Ethnic Cleansing between War and Peace” (unpublished paper, 1997).

<sup>80</sup> On trauma and memory, see Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore, Md., 1995). See also many of the contributions to Gulie Ne’eman Arad, ed., *Passing into History: Nazism and the Holocaust beyond Memory*, special issue of *History and Memory* 9 (Fall 1997).

<sup>81</sup> For the use and abuse of the traumatic memory of bystander groups that fell victim to policies of collective punishment, see, for example, Madelon de Keiser, “The Skeleton in the Closet: The Memory of Putten, 1/2 October 1944,” *History and Memory* 7 (Fall–Winter 1996): 70–99; Sarah B. Farmer, *Oradour: Arrêt sur mémoire* (Paris, 1994). On the reworking of the memory of the Holocaust in France, see Annette Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide: Entre la mémoire et l’oubli* (Paris, 1992).

historians, are charged with the task of reconstructing the event and surmounting the barriers that had stood in the way of coming to terms with it. Yet we must not become so detached from the horror as to avoid perceiving some of those fundamental factors at its root that are still very much with us today. In a world obsessed with defining enemies and making victims, we should remind those who would listen that there are other ways to view reality. And the first step in that direction is to study what this manner of perceiving the world had wrought on humanity in the past.

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**Omer Bartov** was born in Israel, educated at Tel Aviv University and St. Antony's College, Oxford, and is now a professor of history at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was a Visiting Fellow at the Davis Center, Princeton University, and was a Junior Fellow at the Society of Fellows, Harvard. He has written widely on Nazi Germany, interwar and Vichy France, and the Holocaust. Bartov is the author of *The Eastern Front, 1941–45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (1985), *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (1991), and *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (1996). This article presents some ideas that he will elaborate in a forthcoming book, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity*, a project that investigates German, French, and Jewish responses to violence in the twentieth century.

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## Review Essay

# Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture

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MARY LOUISE ROBERTS

TWO FIGURES DOMINATE the nineteenth-century European landscape of female depravity—the prostitute and the kleptomaniac. From Emile Zola's *Nana* to Edouard Manet's *Olympia*, the prostitute claimed the imagination of the most gifted and prominent European artists of the century.<sup>1</sup> Like a stain on the bright surface of bourgeois liberal culture, the prostitute stood ready to spread disease and confusion; she posed the insuppressible danger of social and sexual disorder.<sup>2</sup> In addition, as "saleswoman and wares in one," to use Walter Benjamin's phrase, the prostitute inscribed in her body the growing commodification of social and cultural relations in late nineteenth-century Europe. Both literally and metaphorically, she was inseparable from the new public spaces—arcades, cafés, theaters, department stores—of an increasingly urban, consumer-oriented European society.<sup>3</sup>

If the prostitute represented woman-as-commodity, the kleptomaniac was both

I would like to thank my students for their constant inspiration, enthusiasm, and insight into the world of consumer culture. In particular, I would like to acknowledge those students in my "Shopping: A History" and "Women and Gender in Modern Europe" classes at Stanford University, where I formulated many of the ideas in this essay. In addition, warm thanks go to M. C. Belgairn, Tim Brown, Jacqueline Dirks, Michael Grossberg, Allyn Roberts, Richard Roberts, Amy Robinson, Daniel Sherman, Jeffrey Wasserstrom, and the three very helpful anonymous reviewers of the *AHR*.

<sup>1</sup> Emile Zola, *Nana*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 50 vols. (Paris, 1927–29), vol. 9. For Manet's "Olympia" (1863), see T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York, 1984), chap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on prostitution is massive, but some of the most important texts are Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the Stage* (Cambridge, 1980); Alain Corbin, *Les filles de noce* (Paris, 1982), English trans., *Women for Hire: Sexuality in France after 1850*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); Jann Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 1994); Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918* (Baltimore, Md., 1982).

<sup>3</sup> See Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, Peter Demetz, ed. (New York, 1978), 157. For the rise of the new urban consumer societies of the late nineteenth century, see Susan Buck-Morss, "Dream World of Mass Culture: Walter Benjamin's Theory of Modernity and the Dialectics of Seeing," in *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, David Michael Levin, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 309–38; and Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). Historical studies that explore these new urban cultures include the following. For France, see Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, particularly chap. 1; Rosalind Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1982); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, 1998). For England, see W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850–1914* (Hamden, Conn., 1981); and Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992). For America, see William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993). For a

her antithesis and evil twin: woman-as-consumer. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, case studies concerning "kleptomaniacs"—women who stole obsessively—began to appear in French forensic medicine.<sup>4</sup> This so-called "disease" was investigated by physicians and psychologists throughout Europe. While they disagreed on a great many things, they did agree on two: that shoplifting was on the rise in the new department stores and that, like prostitution, it was a "crime" committed by women. According to the experts, kleptomaniacs were predominantly bourgeois and aristocratic women, and they almost never needed what they stole. Rarely prosecuted, they were considered hysterics who had little rational control over their desire to consume. According to Zola in his *Au bonheur des dames* (1883), these women "stole from a perverse desire, a new sort of nervous affection which a mad doctor had classed, proving the results of the temptation provided by the big shops."<sup>5</sup> In this glittery tale of a large Parisian department store, Zola depicted the shoplifter Madame de Boves not so much as a medical aberration as a symbol of consumer "temptation" and its ugly consequences. The store, itself a character in the novel, seemed able to arouse in any woman a "rage of unsated desire" that can literally "consume" her, as in the disease.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, the kleptomaniac was everywoman-as-consumer but also everywoman as consumed by shopping—in short, a symbol of the two-way traffic of consumption in the aisles of the department store.

As cultural types, the kleptomaniac and the prostitute served as projections for a particular set of nineteenth-century anxieties concerning the growth of consumerism, the commodification of modern life, and the impact of these processes on the social relations of gender, race, and class.<sup>7</sup> These two types also nicely encapsulate the double relation women held in the nineteenth century to the new consumer culture. In the "specularized" urban culture of arcades, boulevards, and department stores, woman was inscribed as both consumer and commodity, purchaser and purchase, buyer and bought.<sup>8</sup>

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comparative study, see Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> On kleptomania, see Patricia O'Brien, "The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of Social History* 17 (Fall 1983): 65–77; Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Disorderly Bodies/Disorderly Acts: Medical Discourse and the Female Criminal in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Genders*, no. 4 (1989): 68–86; and her book, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Elaine Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York, 1989); Leslie Camhi, "Stealing Femininity: Department Store, Kleptomania as Sexual Disorder," *Differences* 5, no. 1 (1993): 26–50; Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 226. For Zola's preparatory research, see Kristin Ross's excellent introduction to this volume, ix.

<sup>6</sup> Zola, *Ladies' Paradise*, 234.

<sup>7</sup> For example, critics of the mass press in France often represented it as a prostitute in order to express their worry that it had become politically and morally corrupt. See Mary Louise Roberts, "Subversive Copy: Feminist Journalism in Fin-de-siècle France," in *Making the News: Modernity and the Mass Press in Nineteenth-Century France* (Amherst, Mass., forthcoming, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> As Rita Felski says of women in nineteenth-century Europe, "But if women could be seen as objects of consumption, some women were also becoming consuming subjects." See *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 64. See also Bowlby, *Just Looking*, 11. In *When Ladies Go A-thieving*, 9, Elaine Abelson argues that the kleptomaniac and the prostitute posed different but parallel threats to American morality.



This notion of a dual, contradictory relation of women to consumer culture was perhaps first put forth by Thorstein Veblen, whose *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) is widely regarded as the most important early critique of the social and cultural dimensions of mass consumerism. Veblen's work was shaped by Darwinian theories popular in the academic writing of the 1890s.<sup>9</sup> In probing the dynamics of consumption, therefore, Veblen sought out its earliest roots in the origins of personal property. The earliest form of property in ancient cultures, he believed, was the "ownership of the women by the able-bodied men of the community."<sup>10</sup> In archaic cultures, women served as "trophies," the spoils of war that proved the prowess of young warriors. Like all wealth for Veblen, the aim of this earliest form of property was to confer "invidious distinction."<sup>11</sup> While in modern society, women are no longer seen straightforwardly as slaves of men, according to Veblen, their status in marriage still bears a trace of their former servitude. In a modern consumer society, the wife "has become the ceremonial consumer of goods which he produces. But she still quite unmistakably remains his chattel in theory; for the habitual rendering of vicarious leisure and consumption is the abiding mark of the unfree servant."<sup>12</sup> Rather than pursue her own interests or career, the wife of a wealthy man must consume "conspicuously," that is, purchase valuable goods for herself, her husband, and his household—goods that provide evidence of his wealth and dominance in a social hierarchy of invidious distinction. But by this very act of consumption, the wife also demonstrates her status as property. For although, unlike a slave, she is allowed to consume, that consumption is always vicarious—for another, not her. It marks her as a commodity herself, no less than the big house or fancy car. She provides tangible proof of her husband's wealth through her self-ornamentation and vicarious leisure.<sup>13</sup>

Veblen's evolutionary framework may seem quaint to late twentieth-century intellectual sensibilities. But his analysis of woman—as marked culturally both as commodity and consumer—raises some fascinating questions for historians. Why, for instance, are acts of consumption gendered female in the cultural imaginary? Why are women identified as the primary consumers of Western society? And how are men imagined in their relation to commodities? Why has woman—as eroticized object of desire—come to represent consumer culture? Why is this metaphor (as well as the female act of consumption) so thoroughly eroticized? Finally, what is the

<sup>9</sup> On Veblen's Darwinism, see I. Murphree, "Darwinism in Thorstein Veblen's Economics," in *Thorstein Veblen: Critical Assessments*, John Cunningham Wood, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1993), 1: 117–26.

<sup>10</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1912 edn.; New York, 1972), 17. The critical literature on Veblen is enormous, but most helpful to me has been Rick Tilman, *Thorstein Veblen and His Critics, 1891–1963* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); and Tilman, *The Intellectual Legacy of Thorstein Veblen: Unresolved Issues* (Westport, Conn., 1996); J. L. Simich and Rick Tilman, "Thorstein Veblen and His Marxist Critics: An Interpretive Review," in *Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929)*, Mark Blaug, ed. (Aldershot, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 65.

<sup>13</sup> In his famous critique, Adorno noted this double role of woman as consumer/commodity in Veblen's theory: "If one would follow this trend of thought further, one might say that women have escaped the sphere of capitalistic production only to fall the more completely into the clutches of the sphere of consumption. They are fascinated and restricted by the immediacy of the surface world of commodities no less than men are fascinated and restricted by the immediacy of profit." See Theodor Adorno, "Veblen's Attack on Culture," in Wood, *Thorstein Veblen: Critical Assessments*, 3: 9.

relationship, if any, between a woman's social role as consumer and her symbolic role as commodity?

In both the European and American cases, which I examine here, historians have only begun to answer these questions. To put it crudely, they have been more interested in the "supply" than in the "demand" side of the modern market equation. While whole literatures arose in the 1960s and 1970s to investigate the lives of industrial workers and labor politics, the backward cultural pull of American Puritanism inspired condescension for any activity, like consumption, that was premised on materialism, self-indulgence, and pleasure.<sup>14</sup> By this view, "work" was a legitimate object of study, but "shopping" was not. More recently, following the lead of Fernand Braudel, historians such as John Brewer and Neil McKendrick explored the growth of consumerism in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe within a context of thriving commerce and developments in merchandising.<sup>15</sup> But, at least in the European case, little comparable work has been done for the modern era, perhaps because this period was shadowed by twentieth-century Marxist critics who painted consumer culture in the gloomiest colors possible—as a form of totalitarianism that admits no individual creativity or resistance.<sup>16</sup>

By contrast, of course, work on American consumption overwhelmingly centers on the last two centuries. Here, much of the earliest work sprang from interest in the relation between consumerism and class or generational tastes, particularly the youth generation of the 1920s.<sup>17</sup> As the field developed, it also began to examine the widespread perception that consumption in the modern period was the domain of women. But the topic of consumption has been viewed with some suspicion by many women's historians. Influenced by Marxist critics, they have steered away from consumerism, condemning it, in Victoria de Grazia's words, "as an especially totalizing and exploitative force to which women are more vulnerable than men because of their subordinate social, economic and cultural position."<sup>18</sup> According to

<sup>14</sup> As Jean-Christophe Agnew puts it in "The Consuming Vision of Henry James," *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, T. J. Jackson Lears and Richard Wightman Fox, eds. (New York, 1983), 67: "Not only do we wish to distance ourselves from the materialism associated with acts of acquisition, but we are even more anxious to deny any semblance of the vulgar and debased symbolism of needs that cultural critics have so persistently associated with consumer culture."

<sup>15</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800* (New York, 1973); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982).

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," most recently anthologized in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Simon During, ed. (New York, 1993), 29–43.

<sup>17</sup> On early works on consumption and class, see Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976); Fox and Lears, *Culture of Consumption*. The model theoretical work in this case is, of course, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1984; orig. published in French, Paris, 1979). For the focus on generation, see the classic study by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York, 1929). See also Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977); Elaine Showalter, *These Modern Women: Autobiographical Essays from the Twenties* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1978).

<sup>18</sup> Victoria de Grazia, "Introduction," *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 7. For a statement of this view, see Rayna Rapp and Ellen Ross, "The Twenties: Feminism, Consumerism and Political Backlash in the United States," in *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, Judith Friedlander, ed. (Bloomington, Ind. 1986); Showalter,

this view (not unlike Zola's version), the female consumer was a subject without will or agency, manipulated by commercial interests and diverted from political activism in her preoccupation with shopping. Although this figure of the woman consumer is changing, as Jacqueline Dirks's provocative work on the National Consumer League in the United States shows, these prejudices have crippled historical interest in the past.<sup>19</sup>

In a society such as ours, in which there is virtually no area of life—from biological fertility to religious spirituality—that remains uncommodified, and in which commodities play an ever-increasing role in shaping social identity and cultural meaning, we can hardly afford to continue our historical neglect of consumerism. Scholars of women and gender, in particular, ignore the topic at their own risk. If the woman-as-consumer is a familiar figure of modern life, central to narratives of family and household, the woman-as-commodity, usually figured as a prostitute, is situated where capital and sexuality meet and, as such, can tell us a great deal about the workings of gender and power in modern Western cultures.

HOW FORTUNATE WE ARE, THEN, to have *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, edited by Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough. The collection is skillfully introduced by de Grazia and divided by theme into three parts—women's changing relation to consumption from the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth century, the historical role of the woman as head of the modern consumer household, and finally, the issue of consumption and empowerment.<sup>20</sup> Furlough adds an absolutely superb, partially annotated bibliography—an indispensable tool for further work on the topic.<sup>21</sup> The meaning of "consumption" here ranges broadly, and is associated with the processes of commercial exchange, commodification, and spectatorship. The time frame is broad as well, stretching from the eighteenth-century *ancien régime* to the globalization movement begun in the 1970s. If any one theme unites the volume, de Grazia argues, it is "the myriad conflicts over power that constitute the politics of consumption," particularly those conflicts in some way inflected by gender roles.<sup>22</sup> The aim of the collection, in her own words, is "to show that there was nothing natural or inevitable about the development of modern

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*These Modern Women*. I try to argue against such views in "Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashions in 1920s France," *AHR* 98 (June 1993): 657–84.

<sup>19</sup> Jacqueline K. Dirks, "Righteous Goods: Women's Production, Reform Publicity and the National Consumers' League, 1891–1919" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1996). See also Felicia Kornbluh, "To Fulfill Their 'Rightly Needs': Consumerism and the National Welfare Rights," *Radical History Review* 69 (Fall 1997): 76–113. For another positive American view, see William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71 (September 1984): 328–42.

<sup>20</sup> De Grazia with Ellen Furlough, *Sex of Things*. See also Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); and "Mass Culture and Sovereignty: The American Challenge to European Cinemas, 1920–1960," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (March 1989): 53–87.

<sup>21</sup> Ellen Furlough's publications include *Consumer Cooperation in France: The Politics of Consumption, 1834–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); "Selling the American Way in Interwar France: Prix Uniques and the Salons des Arts Ménagers," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Spring 1993): 491–519; "Packaging Pleasures: Club Méditerranée and French Consumer Culture, 1950–1968," *French Historical Studies* 18 (Spring 1993): 65–81.

<sup>22</sup> De Grazia, "Introduction," *Sex of Things*, 4.

consumption practices,” including “the dichotomized relationship between Mr. Breadwinner and Mrs. Consumer.”<sup>23</sup>

The genesis of that “dichotomized relationship” is the first topic taken up in the volume.<sup>24</sup> Beginning with the eve of the French Revolution, Jennifer Jones deftly uses the censure of Marie Antoinette’s relationship with her dressmaker, Rose Bertin, in order to explore the cultural connections between women and consumerism. When the famous wife of Louis XVI was attacked for her sartorial excesses, the finger of blame fell on Bertin, a *marchande de mode*, or top retailer in the fashion industry, for causing the queen to spend recklessly and bankrupt the French state. According to Jones, the assault on Bertin represents anxiety concerning what was perceived to be the rising commercial prominence of women both as retailers and consumers. In the popular and literary imagination, the act of retail buying had traditionally meant a male consumer and a female merchant. Women’s wardrobes may have out-valued those of men in the eighteenth century, but it was men, not women, who were believed to frequent the boutiques at the Palais-Royal or on the Rue St.-Honoré, where the retailers were most often poor shop girls. Towards the end of the century, however, contemporaries began to observe an “increasing volume of female shoppers” in the streets of Paris.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, retailing, it was feared, was increasingly conducted by “haughty and pretentious *marchandises de modes* in transactions with submissive clients.” The result of this turn of affairs was widespread cultural anxiety, based on the assumption that “in the realm of commerce, as in the realm of politics, when women ruled women, disorder, chaos and folly inevitably reigned.”<sup>26</sup>

According to Jones, at the very moment that women became linked to consumption in a new way, this change, in turn, helped to usher in a novel notion of womanhood. Because of “the liveliness, yet passivity, of women’s sense of sight and imagination,” it was argued, they were particularly vulnerable to the allure of beautiful but frivolous commodities.<sup>27</sup> The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, wrote in 1762 that from childhood onward, “little girls love everything visual, mirrors, jewels, cloth.”<sup>28</sup> In this way, women’s so-called new interest in luxury goods was “naturalized,” that is, seen as an inevitable part of their psychology. In this argument, Jones challenges anthropologists such as Arjan Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, who have seen luxury goods as “singularized” or “enclaved” commodities that establish social status rather than gender identity.<sup>29</sup> While Jones refers to the

<sup>23</sup> De Grazia, “Introduction,” *Sex of Things*, 3.

<sup>24</sup> For an illuminating discussion concerning matters of chronology in the rise of consumer culture, see Peter N. Stearns, “Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization,” *Journal of Modern History* 69 (March 1997): 102.

<sup>25</sup> Jennifer Jones, “*Coquettes and Grisettes*: Women Buying and Selling in Ancien Régime Paris,” in *Sex of Things*, 33.

<sup>26</sup> Jones, “*Coquettes and Grisettes*,” 28.

<sup>27</sup> Jones, “*Coquettes and Grisettes*,” 36.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Jones, “*Coquettes and Grisettes*,” 36.

<sup>29</sup> The classic work on consumption and luxury is Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, W. R. Dittmar, trans. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967); Arjun Appadurai depends heavily on Sombart in his analysis of luxury and consumption in “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” particularly 22, 38–40, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Appadurai, ed. (Cambridge, 1986). On such “singularized” commodities as luxury goods or royal monopolies, see also Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” *Social Life of Things*, 73.

cultural construction of the very wealthy female consumer here, Cissie Fairchilds has shown how imitation luxury or “populuxe” goods (stockings, umbrellas) were also consumed in large numbers by the French lower classes during this period.<sup>30</sup> One wonders, then, to what extent were middle-class and working-class women “naturalized” as consumers in the same way? What, in other words, were the social origins of the female consumer? Jones implies that she arose from the very top of the social hierarchy, among the aristocracy, but we cannot assume this is true without more research.<sup>31</sup> Further, if Jones’s premise is correct, of what significance is it that the eighteenth-century cultural image of the aristocratic woman widely associated her with seduction and the erotic?<sup>32</sup> At the same time that contemporaries defined women as “naturally” attracted to luxury goods, they also “attributed a new importance to the role of the commodities themselves in the process of seduction and the creation of desire.”<sup>33</sup> Could the eroticized nature of female consumption—the prostitute as dominant symbol, Zola’s kleptomaniac as irrationally seduced by goods—be traced back to this original link between female consumption and an eroticized, feminized aristocratic culture?

Certainly, as Jones herself would no doubt agree, the figure of the passive, overly sensitive woman had multiple origins in the turbulent late eighteenth century and cannot be traced solely to shifting regimes of consumption. While Jones confines her analysis to changes in cultural perception, de Grazia, in her introduction, suggests some other structural causes linking women and consumption during this period. Among these are the increasing differentiation between household and workplace and “the exclusion of women from the rising bourgeois public sphere of modern politics.”<sup>34</sup> If her arguments are sketchy here, the blame must fall on our own lack of a viable metanarrative concerning the impact of the industrial and French revolutions on the socio-cultural construction of gender—the so-called

<sup>30</sup> Cissie Fairchilds, “The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York, 1993). For the construction of the figure of the female consumer in the United States, see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977).

<sup>31</sup> The debate concerning the social origins of consumerism is far from resolved. While the literature is massive, the following sampling of works can provide some idea of the contending views in the European case. In *Dream Worlds*, Rosalind Williams, like Jones, concentrates on the “closed world of courtly consumption.” More recently, Leora Auslander has also focused on the French aristocracy and the “courtly stylistic regime” in her study of furniture and consumption, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), chaps. 1–3. Other historians, however, have paid a great deal of attention to the role of the middle classes, arguing that it was they who gave birth to modern consumerism in their efforts to emulate the aristocratic class. See, for example, McKendrick, *et al.*, *Birth of a Consumer Society*; and more recently, Colin Jones, who has used a Habermasian framework to argue that consumption flourished among the middle classes in the years before the French Revolution, creating a community based on market and information exchange that contributed to that great upheaval. See Jones, “The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution,” *AHR* 101 (February 1996): 13–40. Finally, by closely scrutinizing the *inventaires après décès* of small shopkeepers, master artisans, journeymen, day laborers, and domestic servants, Cissie Fairchilds makes a convincing case that the consumer revolution began among the lower classes. See “Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods.”

<sup>32</sup> For the link between aristocratic women, seduction, luxury, and the erotic, see Terry Castle, “Marie Antoinette Obsession,” in Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture* (New York, 1993); and the articles in Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md., 1991).

<sup>33</sup> Jones, “*Coquettes and Grisettes*,” 37.

<sup>34</sup> De Grazia, “Introduction,” *Sex of Things*, 15, 17.



exclusion of women from democratic politics and their increasing confinement within the home. On the one hand, there is the Marxist narrative that focuses on structural changes associated with industrialization—the division of labor, the identification of male and wage labor, for example—that transformed the household into women's domain.<sup>35</sup> But in the wake of historians such as François Furet, who has largely discredited the Marxist interpretation of revolutionary change in this period, this interpretation has become outmoded.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, there is the narrative based on the ideas of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, which focuses on the marginalization of women following her exclusion from democratic politics. But this narrative, besides requiring historians to use overly general, awkward terms such as “bourgeois political sphere,” has been criticized as seriously misconstruing Habermas's own vision of transformation in the eighteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Rewriting that metanarrative, as we clearly need to do, might require us to look in some unexpected places, to explore markers of transformation that have been discounted as trivial and apolitical. In this sense, David Kuchta's contribution to *The Sex of Things* is extremely suggestive. In “The Making of the Self-Made Man,” Kuchta explores the political meanings attached to the “great masculine renunciation”—the widespread embrace of modesty and simplicity in dress by British gentlemen during the revolutionary era.<sup>38</sup> Begun by eighteenth-century aristocrats, this form of “inconspicuous consumption,” to invert Veblen's term, conferred political legitimacy, for it was seen as an expression of manly, public virtue that freed men from the corrupting force of luxury. In eighteenth-century aristocratic culture, luxury was considered to be a menacing political vice, “the debased, debauched, and debilitating form of consumption that effeminated and impoverished England.”<sup>39</sup> Heterosexual aristocratic men used the label of effeminacy to exclude from power men of other classes and sexual practices. In addition, by portraying elite women as conspicuous consumers and lovers of luxury, they justified their exclusion from politics.

Like Jones in the case of France, Kuchta focuses on fashion—a commodity form whose unique qualities have yet to be adequately explored by historians. (For

<sup>35</sup> For the Marxist narrative, see *From the Fires of the Revolution to the Great War*, Michelle Perrot, ed. (Cambridge, 1990); Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoisies of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, Stuart McKinnon-Evans, trans. (Oxford, 1989).

<sup>36</sup> For Furet, see *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981).

<sup>37</sup> See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). For the Habermasian narrative, see Joan B. Landes, *Women in the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). For criticisms of this narrative, see Keith Baker, “Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); and Dena Goodman, “Public Sphere and Private Life: Towards a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime,” *History and Theory* 31, no. 1 (1992): 1–20. A new and promising approach to understanding the political exclusion of women during the French Revolution has been suggested by Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

<sup>38</sup> According to Kuchta, the term “great masculine renunciation” is originally J. C. Flügel's, who introduced it in 1930. See Kuchta, “The Making of the Self-Made Man: Class, Clothing, and English Masculinity, 1688–1832,” in *Sex of Things*, 55.

<sup>39</sup> Kuchta, “Self-Made Man,” 63.

example, why does so much debate about gender identity center on fashion?)<sup>40</sup> Like Jones again, Kuchta describes the rise of a “naturalized equation” between femininity, luxury, and consumption in eighteenth-century England.<sup>41</sup> This new equation, in turn, was used as a rationalization for women’s expulsion from the realm of politics, most importantly, after the “great masculine renunciation” migrated from aristocratic to bourgeois culture. In this way, Kuchta is able to link fashion to what is arguably the most significant crisis of the revolutionary period for women. By hinging political legitimacy on a sharp contrast between masculine simplicity and feminine consumerism, English gentlemen necessarily separated the world of politics from that of fashion. Perhaps it is the legacy of that divorce that has kept historians from taking fashion seriously as a marker of political change. But as Kuchta’s work shows, issues of dress and consumption can tell us much about transitions in political culture and should not be overlooked—particularly as we search for creative new ways to construct narratives of transformation in the revolutionary period.

Kuchta is one of the few contributors to the volume to explore the relation between masculinity and consumption, in this case, male fashion. In “The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France,” Leora Auslander also challenges the feminization of consumption, arguing that, during the nineteenth century in France, “the bourgeoisie of both genders were cast as consumers, albeit consuming to different ends.”<sup>42</sup> For men, an acceptable form of consumption was the collecting of art, conceptualized as an investment that relied on expertise and conferred social status. For women, consumption became attached to the rising cultural ideal of female domesticity. Here, Auslander’s findings complement those of Jennifer Jones, who argues that, while the naturalization of the female consumer calmed fears about women’s rising commercial prominence, one worry did linger: that the “natural” female bent for shopping would be exhausted in “the dangerous pastime of coquetry.” The newly erotic investment of consumption—the late eighteenth-century linking of commodities with seduction and the creation of desire—worried contemporaries who wanted women’s proclivity for shopping to be “channeled into the sweet pleasures of domesticity.”<sup>43</sup> A few decades later, their dream was totally realized. The focus of bourgeois consumption by the early years of the next century, according to Auslander, had become no less than the “making of the family and the class.”<sup>44</sup> Like Veblen, Auslander defines wealth as essentially social; “bourgeois women,” she argues, “not only had to produce themselves as cultural objects but also needed to acquire, arrange and use those goods—especially furnishings—defined as necessary for representing and constituting the

<sup>40</sup> For a fascinating look at the garment industry behind the fashion scene in both Paris and New York, see Nancy L. Green, *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham, N.C., 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Kuchta, “Self-Made Man,” 66.

<sup>42</sup> Leora Auslander, “The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France,” in *Sex of Things*, 79. For the “housewife” as a powerful figure in the current global system of consumerism, see Daniel Miller, “Consumption as the Vanguard of History: A Polemic by Way of an Introduction,” in *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> Jones, “Coquettes and Grisettes,” 38.

<sup>44</sup> Auslander, “Gendering of Consumer Practices,” 79.

family's social position."<sup>45</sup> These social obligations were clearly dealt out in housewife manuals that, as Auslander shows, gave precise instructions on how to buy objects of taste, durability, comfort, and utility.

But the meaning of female consumption was hardly static through the modern period, as many historians have assumed. After mid-century, argues Auslander, female consumers were expected to take on the extra burden of representing their nation as well as their family and class: "the idea of fostering national as well as class-based taste in domestic goods was becoming more widespread, both out of fear of economic competition and in the hopes of disseminating Frenchness."<sup>46</sup> To show how consumption increasingly became constructed in this way, Auslander draws on women's magazines such as *Le conseiller des dames*, which make taste and beauty matters of French patriotism. (Whether or not French women actually perceived consumption in this way is not a question she explores.) Such a theme gained even more importance in the Third Republic, during which, it was believed, "the nation was made, in part at least, of French goods."<sup>47</sup> Auslander's analysis of woman-as-consumer disseminating "Frenchness" brings us back full circle to the developments of the revolutionary era. If Kuchta shows how the naturalization of woman-as-consumer led to women's exclusion from the nation state, Auslander reveals the back door through which they found their reentry. Unable to participate in national politics because of the cultural perception that they were frivolous consumers, women nevertheless gained civic (if not) political legitimacy *qua* consumers giving concrete substance and value to the nation.

The nineteenth-century fetishization of commodities—as capable of "producing" national identity—had its dangers as well as its benefits for the French. As Auslander points out, women were supposed to desire goods, and were made to do so by advertising and marketing strategies. But when they coveted them too much, they became "victims of the new disease of kleptomania," hardly the model of the nation they were supposed to produce.<sup>48</sup> Whether she was Marie Antoinette or the common bourgeois housewife, Mrs. Consumer, as de Grazia calls her, was an unruly figure of desire. Her love for luxury was a constant threat to the social and moral order, a drive that demanded to be contained and channeled into appropriate domestic outlets. This eroticized potential for disorder is what unites the kleptomaniac and the prostitute. As Abigail Solomon-Godeau argues in her fascinating essay "The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display," one "conspicuous" feature of consumer culture is "its sexualization of the commodity, its eroticization of objects." No wonder, then, that the prostitute, as an image of "desirable femininity," became a "major trope" and emblem of consumer culture

<sup>45</sup> Auslander, "Gendering of Consumer Practices," 83.

<sup>46</sup> Auslander, "Gendering of Consumer Practices," 95.

<sup>47</sup> Auslander, "Gendering of Consumer Practices," 95. For the role of commodities in the nineteenth-century construction of British identity, see Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1990); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995), chap. 5, "Soft-Soaping Empire"; Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (London, 1988); John M. Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986).

<sup>48</sup> Auslander, "Gendering of Consumer Practices," 103.

itself.<sup>49</sup> Just as Jones, Kuchta, and Auslander explore the rise of the woman-as-consumer in the modern era, Solomon-Godeau historicizes the image of woman-as-commodity and the relationship it posits between consumption and female-centered erotic desire.

To do so, Solomon-Godeau looks at the explosion of pornographic images of women in non-elite forms of culture, specifically lithography after the 1820s. Such images were evidence of a budding “mass culture,” in her view, inasmuch as they issued from a “quasi-industrial production of considerable scale” and bridged the chasm between elite and popular cultures. Sometime between the French Revolution and the later years of the Restoration, Solomon-Godeau argues, the “erotically invested” male body, traditionally occupying “the central place in art theory, pedagogy, and academic practice,” was eclipsed by the female body.<sup>50</sup> Why the female body? “It is as though the real absence of women as actors in the bourgeois civil sphere was filled by compensatory fantasies—or constellations of fantasies—about femininity. And where law, medicine, the church, and the state all operated to ‘contain’ women and to police female sexuality, the image world of high and mass cultural forms conversely manifested femininity’s untrammelled expansion.” By the end of the century, this fantasy of uncontained female desire, usually imaged as a prostitute, became, the “most powerful icon” of modern mass consumer culture.<sup>51</sup> In Solomon-Godeau’s text, the lithographic images of femininity *as display* communicate an unbridled energy, a kind of last-resort pleasure that the author makes no attempt to reproach (Figure 1).

Although Solomon-Godeau’s argument here can never be more than an intuition (can you find evidence for the rise of a compensatory fantasy?), it is a richly suggestive idea, one worthy of at least speculative exploration. If we are to believe the other contributors to this volume, the naturalized links between femininity, erotic coquetry, and the consumption of luxury goods contributed both to women’s exclusion from politics and their containment in the domestic household. By this scheme, then, as female consumer energies were sublimated into appropriate domestic and nation-building channels, the feminized, erotic investment of consumption, established (according to Jones) in the eighteenth century, was repressed. With nowhere else to go, then, that erotic investment retreated into a fantasy world only to resurface in pornography and, if we are to believe European doctors, in the form of neuroses like kleptomania. In this sense, the nineteenth-century woman-as-commodity is the repressed, fantasy version of the eighteenth-century woman-as-consumer.

Unlike most other authors in de Grazia’s volume, Solomon-Godeau focuses on “commodity” rather than “consumer” culture. Convinced that capitalism “is as much a semiotic as an economic system,” she is not so much interested in consumer activity as she is in the cultural forms of commodities—how the growing emphasis on consumer activity in European society found visual representation in all areas of

<sup>49</sup> Abigail Solomon-Godeau, “The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display,” in *Sex of Things*, 113, 116–17.

<sup>50</sup> Solomon-Godeau, “Other Side of Venus,” 115.

<sup>51</sup> Solomon-Godeau, “Other Side of Venus,” 115, 117.



FIGURE 1: Achille Devéria, "The Fashionable Novel," lithograph, 1829. Used in Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "The Other Side of Venus," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996). According to Solomon-Godeau, what is offered for possession is the *mondaine* world the print depicts as well as the women themselves, thus presaging "the mechanisms of modern advertising in which desire is provoked not merely or only for the commodity but for the ambiance or lifestyle that the commodity represents" (p. 125).

cultural life, even those that seem to bear little relation to consumer acts.<sup>52</sup> The prostitutes and other pornographic images can be described as commodities, she argues, because they represent a fetishized form of femininity. Divorced from any real referent, they represent woman-as-image rather than image-of-woman.<sup>53</sup> As such, they conform to what Marx described as the fetishized commodity form generally. In addition, these images are "aligned with a condition of exaggerated specularity, a condition . . . famously described by Laura Mulvey as "to-be-looked-at-ness."<sup>54</sup> In other words, these images of female bodies exist only to be looked at

<sup>52</sup> Solomon-Godeau, "Other Side of Venus," 114. The author cites Roland Barthes, *The Elements of Semiology* (New York, 1968), and Jean Baudrillard, *The Mirror of Production* (St. Louis, Mo., 1975), as important sources for her approach to semiotics.

<sup>53</sup> T. J. Clark also talks about pictures of nudes in this way. See *Painting of Modern Life*, chap. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Solomon-Godeau, "Other Side of Venus," 128.



and desired; these are not women of human will and individuality but erotic tokens designed for visual *consumption*. And that very “specularity,” according to Solomon-Godeau, is “commodity culture’s primary and privileged mode of address.” Commodities, like erotic female nudes, are made to be looked at, desired, and consumed. These correspondences between the commodity and the woman-as-image—their mutually fetishized, specularized natures—explain to Solomon-Godeau why, as a commodity culture developed in nineteenth-century France, it resulted in “the heightened visibility of femininity” under the guise of erotic display.<sup>55</sup> Solomon-Godeau’s logic here seems circular and her argument, once again, impossible to determine. Nevertheless, she gives us an early glimpse of the prostitute-as-woman-as-commodity—an image that will seize the European imagination by the dawn of the Third Republic. That image, we now see, reveals how gender was implicated in the representation of commodities as they moved to the very center of the European cultural imaginary.

BY DESCRIBING THE CENTURY as one of “heightened visibility” for female images, Solomon-Godeau runs counter to a historian of nineteenth-century American consumer culture—T. J. Jackson Lears. In his massive history of advertising, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*, Lears pictures the modern period as one in which images of femininity increasingly lose, not gain, their power to represent commodities.<sup>56</sup>

Lears’s analysis of the advertising industry begins with a wistful look back to the age of exploration. In visualizing the new American landscape, European travelers had borrowed the medieval image of the Land of Cockaigne, where food abounded and rivers flowed with wine or milk.<sup>57</sup> As these magical images began to shape accounts of the New World, American abundance lodged in the popular imagination as a maternal, nurturing woman. When commercial life expanded in nineteenth-century America, notions of abundance began to be projected onto factory-produced commodities. In trying to sell their products, advertisers relied on the commercial appeal of plenitude and the magical transformation of the self. By the twentieth century, however, advertisers began to change the meaning and purpose of commodities: once the source of enjoyment and magic, they increasingly became subordinate to the quest for social status. (A transition, it could be argued, that Veblen was documenting in 1899.) At the same time, advertisers moved “away from the ancient impulse to symbolize the source of plenitude as a female.” When women appeared at all in advertisements, it was as “giggly teenagers” and “mere passive consumers of the stuff generated by the male genius of mass production.” Abundance was “disembodied” inasmuch as it sprang from “the efficient factory” rather than the woman-as-fecund-earth.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Solomon-Godeau, “Other Side of Venus,” 144.

<sup>56</sup> Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994). See also Lears and Fox, *Culture of Consumption*; Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981).

<sup>57</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 28.

<sup>58</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 19, 102, 118. In great part, Lears must have been inspired by Benjamin here, or at least as Buck-Morss describes, *Dialectics of Seeing*, 99, Benjamin’s notion of

The fantasy woman of Lears's analysis, like that of Solomon-Godeau, represented uncontainable energies. But here, abundance is maternalist rather than erotic, agricultural rather than commercial. For Lears, there is no erotically invested woman-as-commodity. At the crucial hour in the early twentieth century, she was pushed off the stage of visual culture and transfigured into the giddy woman-as-consumer—a mere ghost of her former self. Lears explains this shift in terms of an effort to appease male anxiety about certain cultural tropes of abundance. Cockaigne had been a world of reversals as well as plenty: women dominated men, whom they emasculated by corrupting them with luxury or prodigality. (By associating women with “effeminate luxury,” Americans disclosed their European roots.<sup>59</sup>) Hence the earliest female images of abundance promised sustenance but also threatened emasculation: “the land-as-woman evoked a desire for nurturance—but nurturance threatened to turn into suffocating superabundance and provoked the alternative dream of mastery through possession.”<sup>60</sup>

Again, as commercial life expanded and the notion of abundance was projected onto commodities themselves, so were these fears. As in the case of Marie Antoinette, the menacing female addiction to luxury needed to be effectively checked and harnessed. In this case, however, according to Lears, the solution was not pornography but bureaucratic rationality. (We are, after all, moving from a Gallic to a Protestant culture.) The triumph of the rationalized, productive factory, the managerial corporate bureaucracy, and the efficient, Taylorized household reveals, for Lears, “the success of the masculine effort to contain and productively channel the chaotic energies of a metaphorically female nature.”<sup>61</sup> Led by “prim” northeastern WASP elites, advertising agencies sought “to stabilize the sorcery of the marketplace by containing dreams of personal transformation within a broader rhetoric of control.” They produced images that “reflected the marginalizing of female generativity in the managerial worldview.”<sup>62</sup> Lears's argument here, like that of Solomon-Godeau, essentially evades empirical analysis and thus remains, like hers, speculation, albeit fascinating. Large socioeconomic movements such as rational managerialism cannot be reduced in their causality to psychic investments such as fear of “a metaphorically female nature.”

Ironically, the element of Lears's analysis that makes it so exciting to read—its synthetic, creative boldness—also makes it problematic as history. In this text, attributions of masculinity and femininity fly fast and loose, their historicity rarely established (“masculine productivist ethos,” Republicanism as a “masculine” point

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“woman” was a central symbol of the metaphysics of fashion, specific to capitalist modernity: “women’s fecundity personifies the creativity of the old nature, the transiency of which has its source in life rather than death. Women’s productivity, organic in contrast to the mechanical productivity of nineteenth-century industrialism, appears threatening to capitalist society . . . In the process of displacing nature’s transiency onto commodities, the life force of sexuality is displaced there as well.” In addition, according to Buck-Morss, 253–54, “Benjamin’s central argument in the *Passagen-Werk* was that under conditions of capitalism, industrialization had brought about a *reenchantment* of the social world, and through it, a ‘reactivation of mythic powers.’”

<sup>59</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 120.

<sup>60</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 30.

<sup>61</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 31.

<sup>62</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 10, 111, 184.

of view).<sup>63</sup> Slipperiness also characterizes the relation in Lears's analysis between cultural and social registers. When mentioning the hapless Mrs. Consumer, Lears refers to her one moment as an icon and the next as a social entity.<sup>64</sup> In addition, Lears's obvious emotional sympathy for the myths and images of the past saturates his narrative with nostalgia.<sup>65</sup> (Most recently, Lears has defended nostalgia as a "justifiable American value" that "deserves to be treated as more than a symptom of intellectual weakness."<sup>66</sup>) In the introduction to *Fables of Abundance*, Lears openly confesses his longing to escape the corporate, managerial twentieth century, characterized, in his words, by "the preoccupation with an empty pursuit of efficiency that impoverishes personal as well as public life."<sup>67</sup> He chides both Marx and Veblen for having too much of a "utilitarian, work-obsessed orientation toward the material world."<sup>68</sup> Such nostalgia for pre-corporate values is morally laudable but methodologically troubling inasmuch as it can all too easily warp Lears's vision of historical change. For example, Lears uses cultural phenomena such as advertisements to make general conclusions about Americans, for instance the argument that they experienced anxiety concerning the changing iconography of advertisements because they "preserved some attachment to the land-as-mother . . . in a pastoral world of warmth and plenty." How does he know Americans felt such anxiety and attachment? To what extent is Lears displacing his own nostalgia onto Americans here?<sup>69</sup> Since Lears's view evades empirical analysis, it is possible that his argument is functioning as a projection of his own yearning for the past.

Lears's book shows just how difficult and tricky it is to read advertisements as historical evidence. This is also the lesson of Lori Anne Loeb's book *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*. Like Solomon-Godeau, Loeb focuses her attention on the role of gender in the new visual economy of commodity culture, although unfortunately she shares little of Solomon-Godeau's theoretical sophistication. A "qualitative and quantitative examination of over 250,000 advertisements," mostly from the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera in the Bodleian Library, Loeb's book explores women's "empowerment" as consumers in late Victorian culture.<sup>70</sup> Loeb disagrees with Veblen that consumer demand was fueled by invidious distinction among wealthy elites.<sup>71</sup> In an argument that claims to borrow from but radically oversimplifies Colin Campbell's notion of hedonism in *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, she argues that late Victorians shared the desire for "access of all to a good life, increasingly defined in

<sup>63</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 5, 53.

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 120.

<sup>65</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 129.

<sup>66</sup> See Jackson Lears, "Looking Backward," *Lingua Franca* 7 (December-January 1998): 59.

<sup>67</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 11.

<sup>68</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 5-6.

<sup>69</sup> Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 102. For an illuminating critique of this kind of displacement or "transference" of contemporary anxieties onto the subjects of the past, see Dominick LaCapra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case? Transference and the 'Culture' Concept," in LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 71-94.

<sup>70</sup> Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York, 1994), viii.

<sup>71</sup> For another very interesting critique of Veblen, see Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-81," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*.

material terms.”<sup>72</sup> By the late Victorian era, she claims, the British had achieved equal access to “political participation” but not to “consumer participation”; they therefore turned their attention to mass consumption as “the material analogue of political democratization.”<sup>73</sup> This argument is odd, considering that Loeb’s emphasis is on women as the era’s primary consumers: she overlooked the fact that in the late nineteenth century, access to political participation for this group was hardly a *fait accompli*.<sup>74</sup>

Loeb’s oversight here typifies her headstrong insistence on empowering the woman-as-consumer as the all-controlling force of the new consumer culture—even when she has to overlook the evidence to do so. Unlike Lear’s model of a ghostly, passive female consumer, Loeb’s exemplar wielded not only the power of the purse but that of the advertising image as well. In her role as household purchaser, Loeb’s female consumer exercised choice and the pursuit of pleasure; she also influenced the way advertisers tried to sell their products. For this reason, argues Loeb, historians can use advertisements as evidence of contemporary notions of feminine ideals.

But Loeb makes little effort to explain what we already know about those ideals—by using either the secondary literature or other kinds of cultural sources, such as novels or magazines. Furthermore, she often fails to reconstruct the historical meaning of her advertising images within a wider set of cultural references.<sup>75</sup> Frequently, she treats advertisements as culturally self-evident artifacts that are instantly legible to the viewer in a specific and unequivocal way. For example, many of the figures in these advertisements are dressed in revealing Greek robes and set against neo-classical backgrounds. But rather than see the influence of, perhaps, late Victorian popular art or post-Golden Jubilee kitsch in such images, Loeb argues that the Greek settings allowed advertisers both to challenge conventional female modesty and to neutralize that challenge by deploying an image distant in time and place.<sup>76</sup> If Lear’s images of women have an origin in the early modern carnivalesque, Loeb’s images sometimes have no past at all. But one cannot help but see these interpretations as subjective, unsupported as they are by reference to any cultural or historical context. In addition, they are clearly influenced by Loeb’s objective to empower the woman-as-consumer, and even the woman-as-commodity. A supine woman plucking lasciviously at a bunch of grapes in one advertisement is, in Loeb’s view, “no passive sexual object”; the image of a fairy in another becomes “a whimsical reminder of feminine power.”<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, vii. See Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, 1987). The best synopsis of Campbell’s thesis is given by Jean-Christophe Agnew, “Coming Up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective,” in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 25.

<sup>73</sup> Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, 158.

<sup>74</sup> In general, Loeb’s study suffers from a lack of a feminist analytic framework, which she dismisses; see 191, n. 53.

<sup>75</sup> A model for this kind of analysis is provided by Daniel J. Sherman, “Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I,” *Gender and History* 8 (April 1996): 82–107.

<sup>76</sup> For an analysis of post-Jubilee kitsch, see Richards, *Commodity Culture*, chap. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, 38. Here Loeb does provide some iconographical context, noting that the fairy motif was adopted from “a pictorial form popularized by a school of fairy painters (Paton, Fitzgerald, Doyle).” To buttress her argument about “feminine power” here, Loeb refers to Nina Auerbach’s work, specifically *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.,

In the absence of a sustained iconographic analysis, Loeb is forced to explain the choice of a particular image in terms of the motives of advertisers involved, without any evidence to justify such an approach. The Victorian advertiser, she claims at one point, “realized that images of sexy women would sell products.” But while the advertiser was “attracted to a sexual image of hedonistic self-indulgence, even on an unconscious level, he is unable to surrender his moral vision. Accordingly, he qualifies his images of feminine sexuality, freezes them, links them to the Fall.”<sup>78</sup> Since Loeb apparently read neither trade journals nor agency archives, how can she possibly know what is on the minds of advertisers?

Historians can at best make educated guesses about advertisements as visual or verbal strategies. As historical sources, they can tell us a great deal about how commodities are defined culturally. In the 1920s, for example, advertisers linked the low-cut dresses and short haircuts of the era with wartime liberation and freedom from constraint—meanings already attached to these fashions in the cultural imaginary. (The issue of origins here is difficult: to what extent are these meanings created or simply reiterated by advertisers?) Women often bought this style just to follow convention, to be sure, but also to embrace these meanings by inscribing them *visually* on their bodies.<sup>79</sup> To understand how a commodity is defined in this way, the historian must rely on a whole range of evidence—the cultural production of the commodity in contemporaneous novels, films, debate, as well as retrospective memory; the advertisement alone does not suffice.

IT IS THIS PAINSTAKING KIND OF RESEARCH that distinguishes Timothy Burke’s *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. Based on the premise that “consumption played an important role in the development and maintenance of colonial domination,” this excellent study examines changing patterns of consumption in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe.<sup>80</sup> In particular, Burke is interested in cosmetic products, a choice he justifies by noting that toiletries were “one of the most developed sectors of light manufacturing” in southern Africa, as well as an important area of marketing and advertisement in the postwar years.<sup>81</sup> Drawing on the work of Judith Williamson, he begins by laying out what he calls “a detailed map of ‘prior meanings’” that have become attached to such commodities as soap, defining their cultural significance in

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1982). In doing so, Loeb does not do justice to the subtlety and complexity of Auerbach’s argument, which concerns “the disruptive spiritual energy which also engorges the divine” in Victorian images of women (p. 1). Bram Dijkstra’s *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York, 1986) would also have been extremely helpful to Loeb.

<sup>78</sup> Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, 57. Loeb makes the same kinds of generalizations about her audience. See, for example, 62.

<sup>79</sup> See my “Samson and Delilah Revisited”; and “Prêt-à-déchiffrer: La mode d’après-guerre et le “New Cultural History,” *Le mouvement social*, no. 174 (January–March 1996): 57–73.

<sup>80</sup> Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 2. See also his “‘Nyamarira That I Loved’: Commoditization, Consumption and the Social History of Soap in Zimbabwe,” *The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Collected Seminar Papers*, no. 42, vol. 17 (London, 1992): 195–216.

<sup>81</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 5.



Zimbabwe.<sup>82</sup> Although Burke expresses ambivalence about aspects of Marx's notion of commodity fetishism, he finds Marx's argument "that commodities are able to assume an independent life, that relations between things . . . accompany, conceal, or displace the actual state of relations between people," to be a richly suggestive starting point for his own analysis. Using Igor Kopytoff's notion of a "cultural biography" or "social history" of commodities, Burke argues that things have their own biographies, including "prior meanings" that give them "their rich individuality within a specific place and time."<sup>83</sup>

As an effort to establish what he calls the "historical weight" of these prior meanings, Burke begins his study of toiletries with a social history of hygiene in traditional and colonial Zimbabwe, then explores the economic context, including the pre-1945 development of merchant capital and the postwar boom in manufacturing.<sup>84</sup> While Burke is apologetic about such a long prologue to his proper subject, the analysis of advertisements, when it comes in the final two chapters, is worth the wait. In short, this approach—etching in fine detail the cultural and economic contexts in which toiletries as commodities operate—allows Burke to analyze postwar advertisements with richness, clarity, and exactitude.

One of the earliest and most culturally embedded expressions of racism in this area was the belief that Africans were dirty or diseased. Because nineteenth-century Africans cleaned themselves by rubbing oil all over their bodies, they had no previous experience with soap as an item of hygiene. Scholars such as Richard Thomas and Anne McClintock have also shown that, throughout the colonial period, images of cleanliness and filth were used to establish social hierarchies and to justify the segregation, surveillance, and control of African populations.<sup>85</sup> Cleanliness was essential to differences of gender as well as race, for hygiene was represented as a "key attribute of feminine domesticity."<sup>86</sup> When European gender roles were also imposed on Africans, domestic labor such as housework and laundry was increasingly seen as the responsibility of women. If among mission schools and colonial officials, hygiene was considered to be a primary marker of civilization, women were central to this "civilizing" process. African women were considered to be linchpins in the colonial effort to institutionalize hygiene through "native education," state propaganda, and the work of the "homecraft" movement and women's clubs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such an effort to "clean up" the African home had economic as well as cultural objectives. A female education in "proper domesticity," it was believed, would create a more stable and hygienic environment at home, alleviate social problems in African

<sup>82</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 3; Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London, 1978).

<sup>83</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 5–6. For Burke's source here, see Kopytoff, "Cultural Biography of Things"; Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value."

<sup>84</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 12.

<sup>85</sup> See Richards, *Commodity Culture*, chap. 3; and McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire," in *Imperial Leather*.

<sup>86</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 18. Other important works on hygiene in the European case include Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, Jean Birrell, trans. (Cambridge, 1988); William Coleman, *Death Is a Social Disease: Public Health and Political Economy in Early Industrial France* (Madison, Wis., 1982).

communities, and create a healthier, steadier labor force. Drawing from a rich variety of sources, Burke shows how African domesticity was “produced” through “home demonstrators” such as the “Jeanes teachers,” African women’s clubs, newspapers, and novels.

After World War II, this same process of ideological production continued but through different channels. As Zimbabwe experienced a manufacturing boom, commodities moved more and more to the center of cultural life. The production of “modern” African bodies and manners, hygiene and domesticity, began to take place through the meanings and practices surrounding toiletries. “By the 1960s,” argues Burke, “the hegemonic promotion of manners, hygiene, and appearance was increasingly expressed in terms of products and ad slogans.”<sup>87</sup> For example, demonstration vans, modeled after the “native education” programs of the 1930s, became a favorite way to sell products in Zimbabwe. Whereas colonial advisers in the earlier period simply recommended frequent washing, they now had in mind a particular soap to use. Besides his knowledge of prior meanings attached to toiletries, Burke draws on records from professional conventions, Rhodesian Federated Chambers of Commerce, and marketing trade manuals in order to analyze advertising slogans and images. These give Burke an extensive, extremely detailed repertoire of cultural referents in his analysis. He presents advertisements as multi-layered, complex cultural artifacts that both reenact and produce social differences.

For example, Lifebuoy soap was known as a “strong” soap suitable for particularly dirty bodies. “As a consequence,” argues Burke, “the advertised image of Lifebuoy ultimately drifted inexorably toward both masculinity and blackness.”<sup>88</sup> Although the advertisers of Lifebuoy were reiterating links between dirt, masculinity, and the African body that were already deeply embedded in the colonial imaginary, they also gave them new life by transcribing these old cultural hieroglyphs into a new commodity language. In this way, advertisers, no less than colonial officials, policed the borders of both racial and gender hierarchies. While soap ads for men played on worries about remaining healthy enough to work, similar ads for women exploited so-called female concerns like pleasing husbands or running an efficient household. Advertisers singled out the African woman as “the most important by far” target group for marketing.<sup>89</sup> They did so, argues Burke, for much the same reason that missionaries had seen women as the primary “civilizers” a century before: they “believed fervently that women were the key to changing the material composition of the African home,” this time as consumers as well as housekeepers. Unlike Loeb, however, Burke does not equate female consumerism with empowerment. For Burke, it was the advertisers who exerted control, rivaled only by African patriarchs who also viewed women as a central cultural force, in this case, for the preservation of African traditions. In this sense, the cultural manipulation of the African woman became a contest for the soul of Africa. If

<sup>87</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 150.

<sup>88</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 151.

<sup>89</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 136.

woman-as-consumer acted as a power broker for modernity, the woman-as-commodity did the same for “traditional” Africa.<sup>90</sup>

Burke provides a model for how historians should analyze advertisements as cultural artifacts, and as other recent work shows, a book-length analysis is not always necessary to reap the rewards of this approach.<sup>91</sup> In addition, Burke’s study illuminates the merits of what Jean-Christophe Agnew has called the “world-system” approach to consumer culture. Rather than locate the origins of consumerism in domestic factors such as social emulation, as Neil McKendrick has done, “world-system” theorists examine circuits of international trade, influence, and domination that, they believe, generated a new orientation toward material objects.<sup>92</sup> For example, in her book *From Graven Images*, Chandra Mukerji examines the trade in prints, maps, and calico cottons as part of a global commercial venture fostering a widespread preoccupation with material goods among Europeans. In doing so, she challenges the Weberian orthodoxy that early capitalism was associated with asceticism rather than hedonism. Pointing to an abundant supply of imported silks, pottery, woolens, spices, and woods in sixteenth-century European markets, she argues that mass consumption was as much a product of global commerce as of industrial capitalism.<sup>93</sup> By showing how commodities support and are supported by a culture of colonial domination, Burke’s analysis unfolds in a similarly global frame, revealing the key links between consumerism and empire.

These links also preoccupy Kristin Ross in her history of France during the late 1950s and 1960s, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Her subject is the “sudden descent of large appliances into war-torn French households and streets in the wake of the Marshall Plan,” a transition so

<sup>90</sup> By woman-as-commodity here, I refer to the fact that at the time of an African woman’s marriage, her male guardian is given a “bride price” as compensation for the loss of her reproductive power as well as the loss of her labor to the family. What is actually being commodified is not so much the woman per se as her labor and reproductive power. In addition, it is important to qualify Burke’s argument in two ways: first, Burke is talking primarily about urban areas, where changes such as commodification of markets are occurring much more rapidly than in rural areas. Secondly, while it is true that colonial officials and African heads of family competed for power, these two groups also reinforced each other’s power by working together to enforce social order. Finally, it is important to note that when speaking of women as the “soul” of Africa, I am talking about an “invented tradition” rather than any essential female trait. My thanks to Richard Roberts for his expertise on these issues.

<sup>91</sup> Judith Coffin’s skillful study of sewing machine advertisements constitutes a single chapter in a larger study of women’s work in France. In the space of only a few pages, she manages to detail the technological and manufacturing basis of the sewing machine industry, the consumer practices, such as working-class credit, that surrounded this commodity, as well as the visual history of working women in France, the late nineteenth-century symbolic equation of the sewing machine with modernity, and the medical anxiety that it excited women sexually. See Judith G. Coffin, *The Politics of Women’s Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750–1915* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), chap. 3.

<sup>92</sup> Agnew provides a good synopsis of the “world-system” vs. “nationalist” approach in “Coming Up for Air,” 23. For an argument that focuses on domestically driven consumer trends, see McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 9–33. Amy Robinson brought this issue to my attention. See her unpublished ms. “The Place of the Commodity in a Modern World.”

<sup>93</sup> Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983), 1–2, 8–11. It is important to note explicitly the differences between “world-system” theorists. Although Agnew groups Mukerji with Immanuel Wallerstein and Fernand Braudel, arguing that her work built on theirs, Mukerji distinguishes herself from both of them in her book. Wallerstein, she argues, describes the global commercial system in strictly economic terms, whereas she is more interested in commodity objects as cultural objects that carry ideas and, as such, act as social forces. Braudel, she argues, is more interested in a “general model of historical change than with explaining capitalist development to challenge Weber’s thesis.” See 15, 18, 24–25.

“headlong, dramatic, and breathless,” that the same rural housewife could acquire electricity, running water, stove, refrigerator, washing machine, car, and television all within the space of ten years.<sup>94</sup> Ross presents this postwar development as doubly inscribed in global, capitalist circuits of domination: first as a product of Americanization and secondly as inseparable from France’s reluctant process of decolonization. In her view, France’s global position was contradictory inasmuch as the country was forced to act both as colonizer and colonized, “exploiting colonial populations at the same time” that it was “dominated by, or more precisely, entering more and more into collaboration or fusion with, American capitalism.”<sup>95</sup> In theory, Ross convincingly advocates for the “world-systems” approach by creating a comprehensive analytic framework, one that brings together two postwar historiographical narratives—modernization and decolonization—that have until now remained separate in the literature. The problem is, the scope of the argument—the connection between the headlong rush for consumer durables and the violent reaction against Algerian independence—far exceeds the reach of any available historical evidence. Her analysis is a frustrating set of brilliant insights that remain, as in the case of Solomon-Godeau, speculations.

Like Burke, Ross is interested in the postwar obsession with hygiene. (In fact, an interesting question is why soap as a commodity has emerged as such a preoccupation of historians of consumerism. Burke is perhaps right to wonder whether the body acts as a “uniquely powerful site in the process of commodification.”<sup>96</sup>) Following the lead of Roland Barthes, Ross maintains that the postwar period brought “a qualitatively new, French, lived relationship to cleanliness”—an unprecedented obsession with commodities such as soaps and detergents.<sup>97</sup> The January 10, 1955, issue of *Elle*, for example, was devoted entirely to whiteness—in the form of bleaches, linens, baby layette, and pasteurized milk. Ross asks the right historical question—*why* would such an obsession with cleanliness emerge at this moment? Like Burke, she sketches out the cultural biography of these commodities, establishing a set of “prior meanings” that would explain their emergence at this particular historical time.

But unlike Burke, she makes arguments without the evidence to support them. “Certainly,” she claims, “the immediate postwar purges (called *épurations*, or ‘purifications’) and attempts to rid the nation of the traces of German Occupation and Pétainist compromise and complicity set the tone for a new emphasis on French national purity.”<sup>98</sup> This is an imaginative idea, all the more attractive because it puts some political bite into postwar consumerism. However, Ross offers no explicit links—except at the level of metaphor—between repression of the moral stains of the occupation and obsession with the stubborn ones in the sink. And language, in

<sup>94</sup> Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 4–5.

<sup>95</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*, 11. In addition, soap is used as a cheap entry into a market for companies with highly varied, complex product lines. The aim of manufacturing soap within a particular market is to gain company loyalty that will translate into higher sales for the entire product line. An anonymous reviewer for the *AHR* brought this fact to my attention.

<sup>97</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 73. See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris, 1957). Ross also draws from the insights of Jean Baudrillard, *Le système des objets* (Paris, 1968), in this chapter; see 208, n. 5.

<sup>98</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 74.



FIGURE 2: Bosc, "Torture Must Be Clean," n.d. Used in Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). Courtesy of the Musée d'Histoire Contemporaine—BDIC.

this case, a set of tropes having to do with cleanliness, is much too fickle a thing—much too capable of mutation and inversion—to serve as a causal link between disparate historical phenomena (the occupation and postwar household commodities). The play of language should not be forced to carry the logical weight of any argument, let alone one ascribing psychological motivation (such as guilt) to an entire nation. Lurking behind Ross's analysis, like that of Lears, is an implicit assumption that political events, social movements, and cultural trends are shaped by collective, even "national," psychic investments, such as anxiety, guilt, and shame.

Ross is more convincing in her attempt to link the postwar cleaning mania to the Algerian War—the "dirty war" (*sale de guerre*), as it was called—but she still builds her argument on the very shaky foundation of common discursive tropes. She offers an astounding cartoon of a French paratrooper administering an ice bath—a form of torture in the war—with a PAX soapbox standing nearby. The caption reads: "Torture Must Be Clean" (Figure 2).<sup>99</sup> Ross provides no information about the cartoon—its date, in what periodical it appears, its political context but instead interprets it in very broad psychic terms: as evidence that Algeria, no longer France's "other," had become its "monstrous and distorted double." Yet the cartoon offers firmer evidence of "spectacle" than it does Doppelgänger. It confirms that, by the 1960s, as Guy Debord claimed in *La société du spectacle* (1967), the commodity had moved to the very center of cultural representation,

<sup>99</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 109.



working within a system of metaphors deployed in countless, unpredictable ways—here, ironically, for sarcastic political effect.<sup>100</sup>

There is no doubt that Ross's book suffers from quite serious problems of argument and evidence, as other historians have pointed out. But even after acknowledging these flaws, it seems rash to conclude, as did Richard Kuisel in the pages of this journal, that "historians can ignore this book."<sup>101</sup> In fact, Ross has a great deal to say about how commodities construct notions of gender in the postwar period, and here her evidence—films, novels, advertisements—serves her well. For example, through analysis of film, she argues persuasively that the automobile as a cultural symbol shaped a new notion of masculinity—"the new and complex image of 'l'homme disponible'—Available Man, relatively indifferent to the distances where he'll be sent."<sup>102</sup> In the films of the 1950s and 1960s, the car was used as a symbol of social opportunity and geographical mobility, and the Available Man behind the wheel was the primary agent, and sometimes victim, of this new independence. (Car crashes are a major theme in the films of these years.) As such, the Available Man enabled the French to debate the impact of modernization—with all its implicit freedoms and dangers—on cultural and community life. In this way, new tropes of gender helped the French to negotiate commodification as a process of rapid change.

If the car was named "the man's friend" in Renault advertising, household appliances were dubbed "the woman's friends." Despite Ross's interest in postwar couples, to which she devotes an entire chapter, she never explores in detail why men and women were "coupled" with consumer purchases in this fascinating way. Instead, she focuses on women's increasing isolation in the private home as the managers of efficient households. Ross argues that rational administrative techniques moved in this era from the colonies, where they had been first used and perfected, to the domestic interior and the "everyday life" of French citizens. In doing so, she ignores the growing influence of household management and other rationalizing trends in France throughout the century, such as Augusta Moll-Weiss's domestic science movement of the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the strategy of using the colonies to "test out" methods of social control had been characteristic of the French Empire (as well as others) since its inception.<sup>104</sup> In the same way that Burke viewed women as maintaining the colonial order, Ross argues (again without real evidence) that they ensured the postcolonial order. Without an "Other" to define oneself against as "clean" and "civilized," the French felt an

<sup>100</sup> Strangely, Debord seems to be missing almost altogether from Ross's text. See *La société du spectacle* (Paris, 1967; English trans. of new edn., Detroit, Mich., 1977). Debord's notion of the spectacle was a response to French consumer culture in the 1960s, but it has often been applied, perhaps erroneously, to mid-nineteenth-century consumer culture. See, for example, Richards, *Commodity Culture*; Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*; Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*.

<sup>101</sup> Richard Kuisel, review, *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 859–60, quote 860.

<sup>102</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 23.

<sup>103</sup> On Moll-Weiss, see Coffin, *Politics of Women's Work*, 226–27. On rationalizing trends in France, see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994), chap. 7; Robert Frost, "Machine Liberation: Inventing Housewives and Home Appliances in Interwar France," *French Historical Studies* 18 (Spring 1993): 109–31.

<sup>104</sup> See Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

“intense” pressure to be modern, rational, clean, and forward-thinking, and that pressure “fell on women” in particular. “If the woman is clean, the family is clean, the nation is clean. If the French woman is dirty, then France is dirty and backward.”<sup>105</sup> Like Lears again, then, Ross interprets the late twentieth century as a triumph of rationalized corporate bureaucracy, here put to the service of empire rather than the unruly desires stirred by the American marketplace. And like Auslander, Ross views the housewife as a pivotal figure in the construction of national identity. The French woman, assisted only by her small army of household products and appliances, bore the shifting weight of the civilizing mission, a national project whose livelihood now depended on something as unreliable as an ensemble of commodities.

But commodities are the real colonizing force here, remaking women in their own image within the household dystopia of everyday life. To the old question of consumption and power—did woman’s role as household manager empower or infantilize her?—Ross sings an old song of political despair, not unlike that of Jackson Lears. As housewives increasingly relied on their husbands to purchase appliances, and on scientific experts to operate them, “the real decision-making power, the *savoir-faire* . . . shifted outside of the woman’s immediate sphere of control.”<sup>106</sup> For all the novelty of Ross’s argument, her judgment here—that commodities are bad, that housework is bad, and that rationalization is bad—recalls the old, now largely outdated, feminist view of consumption as a totalizing, exploitative force in women’s lives.

Despite its flaws, Ross’s study points out the paths where historians have to go: how commodities entangle colony and metropole in circuits of consumer desire, how they act to construct national identity, and how they create new tropes of gender identity in the way that they are culturally imagined through films and novels. In this spirit, then, I want to conclude by sketching an itinerary concerning two issues—method and power—that seem to me particularly pressing for future historians of consumerism and commodity culture.

THIS REVIEW HAS SHOWN diverse approaches to studying commodities as cultural artifacts. If I have been hard-nosed about matters of logic and evidence in these books, that is because advertisements, pornography, and films are all relatively new sources for historians. In approaching these forms of documentation, we are obliged to be fastidious about what we can and cannot learn from them, and how we must or must not employ them in conjunction with other forms of evidence. Particularly slippery, it seems to me, are arguments that assume collective psychic investments: Solomon-Godeau’s example of pornography as expressing a male compensatory fantasy of femininity in the absence of women in the public sphere, Lears’s corporate rationalism as a male effort to tame the “chaotic energies of a metaphorically female nature,” Loeb’s advertisers feeling guilty about the sexual

<sup>105</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 87.

<sup>106</sup> Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 104–05. For a different and equally fascinating look at women consumers in the 1950s, see Elizabeth Cohen, “From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America,” *AHR* 101 (October 1996): 1050–81.

imagery they deployed, or Ross's housewives, like present-day Lady Macbeths, scrubbing out the damned spots of the occupation. Such arguments *can* be made when certain kinds of evidence are available: for example, if Loeb had been able to find advertisers expressing moral ambivalence in their trade journals or correspondence. But that possibility diminishes to the vanishing point as the collective entity—the French nation, American men—becomes larger and more diffuse.

In addition to method, historians need to direct their attention closely to the connections between women, commodities, and power. As we have seen, interpretations concerning this issue have tacked wildly back and forth across a shallow analytic frame: was consumption “good” or “bad” for women? In the books under review, housewives are portrayed either as mighty consumers with advertisers at their beck and call or as pathetic victims of male expertise and control. Such Manichean views spring from a definition of power as simply the “power of the purse”—the economic ability to make consumer decisions and purchases. But more recent work has shown just how narrow this definition of power is, by exploring how commodities act as more than economic forces. Chandra Mukerji has pointed out that commodities are “carriers of ideas and, as such, often act as the social forces that analysts have identified with ideology-as-words.”<sup>107</sup> Clearly, as Burke's analysis of soap shows, commodities can carry meanings such as “blackness” or “whiteness” that police the borders of social difference. If we were to adopt Michel Foucault's notion of power relations, we could say as well that commodities constitute a set of forms of cultural domination through which power is exercised and social organization constituted.<sup>108</sup> David Kuchta's analysis of “inconspicuous consumption” among bourgeois English men, for example, shows just how much the discourse of fashion, as such a form of cultural domination, shaped eighteenth-century politics by justifying women's exclusion from this activity.<sup>109</sup> By broadening our notion of the power operative in commodities—as more than just the “power of the purse”—we can explore a fuller range of ways that they shaped subjectivity and experience.

Nor should we confine our explorations to the literal act of consumption. The process of commodification may have begun, but did not end, with the corner store. In fact, for many historians of consumer culture, the department store has gained a kind of totemic status completely out of proportion to its relative significance in the nineteenth century. During this period, as Solomon-Godeau has claimed, commodities became a focal point of daily life, colonizing forms of representation

<sup>107</sup> Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, 15.

<sup>108</sup> For Foucault's notion of power, see *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (1978; New York, 1980). For his impact on historians, see Jan Goldstein, ed., *Foucault and the Writing of History* (London, 1994).

<sup>109</sup> Similarly, recent work by Erica Rappaport, Judith Walkowitz, and Mica Nava explores the subtle means by which cultural practices surrounding the urban department store undermined domesticity and ushered in the “New Woman.” See Erica Rappaport, “‘A Husband and His Wife's Dresses’: Consumer Credit and the Debtor Family in England, 1864–1914,” in *Sex of Things*; and “‘A New Era of Shopping’: The Promotion of Women's Pleasure in London's West End, 1909–1914,” in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*; Mica Nava, “Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store,” in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, Nava and Alan O'Shea, eds. (New York, 1996).

as different as art, theater, and newspapers.<sup>110</sup> Warren Susman has explored the impact of this commodity culture on human subjectivity by tracing the transition in the United States from a belief in identity as essentially fixed, rooted in family, class, and social position, to a belief in identity as a matter of display, appearance, and merchandising.<sup>111</sup> While Susman never explored the gendered implications of this transition, Kathy Peiss does so in "Making Up, Making Over," her exploration of the 1920s culture of cosmetics in *The Sex of Things*. According to Peiss, commodities such as cosmetics had the power to destabilize "social identities that had once been fundamental to women's consciousness, fixed in parentage, class position, conventions of respectability, and sexual codes." Lipsticks with names such as "Lady" and "Hussy" made female identities that had once been "moral poles of womanhood" now a matter of "purchasable style." In this way, according to Peiss, cosmetic products served to constitute rather than falsify female identity, thus destabilizing the notion of an essentialized, interior self and producing important political effects. In the case of African Americans especially, she argues, "these commodities offered women a language through which they could articulate new demands, concerns, and desires."<sup>112</sup> Hair-care and skin supplies marketed by women such as Madame C. J. Walker (Sarah Breedlove Walker) promoted an image of respectability for African-American women in the 1920s, allowing them to challenge stereotyped representations of themselves.

Like Burke and Kuchta, Peiss grounds her analysis in a notion of power that allows us to see commodities as more than indices of economic value. In fact, Peiss invites us to think about politics in very different ways here—not as a sustained, collective movement with a strategic set of goals but as a series of personal changes in subjectivity and self-presentation that have real effects on how people act in the world. In this sense, her work illustrates the so-called "politics of the everyday" explored by historians Leora Auslander, Robin D. G. Kelley, and others. One challenge of this approach lies in figuring out how these personal gestures connect to larger structural transformations, or how these expressions of "power's capillary action," to use Auslander's deft phrase, circulate within a larger rhythm of political change.<sup>113</sup> As Jean-Christophe Agnew reminds us, the use of commodities is marked by an absence of responsibility. Commodities do not, in themselves, encourage one to be accountable or responsible to any set of political ideals.<sup>114</sup> No one would deny that structural forces, whether economic or social, play out at the

<sup>110</sup> Most helpful to me in defining commodity culture was Richards, *Commodity Culture*; and Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing*.

<sup>111</sup> Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984). On this issue, see also T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930," in Fox and Lears, *Culture of Consumption*. Five years later, Lears tried to modify his analysis of this transition, arguing that it required "a subtler conceptual framework." See "Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920*, Simon J. Bronner, ed. (New York, 1989), 73–98.

<sup>112</sup> Kathy Peiss, "Making Up, Making Over: Cosmetics, Consumer Culture, and Women's Identity," in *Sex of Things*, 331–32.

<sup>113</sup> Auslander, *Taste and Power*, 4–5; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York, 1994). See also Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *AHR* 100 (February 1995): 1–20.

<sup>114</sup> Agnew, "Coming Up for Air."

individual level. But what are the possibilities and limits of commodities as “everyday” objects that can affect larger social and political change?

Another approach, which I can only sketch out briefly here, would be to move still one more step away from consumption as a literal act, to think less of the concrete “objects” of consumption (cosmetics, for example) and more about the commodification of culture as a process with multiple social and political effects. We might follow the lead of Solomon-Godeau in her attempt to acknowledge the visual forms of femininity, such as prostitutes, at the center of commodity culture. As we have seen, the prostitute-as-commodity of early nineteenth-century pornography was made solely to be desired and consumed; she represented woman-as-image rather than image-of-woman. It seems worthwhile to consider whether this (admittedly problematic) tendency in commodity culture to “specularize” women might also promise a “positive” or subversive political effect. If we are to believe Warren Susman, such a culture of display and appearance undermined belief in identity as essentially fixed in class, family, and social position. Thus it had the capability to destabilize gender identities, such as domestic motherhood, that had been naturalized or essentialized throughout the nineteenth century. For women seeking to escape the inexorable call of convention, that “destabilizing” effect of commodity culture could be very useful indeed.

In my own research on *fin-de-siècle* France, for example, it can’t be just coincidence that the so-called “New Women”—a group of bourgeois women who rejected domesticity in order to pursue radical lifestyles—are over-represented in the twin worlds of journalism and theater. For, in the 1880s, the daily newspaper and boulevard comedy were the two most prominent cultural commodities of their day, constituting, with the café, the three pillars of life on the boulevards of Paris. With its glitz, its anonymous social mixing, its prostitution of business and political interests, its emphasis on *being seen as someone* over and above actually *being someone*, this commodified boulevard culture invited urban participants, including women, to *perform* identity.<sup>115</sup> By that, I mean that whether the “New Women” were assuming a newspaper pseudonym, taking on a stage role, posing as a “reporter,” or posing for the camera, they seemed to play at identity. Particularly skilled in making spectacles of themselves, at once flirts and feminists, compassionate mothers and hard-nosed journalists, courtesans and powerful stage directors, they assumed multiple, often conflicting, identities. In short, the worlds of journalism and theater, which lay at the heart of commodity culture in this period, enabled these women literally to act out the instability of gender identity, and thus to refashion themselves as women. In this way, the commodified cultural landscape of Paris acted as a crucial site for the transgression of conventional gender identities at the *fin de siècle*, allowing and even encouraging women to shape new, often subversive, selves.

Hence the New Woman should take her place alongside the prostitute and the kleptomaniac as a central figure in the history of gender and consumption. Her presence signals to us that women were not simply consumers of commodities or their eroticized symbols. In addition, women learned to exploit the logic and forms

<sup>115</sup> On boulevard culture, see particularly Vanessa Schwartz’s important *Spectacular Realities*.



of commodity culture to their own advantage. The challenge, again, will be to understand the personal transgressions of the *fin-de-siècle* New Women as cooperative and transformative. Like commodities themselves, the culture governed by the commodity cultivates little accountability or responsibility to anything, let alone a set of strategic political goals, such as feminism. But to think of politics only as a sustained, formal, or collective effort is to ignore the multiple sites and workings of power in our modern world. What cosmetics, fashion, and the “New Women” *can* teach us about politics in the twentieth century is that—as we are perhaps beginning to recognize just now—it resides as much in the fluid nature of appearances as in the substance of ideas, as much on the street as in the legislative chamber, and as much in the media as in the campaign speech.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

JOHN R. GILLIS. *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*. New York: Basic Books of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xix, 310. \$28.00.

"Home," John Ruskin once wrote, "is a place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt and division." Home is a "sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods." More wishful thinking than anything else, Ruskin's views on the domestic sphere, it turns out, owed more to the concrete historical vagaries of the Victorian era in which he lived than to the eternal verities by which he lived. As John R. Gillis relates in his broadly conceived and lucidly written study of the "Western family imaginary," Americans today, like Ruskin before them, have "two families, one that we live *with* and another we live *by*." The former, he tells us, is unstable, fragmented, even dysfunctional; the latter, "constituted through myth, ritual, and image," keeps us whole, even at the risk of "mystifying the realities of family life" (p. xv).

Gillis sets out to demystify those realities. Drawing on and ably synthesizing the latest scholarship on domestic matters, he seeks to demonstrate that the "community of feeling and fantasy" (p. 61) that we call family is an artifact of history. With a keen eye for detail, he takes a fresh look at some of our most cherished domestic institutions, from motherhood and fatherhood to family vacations and Sunday dinners, firmly tying each one to a specific cultural moment and place. Even the "family silver" (for some, a source of aesthetic delight; for others, cause for squabbling) puts in an appearance.

Like the family attic, however, the book is jammed to the rafters with stuff; too much is packed onto its pages. In his scholarly zeal and obvious affection for the subject at hand, Gillis has cast a very broad net. Not only does his text move too freely between the medieval era and the 1990s, it is a bit overcrowded, peopled with American families, Victorian families and the Holy Family. As a result, it tends to miss out on or, more commonly still, to flatten the significant differences that exist among them. Moreover, Gillis's insistence that, when push comes to shove, all families

are alike rings a bit hollow, dulling the cumulative force of his argument. "Today, despite all the differences in detail, and regardless of class, ethnicity or region," he writes, "there is striking similarity in the way family cultures are practiced" (p. xix).

True enough (maybe). Still, such disregard for class, ethnicity, region, and, above all, religion is both a missed interpretive opportunity as well as a serious mistake, leading Gillis to overstate the contemporary family's autonomy and self-sufficiency. In the past, he argues, "people could find families to live by in the cosmos or in the community, relieving them of the burden of providing myths and rituals on their own." But "each family is now the creator and custodian of its own myths, rituals, and images" (p. xvii). Surely, the relationship between religion and domestic culture (as demonstrated by the *bat mitzvah* or *quinceañera*) is far more complex.

This being said, Gillis succeeds in opening our eyes to the power and grace of the family, that simultaneously enchanted and all-too-human institution. Sunday dinner, anyone?

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GIOVANNI LEVI and JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, editors. *A History of Young People in the West*. Volume 1, *Ancient and Medieval Rites of Passage*. Translated by CAMILLE NAISH. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. vi, 396. \$35.00.

GIOVANNI LEVI and JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, editors. *A History of Young People in the West*. Volume 2, *Stormy Evolution to Modern Times*. Translated by CAROL VOLK. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. vi, 409. \$35.00.

These two volumes, comprising seventeen essays, present us with a spectacular pageant of youth, staged mainly in France and the Mediterranean, that is rich, often exotic, and always evocative. First come the ancient Greek *neoi*, young men, passionate for the hunt and for one another; they are followed by Roman youth, garbed in *toga virilis*; next on display is the courtly *chevalier*, and then the colorful *giovani* of the Renaissance city states. Next in line are the less

fashionable but no less noisy and boisterous *Knabenschaften* of the early modern German villages. Moving into the modern period, we glimpse the virile young volunteers of the French republic's *levée en masse*, jostling uncomfortably with their dandified contemporaries, the reactionary *muscadins*. In the nineteenth century, the parade is filled with factory lads and schoolboys, Boy Scouts and hooligans. The images of the early twentieth century are dominated by the *Hitler Jugend* and Mussolini's *Balilla*, while the last contingent is a motley crew of Rockers, Hippies, student radicals, and nondescript "teenagers." Bringing up the rear is the lone figure of the British cultural critic, Dick Hebdige, who carries a sign reading: "The teenager is dead."

There are several things that are immediately apparent about this pageant. First is the absence of young women. These volumes make clear that women have never carried a representational weight equal to young men, and here they appear mainly as spectators, relegated to private spaces or confined to institutions such as the convent. Second, apart from village youth and urban apprentices, the stars of the show are mainly of elite origins. Even in the modern era, it is middle-class males who stand in for youth in general. Finally, there is the fact that the participants become younger over time. Whereas in earlier periods the ranks were filled with men in their twenties and thirties, today's youth shades into childhood, prompting Hebdige's observation that even the teens no longer seem capable of symbolizing anything (II, p. 339). It would appear that, from the 1970s onward, the symbolic and moral universe in which youth once occupied such an important place has been disappearing. Could it be that we are witnessing the end of youth as we have known it?

Editors Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt make clear in their introduction that their subject is more cultural construction than social reality. They contend that "nowhere, in any historical period, can youth be defined simply by biological or legal criteria. Everywhere, always, it exists only in a form invested with values and symbols" (I, p. 7). Essays on medieval imagery by Michel Pastoureau, a linguist, and Giovanni Romano, an art historian, argue that, as Pastoureau puts it, "imagery is never realistic. It is always ideological" (I, p. 230). Questions of representation are accentuated, especially in Sergio Luzzato's intriguing exploration of the images of young rebels from 1789 to 1917 and in an excellent concluding essay by Luisa Passerini, who explores how youth operated as metaphor in fascist Italy and McCarthy-era America.

In asserting that youth exists "only" at the symbolic level, the editors are overstating an otherwise valid case for a cultural understanding of youth. In fact, several of the best essays in these volumes, including Elliott Horowitz's treatment of Jewish youth from 1300 to 1800, Michelle Perrot's contribution on French working-class youth, and the essays by Jean-Claude Caron and Sabrina Loriga on modern school and

military youth, respectively, are strongly rooted in the older social history methodology. The same can be said of Eric Micaud's treatment of Nazi youth, as well as Renta Ago's survey of younger sons in the age of absolutism. Despite their claim to novelty, these volumes are heavily dependent on, and consistent with, earlier scholarship.

New insights do, however, emerge when the contributors explore the ways in which youth, through ritual and imagery, functioned culturally within the small symbolic worlds of the polis, court, commune, and village. One particularly convincing theme is the way that adults have projected onto youth their deepest hopes and fears and the ingenious ways the rites of youth have served to sublimate and contain tensions that might otherwise have ruptured the social order. Alain Schnapp's explication of archaic and classical Greece and Augusto Frascchetti's parallel treatment of Rome are both excellent in this respect, but even more intriguing is Christiane Marchello-Nizia's description of how the theater of courtly chivalry served to deflect potentially devastating generational conflicts. "In sacrificing his own life, the hero allows the community to regenerate," she reminds us. "This, it seems, is the essential function of young men in epic literature. The figure of these heroes has been compared to Christ" (I, p. 165).

A similar point is made by Elizabeth Crouzet-Pavan about the spectacles of the medieval Italian communes. Both women and young men functioned there as symbols of disorder, objects of intense patriarchal fear and rage. As Norbert Schindler's detailed essay on early modern German village youth amply demonstrates, even the most violent *charivari* also served to reinforce a sense of order. Youth would continue to symbolize death and resurrection well into the twentieth century, although by then, it was no longer the court or the village but the nation that lived by the symbols of youthful virility.

Given the centrality of the rites and images of youth to social order throughout history, it is strange that the editors emphasize "the marginal and liminal character of youth" (I, p. 3). Daniel Fabre's fine ethnography of the village feast at Montagne Noire in the south of France shows the astounding staying power of the *charivari* at the local level. As they had for centuries past, the rites of youth there remain a steady point in a changing world, a source of order achieved through symbolic disorder. It is not the marginality but the centrality of youth that is demonstrated here. And we may have reason to regret that the pageant of youth, for all its ludic and disruptive dimensions, seems now to be tolerated only at the margins of the new Europe.

It is unfortunate that the editors reject any attempt at comparison or synthesis, explicitly denying the possibility of anything like a linear history of youth, for there is plenty of material here on which a comprehensive treatment—nuanced by considerations of gender, class, and ethnicity—could be constructed. One understated theme deserving further attention is the

"virilization" of youth evident from the French Revolution onward. Representations of youth had always been predominantly male, but the new definitions of both masculinity and femininity that were associated with the rise of the nation-state marked a distinct turning point. It is indeed disappointing to find that the question of gender is not dealt with explicitly. Had the editors thought to include American or British contributions, the issue would most certainly have been raised.

A similar deficiency arises with respect to the treatment of generation. Although younger and older age groups make their appearance, the volumes fail to consider age as a relational matter in any consistent way. The psychological is another underplayed element, and, although class and ethnicity are relevant to most of the essays, they are not always given the attention one might expect.

The editors also forfeit the opportunity to comment on the changing uses of cultural representations of youth. In rural France, youth may still function culturally in the manner it did in the Middle Ages, but, as the contributions on fascist and Nazi youth demonstrate, nationalization has profoundly affected the rites and images of youth. The symbolic sacrifice of the epic hero has been replaced by the tragic slaughter of millions of young men on the battlefields of the twentieth century, and imagery that once served community now sustains commerce. Yet, apart from Passerini, none of the authors even touch on the commercialization and commodification of youth. We are told about young workers, but little is said about young consumers.

The teenager may be dead, but images of youthfulness circulate at ever greater velocity. Today we even speak of "young-old," as if the fountain of youth has finally been found. Yet we may soon regret the passing of the older images of youth. When the fears of disorder that these expressed float free, the result is not a greater sense of security but even greater anxiety and loss of faith in the possibilities of regeneration. Contrasting early modern with contemporary attitudes toward youth, Schindler wisely notes: "Nothing is more surprising to us than the generous indulgence adults of the time showed toward juvenile misdeeds, secure in the knowledge that it would all end" (I, p. 283). We, who cling so irrationally to youth, have no such reassurances.

One cannot help wonder why the editors were so reluctant to comment on the relevance of history to contemporary society. Perhaps it is because we are all so far removed from the urgent social and political issues that inspired an earlier generation of scholarship on this subject. What is clear is that these volumes reflect a very different set of conditions, accounting for their strengths but also their weaknesses.

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J. B. SCHNEEWIND, editor. *Giving: Western Ideas of Philanthropy*. (Philanthropic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 230. \$29.95.

The essays in this collection contain little that may be new to specialists but are potentially useful to general readers interested in the history, philosophy, and practice of charity. As Robert Payton, former director of Indiana University's Center on Philanthropy (which sponsored the publication) notes in his introduction, the book explores the many "faces" of charity in different historical, religious, philosophical, and cultural contexts. The kaleidoscopic quality of the contents is intensified by the backgrounds of the contributors, who represent an unusually broad range of disciplines including anthropology, philosophy, religion, and the practice of philanthropy as well as history.

The book opens with philosopher-ethicist Scott Davis's essay on change and continuity in ideas about charity and virtue from antiquity (focusing on Aristotle and Augustine) to the Middle Ages. Although he stresses the "plurality of forms and understandings" behind the medieval concept of philanthropy (p. 22), Davis emphasizes how religious leaders such as St. Francis radically reformulated pre-Christian and early Christian ideas about giving. Continuing the investigation of medieval Western charity, historian Suzanne Roberts offers a well-written survey of theory and practice, based primarily on secondary works but also enriched by her own archival research. She looks at how both economic change and new religious ideas transformed meanings and forms of giving in the High Middle Ages, including how the problem of discrimination in poor relief came to be treated in medieval thought and practice.

Essays by three philosophers trace the evolution of ideas about charity, natural rights, and social justice from the Protestant Reformation to the twentieth century. Editor J. B. Schneewind's essay is the most useful and informative. He explores the implications of the natural law theories of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf, with their secular reinterpretation of individual human rights, for Western understandings of charity and justice. Noting that their ideas were challenged by eighteenth-century thinkers such as David Hume, Schneewind emphasizes that all of these philosophers assumed a permanent need for charity. He concludes by raising the intriguing question, unfortunately not addressed directly in the essays that follow, of why this assumption came to be questioned in the nineteenth century.

Two essays explore present-day motives behind giving. Anthropologist Mary Douglas's discussion of human calculations of self-interest, loss, and gain makes delightful reading but lacks substance and focus. The stimulating essay by economist-ethicist Robert Frank critiques today's dominant social science models, with their exclusive emphasis on rational self-interest, as "impoverished" and useless for understanding charita-

ble motivation. Applying his findings to contemporary philanthropic practice, he shows how fundraisers might use the complex of altruistic and selfish motives that stimulate charitable giving to shape their organizations' strategies and appeals.

The volume then takes a sharp methodological turn with essays that examine charity in two specific historical contexts. Both authors, historians Adrienne Lash Jones and Ellen Ross, have published extensively on their topics elsewhere, and their contributions here are disjointed and tightly compressed. Jones's essay, a survey of African-American philanthropy from slavery to the present, attempts to redress what she denounces as other scholars' denial of this tradition. Definitions of philanthropy that represent African Americans only as recipients and not givers, she argues, must be revised. Ross pairs a brief summary of charity in Victorian and Edwardian London with an interesting discussion of her research on one form of giving—free or subsidized school meals for poor children—and what it reveals about relations between givers and recipients.

Although this book's interdisciplinary approach makes it rich in perspectives and ideas, it also accentuates the centrifugal quality inherent in many edited collections of essays. Given the diversity of the contributors' expertise, it might have been desirable for them to address each other's ideas in their essays or to be guided by a common set of questions. One thread that seems to run through most of the contributions is the question of motives or rationales for giving; this is one of the most complex and intriguing aspects of charity, past and present. Why do some people give money or other forms of aid to others who are often complete strangers, or physically or morally repellent to them, or even sometimes barely less well off materially than their benefactors? The essays in this book shed light on some of the many answers that have been proposed in the history of the Christian West by philosophers, moralists, and practitioners of philanthropy.

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CLAUDINE FABRE-VASSAS. *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, and the Pig*. Translated by CAROL VOLK. (European Perspectives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 401. \$35.00.

This book aims to clarify Christian attitudes toward Jews through practices involving an animal of importance in the economy and sustenance of Christians, abstinence from which forms an essential part of Jewish self-definition.

The Jewish prohibition of eating the pig has presented an enigma to outsiders (even to Jews themselves, judging by the attempts at explanation put forward by Jewish thinkers from Philo through Maimonides and up to modern times). Claudine Fabre-Vassas's aim is to analyze Christian views on the

Jewish interdiction: to show how, in the minds of Christians, the Jew, who is prohibited by the Law from eating pork and eating blood, becomes associated with the pig and, in the process, acquires all the features of porcine nature; how Jewish rituals became suspect as blood-sucking ceremonies that substitute the flesh and blood of Christian children for the meat of which Jews are deprived. By elucidating the symbolic connections between Jews and pigs in the Christian mind and the relationship of these symbolic structures to Christian self-identity, Fabre-Vassas believes that she has found the "logical matrix of the most common anti-Judaism, the basic and seemingly natural justification for all the persecution, for all the banishment, for all the extermination" (p. 8).

The book is divided into three parts; the first deals with the pig, the second with Christian attitudes toward Jews, and the third with the relationship between Jews and the pig in Christian consciousness.

A carnivore forcibly turned vegetarian, whose wild relative the boar still roams the forests, the pig, "this singular beast," lives as a member of a human family. After growing fat on mushy "baby food" in this human circle, it is slaughtered with ceremony and its body and blood become the most highly desired food, the specifically Christian meat, with a ritualized role in the two great Christian holidays, Christmas and Easter.

The collection of folkways surrounding the pig is rich and interesting; almost all of them, however, are open to interpretations different from those of the author. Comparisons with folkways involving other domestic animals are conspicuously missing. Fabre-Vassas's claim for the specifically Christian nature of the rituals surrounding the slaughter and the communal sharing of the pig is difficult to maintain in light of the ample historical evidence for these being ancient practices that were later Christianized.

The chapters on Christian attitudes toward Jews consist of a rich collection of slander and superstition. Here again, a comparison or contrast with attitudes toward other rejected and persecuted groups would have been useful (the ample and venomous folklore concerning Gypsies comes to mind).

According to Fabre-Vassas, all that the Christian felt unacceptable, sinful, or anxiety-arousing within the self was projected onto an alien Other, the Jew. Moreover, she claims, the Christian can never feel secure in his/her Christianity but constantly needs to overcome a pre-Christian self, to repudiate the "old Jew" within. Christianity itself came from Judaism by rejecting and overcoming it, so individual Christians forever replay this drama in their lives.

Aside from the hopeless conclusion this thesis implies—that anti-Semitism is an inseparable part of Christian life—there is another problem with this construction. Outside a small group in the early church, the large majority of Christians did not start out as Jews but were converted from paganism. The unbaptized were regarded as "heathens" rather than Jews.



The construction of a closed system with three protagonists—the Christian, the Jew, and the pig as a go-between that provides meaning—does not seem to be an adequate basis for understanding the history of anti-Semitism.

Fabre-Vassas states in her introduction that this is an anthropological study, without describing its method any further. With respect to its time period or geographic range, she states that she began her research in the 1970s in the region of Sault in southern France. As it turns out, neither this place nor the time play any significant role in defining the boundaries of the study's relevance, because examples and evidence to bolster the author's propositions are drawn from geographical, ethnic, and linguistic areas as diverse as Spain, Poland, Romania, Scandinavia, France, and Sicily. Time is treated in the same unsystematic fashion; most often, the period of the anecdote, happening, or custom depicted is not specified at all or ranges haphazardly from antiquity to the present. The motley assortment of data upon which the proof of the hypothesis rests consists of folk customs, rituals or some remnants or reminders of these, folk songs, children's games, proverbs, superstitions, and etymologies of words. "According to our interlocutor" serves to authenticate the provenance of these, while no interlocutor is ever described in any detail.

The attempt of the translator to reproduce the French text as closely as possible makes the English often clumsy and hard to follow. The editors should have eliminated the many misspellings (e.g. "altar" is spelled as "alter" on many occasions).

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LISA T. SARASOHN. *Gassendi's Ethics: Freedom in a Mechanistic Universe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 236. \$45.00.

Pierre Gassendi, renowned French atomist and Epicurean of the seventeenth century, was a figure of unquestioned significance in his day. With many of his texts available only in particularly difficult Latin, he is much less familiar to modern readers, and his work is rarely acknowledged as central to acceptance of the new science. Although his best known philosophical work was his response to René Descartes's *Meditations* (1641), his greatest contribution to the philosophy and science of the seventeenth century was his extensive body of work on Epicurus. In the *Syntagma Philosophicum* (1658), Gassendi used Epicurean atomism to respond to the skeptical crisis of his day. He insisted that we can have useful, if not certain, knowledge of the world. For Epicurus to be used as an epistemological foundation of the new science, he had to be Christianized; this was Gassendi's quest.

Lisa T. Sarasohn's book takes on one of the most serious questions Gassendi faced: how can one have a foundation for morality if one subscribes to the new science? Gassendi, Sarasohn notes, was one of the first

to consider the implications of the new philosophy of nature for human beings. According to Sarasohn, Gassendi's fundamental preoccupation was human freedom. This is the theme around which she builds a coherent interpretation of Gassendi's work; human freedom was not only a *sine qua non* of Christian ethics but also the means by which Gassendi forged a persuasive unity between a neo-Epicurean universe and notions of Christian providence and free will.

This study is unapologetically a traditional study in the history of ideas. Such an approach is necessary and appropriate because so much of Gassendi's work is unfamiliar terrain for modern readers and because the context of his work is the intellectual issues of his day. Sarasohn presents Gassendi's moral philosophy as a response to ancient texts and contemporary issues and as a dialogue with his contemporaries, especially Thomas Hobbes and Descartes.

There are many points at which this book integrates Gassendi's work into its context effectively. Sarasohn presents the complex debates on free will prior to Gassendi clearly and cogently. She places Gassendi against a backdrop of the ethical thought of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which she sees as the progressive integration of heterodox beliefs into Christianity. (Gassendi is obviously a key figure in this evolution.) She also persuasively situates Gassendi within the intellectual traditions of the seventeenth century, such as Epicureanism, skepticism, and Ramist rhetoric.

In a central chapter, Sarasohn explicates Gassendi's modifications of Epicurus. She claims that, for Gassendi as well as for Epicurus, pleasure was fundamentally linked with freedom. Gassendi introduced freedom into the atomism of the new mechanical world view by construing Epicurus's notion of "swerve" (an explanatory feature that allowed atoms to meet) as the foundation of free will: the mechanical universe became explicitly Christianized when God infused motion into matter.

Sarasohn thoroughly explicates the originality of Gassendi's position on liberty and free will. She also treats Gassendi's concerted battle against astrology as part of his quest to safeguard human liberty. Gassendi's insistence that adherence to a mechanist universe was not antithetical to human freedom brought him into conflict with Hobbes. Gassendi emphasized reason and liberty as sources of human motivation and rejected Hobbes's appeal to the fear and desperation of the state of nature. Gassendi endowed the pursuit of pleasure and liberty with certain social aspects, such as the pursuit of these goods through the community and through friendship. In an interesting but not entirely persuasive chapter, Sarasohn suggests that since Gassendi's view fosters reason, liberty, and happiness, the foundation of liberal politics, he is a significant if unrecognized influence on Enlightenment political philosophy.

This study contributes to a recent spate of works on Gassendi, including as those of Lynn Joy (*Gassendi, the*

*Anatomist* [1987]) and Margaret Osler (*Divine Will and the Mechanical Philosophy* [1994]), but it offers to readers a well developed and sophisticated analysis built around a specific theme. It integrates neglected texts and issues into other, better studied aspects of Gassendi's work. For Sarasohn, Gassendi's ethics are appropriately viewed as of whole cloth with his science. Although generally a persuasive argument, occasionally such coherence seems forced. The tantalizing connections that she draws between Gassendi and the Enlightenment remain to be explored.

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MAURICE CRANSTON. *The Solitary Self: Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Exile and Adversity*. Foreword by SANFORD LAKOFF. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 247. \$29.95.

In this third and posthumously published volume of his biography of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Maurice Cranston traces the final years of the latter's life. Beginning in 1762, after the publication of *The Social Contract* and *Emile*, and concluding with Rousseau's death, Cranston documents the vicissitudes of Rousseau's fortunes as he sought asylum from his various enemies, both personal and political.

Using abundant archival documentation drawn largely from Rousseau's correspondence, Cranston carefully reconstructs the events following the condemnations of *Emile* and *The Social Contract*, which led to Rousseau's successive flights and expulsions from Yverdon, Môtiers, and the Île de St.-Pierre in Switzerland, from England following his break with David Hume, and, finally, from his residences in France. Of special interest to Cranston are Rousseau's reactions to the decision of the Petit Conseil of Geneva to ban both books and to issue a warrant for his arrest. In response to the condemnations, Cranston traces the genesis of Rousseau's "Letter to Christophe Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris" and the "Letters from the Mountain," documenting through the correspondence Rousseau's various political and religious alliances with figures such as the pastor Frédéric-Guillaume de Montmollin, his friends Paul-Claude Moulitou and Pierre-Alexandre Du Peyrou, and the Earl Marischal of Scotland, George Keith. In this way, Cranston seeks to ascertain the intentions and motives behind Rousseau's more polemical writing.

The great strength of Cranston's account of Rousseau's life resides in its comprehensive coverage of Rousseau's correspondence. As a source book on this archival material, this volume (like the other two) is invaluable.

Since Cranston's biography has already received general praise, I believe that some critical engagement is appropriate here. Cranston seeks to offer what he calls an "empirical approach" that "can at least offer some chastening guidance as to what he [Rousseau] did not mean to say" (p. 190). Although never explic-

itly stated, it is evident from Cranston's glosses of Rousseau's major works that he believes that he has discovered Rousseau's intentions and motivations in both his writings and actions and, moreover, that Cranston strives to eliminate contradictions.

One striking example of Cranston's efforts in this regard concerns Rousseau's multiple attempts to justify his abandonment of his five children when the actions were made public (in a pamphlet penned by Voltaire). After rehashing the various arguments added to the *Confessions*, Cranston pointedly writes in a footnote that Rousseau acted "unlike Karl Marx, who kept his children but gave them so little nourishment and medical attention that he had to watch his favourite son die as a result of neglect" (p. 183). The comparison to Marx in the context of Cranston's attempt to put a positive spin on one of the more baffling aspects of Rousseau's life points up a number of difficulties with the account as a whole.

The "empirical approach" is often used to justify a methodology that reads selectively and with a particular ideological bent. This conservative methodology is coupled with a desire to make Rousseau both as sympathetic and as consistent as possible. These tendencies result in a flattening effect with respect both to Rousseau's life and his works, producing a portrait that raises as many questions as it answers. Like the matter of Rousseau's children, Cranston also tries to render as unproblematic as possible Rousseau's relationship with Thérèse LeVasseur, only to prompt more questions in the wake of such a defensive portrayal.

Ultimately, in spite of the methodological and ideological positions that it represents, this third volume of Cranston's erudite biography of Rousseau is a comprehensive and careful study that will no doubt become a resource and guide for Rousseau scholars.

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MARY PICKERING. *Auguste Comte: An Intellectual Biography*; Volume 1. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 776. \$54.95.

This massive study of Auguste Comte (1798–1857) "seems particularly relevant," Mary Pickering writes, "because a new concern with Comte's thought has emerged in the past twenty years, due partly to a revived interest in the history of science and in the roots of sociology and modern positivism" (p. 1). Isaiah Berlin, Frank Manuel, D. G. Charlton, and Raymond Aron have already examined Comte the intellectual, the utopian, the positivist, and the sociologist, respectively. More recent scholarship by Sarah Kofman and Joan Landes has explored the gendered implications of Comte's thought in postrevolutionary France, just as philosophers Angèle Kremer-Marietti and Pierre Arnaud have written more specialized studies in another discipline. But no work until Pickering's has effectively integrated Comte's life, work, and context.

Despite the difficulties of this task, Pickering shows how tightly intertwined is Comte's thought with his personal and professional development. His papers and correspondence indeed correct the longstanding distortions introduced by his disciples, by his critics, and by Comte himself in the *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830–1842) and the *Système de politique positive* (1851–1854) but also in the posthumous publication of his *Testament* (1884) and the “Addition secrète” (1896) about his estranged wife, Caroline Massin. Archives at the Maison d'Auguste Comte and elsewhere shed light on Comte's tortured relations with his family, his mentor the comte de Saint-Simon, and his colleagues at the École Polytechnique. But such records also suggest what importance emotions actually had in his otherwise dry, scientific writings. His “aesthetic revolution” of 1838, for example, affirmed art and feeling in his system at a traumatic moment in his increasingly lonely and isolated life.

Consequently, after rereading Comte in light of his insanity and marital conflicts before 1842, Pickering establishes a logical continuity between his earlier and later work: “There was no sudden change of direction from his ‘first’ career to his ‘second.’” she states (p. 5). The sociologist and positivist of the *Cours* are not forgotten or betrayed by the mystic and cultist of the *Système*. Rather, Comte's former incarnations are necessary preparation for his subsequent Religion of Humanity, whose origins can now be discerned in the earlier work. Comte's later encounter with his philosophic muse, Clotilde de Vaux, the apparent source of his spiritualist interests after 1844, was in effect an event waiting to happen.

Framing the personal context to the continuity evident in Comte's thought, Pickering makes other contributions. She deftly disentangles the mutual influences on and from Saint-Simon; she tracks down Gustave d'Eichthal's autograph summary of the German idealists Johann Gottfried von Herder, Immanuel Kant, and G. F. W. Hegel and their place in Comte's ideas; she explains the asymmetrical relationship between Comte and John Stuart Mill; and she distinguishes Comte's notions of sociology, positivism, and authority from those of his disciples, critics, and successors in nineteenth-century French thought. All these issues, like Comte's debts to the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and various contemporary thinkers, are handled sensibly and sensitively, especially the complex ties to Comte's primary intellectual and spiritual rivals, the Saint-Simonians. Pickering is equally good at teasing out the significance of Comte's work to the history of science and social science.

The problems with Pickering's study are few and relatively minor. Based on a doctoral dissertation, this monograph attempts to tackle intractable issues such as the origins of ideas and their influence on thinkers as protean as Saint-Simon and Mill. Pickering is certainly aware of the discourse common to all post-revolutionary French writers, and she even discusses its historical context; but she fails to analyze its

structural features, primarily because to do so would diminish Comte's originality and accomplishment. Moreover, the author has saved every notecard, including citations to textbooks by Gordon Wright, Bonnie Smith, and Franklin L. Baumer. Occasionally references to monographs go astray, like Pickering's allusion to Thomas Kuhn's “aesthetic” interest in science (p. 685); and her exposition digresses, particularly in a whole chapter devoted to Saint-Simon.

But these blemishes are inconsequential in Pickering's monumental achievement, that of bringing order and clarity to an unruly, often obscure mass of archival and published work. The explications and citations are precise and accurate; the translations from the French are just; the footnotes, bibliography, and index are correct; the scholarly references are comprehensive and even-handed; and the prose is pleasantly clear. When it comes to Comte's prickly personality, Pickering explains but does not excuse. “Such language,” she writes of an outrageous passage in the *Cours*, “does not bear the marks of sanity” (p. 549). In short, this work is a model intellectual biography. It deserves to be widely admired, its second volume eagerly anticipated.

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M. H. HOEFELICH. *Roman and Civil Law and the Development of Anglo-American Jurisprudence in the Nineteenth Century*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. x, 207.

In 1863, the English jurist Samuel Warren published the third edition of his *A Popular and Practical Introduction to Law Studies*. He began his chapter on Roman law by raising the question of whether its study was necessary, or at least highly advantageous, for the student of English jurisprudence. His confident response was that merely to put the question is to answer it, at least for “any one worthy of the name of jurist, or with the slightest pretensions to the character of one accomplished and scientific” (Vol. II, p. 1337). Although relatively few contemporary legal scholars would be likely to say the same thing, the attitudes of numerous nineteenth-century Anglo-American jurists were similar to Warren's.

It is one thing, however, to identify and to describe this attitude. It is another and more difficult thing to explain how the Roman and civil law may actually have influenced nineteenth-century jurisprudence in England and America. Studies of this problem can proceed in at least two ways. One is by assessing the impact of the Roman and civil law on the substance or content of common law rules and principles, while the other is by explaining its influence on the thinking of particular jurists. Either approach can be fruitful, but the second is less technical and likely to have a broader appeal than the first. It is also the approach utilized by M. H. Hoeflich in his eminently readable book.

Hoeflich is well qualified to undertake such a “bio-

bibliographical" inquiry (p. 2). He is a knowledgeable student of Roman law and the author of a number of illuminating studies of nineteenth-century Anglo-American jurisprudence. A substantial portion of his book incorporates previously published works or revised versions of them. Hoeflich has a proclivity for the *via media*, and nowhere is it more apparent than in the central thesis of his book, which is a compromise between two extreme opinions about the influence of the Roman and civil law (p. 48). Its impact may be regarded as either negligible or immense, alternatives that Hoeflich rejects. Instead, he argues that the influence of the Roman and civil law on some of the most important English and American jurists of the nineteenth century was "significant." To this degree, it played "a significant role in the development of Anglo-American law and jurisprudence" (p. 2).

To some extent, of course, significance, like beauty, lies in the eyes of the beholder. Moreover, few propositions are more difficult to verify than assertions of influences. Such hypotheses presume the existence of causal connections that are, or may be, very difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, Hoeflich makes a quite convincing case in support of his basic argument. Its hallmark is his lucid, careful, balanced analysis of the works of a wide range of scholars. Among them are John Austin and Joseph Story, whose ideas Hoeflich discusses at greater length than those of anyone else. He also analyses perceptively the impact of Roman law on the thinking of a host of other English and American writers. They include not only Henry Maine, James Bryce, and Roscoe Pound but also lesser known figures such as Francis Lieber, Hugh Swinton Legare, James Murdoch Walker, and William G. Hammond.

Overall, Hoeflich's analysis tends to strike just the right balance between exaggerating, or understating, the impact of the Roman and civil law. Part of his interpretation of John Austin is questionable, however. The problem is not what Hoeflich says, which is instructive, but what he fails to say. Although he accurately maintains that Austin's use of Roman law was selective and creative, there is more to it than this. Austin was also critical of the substance, or principles, of Roman law and the philosophy of the Roman lawyers. He claimed that the principles themselves, "many of them being derived from barbarous ages, are indeed ill-fitted to the ends of law" (*Lectures on Jurisprudence*, 5th ed., 1885, p. 1081). He also castigated the philosophy of the Roman lawyers and wondered how men "of such admirable discernment should have displayed such contemptible imbecility" (*ibid.*, p. 217). To be sure, he greatly admired what he regarded as the compactness, symmetry, clearness, and certainty of Roman law. Moreover, his admiration for it affected his own thinking in many of the ways that Hoeflich quite persuasively explains. Still, Austin's attitude toward Roman law is more ambivalent than Hoeflich acknowledges. In addition, Hoeflich's description of Austin's life takes no account of the best

biography of him, Lotte and Joseph Hamburger's *Troubled Lives: John and Sarah Austin* (1985).

Nonetheless, Hoeflich's discussion of the impact of Roman and civil law is in general informed, insightful, and persuasive. As such, it represents an impressive contribution to the literature about nineteenth-century jurisprudence in England and America.

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DAVID C. YOUNG. *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 252. \$39.95.

David C. Young is a classicist who brings to this already investigated topic a doggedness and enthusiasm that go beyond anything done before. For the community (if we are that) of critical sports historians, this book is a major event. Its significance lies mostly in the thoroughness of Young's archival investigations and, when the primary sources are equivocal or lacking, his convincing analyses or guesses as to what actually happened. Young's survey of literature extends to the use of *Diplomarbeiten* by German sport history students and translation of reports on some "Olympic" festivals in the middle of the nineteenth century in Greece. Young uses several languages besides Greek. It is especially heartening to have this book published in America, where all but a handful of sports scholars have only English.

There is a five-page appendix describing the author's documents, and there are sixty pages of notes. Young regularly interrupts the formal text for yet more revelations of what the sources reveal and how all preceding historians were wrong. One of the wrong ones was this reviewer (*The First Modern Olympics* [1976]), some of whose small errors are claimed to be big ones.

Young's appraisals of Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) diminish the latter's claimed originality or genius, a task which should have been achieved long ago in the usual, derivative treatments of the Olympic movement. The author correspondingly elevates William Penny Brooks (1809–1895) who staged a series of "Olympian Games" in provincial England. Coubertin, it turns out, got all his Olympic ideas from Brooks or from Greeks who had been inspired by Brooks.

The author's care and responsibility are less evident in his declarations or conclusions. He insists that the modern "Olympic movement" began in the Greek struggles for independence in the early nineteenth century, that this subject merits the portentous significance that he has given it, and that it had continuous development. Implicit is a claim for a new Olympic chronology.

I still believe the "Olympic movement" (if it is indeed that) is older and more various, and that the earliest international sporting competitions were minor, independent manifestations or perhaps realizations of several cultural and political currents of the time. Until late—1912 or 1936—all Olympic festivals



were sideshows. Olympic history is discontinuous until the 1950s. Young's responsibility to his sources forces him to expose the earlier discontinuity repeatedly.

The rhetoric of high-pitched earnestness can be jolting. A letter written in Athens in 1861 is "one of the most meaningful documents in all Olympic history" (p. 29). The "most crucial step in our entire Olympic history" (p. 59) is a letter of 1880 from Brooks that does not survive. "A package that transformed Olympic history" (p. 96) contained a certificate making a wealthy Greek intellectual in Paris a member of the "Panhellenic Gymnastic Society," about which he knew "absolutely nothing" (p. 97). At early putative Olympic pageants, there were some suspiciously large crowds of "satisfied spectators" (p. 29) and "elaborate festivities" (p. 79) that deserve substantiation and elaboration.

Until the book ends with a full and factually authoritative survey of the first modern Olympics in Athens in 1896, almost all the discussions are outside the established (by historians, that is) currents of European and American history. The persevering reader learns mostly of meetings, exchanged letters, projects partly or never realized, or quarrels among (mostly Greek) sports bureaucrats. Perhaps the book was meant to be a reference work and not intended for a wide audience. This may explain why Young's pre-publication readers and his copy editor did not catch all those nonacademic and academic clichés. The repeated use of "sundry" became a special irritant to me.

The subjects of energetic minor ideologues and sports festivals—particularly small, provincial ones—lend themselves to irony if not rougher kinds of humor. There are many, many lost opportunities here.

The seven-page index ignores much of Young's substance, which is in all those notes in small print and is skimpy for the formal text as well. I am mentioned dozens of times in the book but am not in the index. Neither is another punching bag, John J. MacAloon (*This Great Symbol* [1981]). The seven-page "Bibliography" is an unannotated list and omits pagination for books.

As indicated above, this product of "thirteen years of work on previously neglected documents" (book jacket) is a landmark and a monument. Yet more work to make it stylistically tight and readable and to bring it to a consistent level of scholarly precision would have established it as an even more inspiring model for later sports scholars, especially American ones.

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RICHARD W. SLATTA. *Comparing Cowboys and Frontiers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 320. \$24.95.

Why do cowboys inhabit the national imaginations of Americans with such intensity? The horses have some-

thing to do with it, no doubt, along with the romantic—and often illusory—independence of these "lone rangers." Whatever it is, though, from U.S. buckaroos to the gauchos of the Río de la Plata, these horsemen of the Americas are the stuff of myth. The mythologizing of cowboys has shaped popular culture in half a dozen American nations and, in the process, often retrospectively whitened the cowboy's skin color. How many North Americans can picture the Marlboro man wearing the black face that his real counterpart often had? Mythologizing has also made cowboys emblems of proud freedom when, in fact, their rootlessness was usually the product of social marginality. No matter. We are not likely soon to forget the cowboys nor debunk their myths.

That is all the more reason to study the historical record carefully. The social history of the cattle frontiers of the Americas deepens our understanding of these myths, even as it rescues the historical experience of the men who really did ride the range. Richard W. Slatta is an ideal guide for those beginning this inquiry. Following his original work on the gauchos of Argentina, Slatta has gradually extended his study to the hemisphere's other frontiers populated by mounted herdsman, including Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, and the United States. In scattered chapters, articles, and lectures written during the 1990s, Slatta introduced a U.S. audience familiar with buckaroos (from the Spanish word *vaqueros*) to the idea that there are cowboys elsewhere, too. He ranged over many aspects of their experience, from economic to cultural ones. He also compared larger aspects of cattle frontiers, such as the discourse surrounding them, the experience of indigenous people, the masculine "saloon culture" of the frontier, and the validity of the Turner thesis for various cases.

This book collects Slatta's recent work in one volume. Most chapters are quick surveys that, because of their breadth, cannot possibly be very deep. They whet appetites, raise questions, and offer starting points rather than deal definitively with anything. But then, that constitutes a mission accomplished for the audience Slatta seeks: an audience with an established interest in the U.S. frontier and a budding curiosity about the hemispheric perspective. That audience will definitely include undergraduate students. The reader tumbles effortlessly through Slatta's vigorous, straightforward exposition, chock-full of interesting particulars. The thin layers add up, building strength in the whole with each successive pass. The cumulative effect of these ten quick chapters on diverse topics of frontier history is a pleasing multidimensionality. Students will be ready to ride off immediately in all directions. This volume's full footnotes and bibliography will point out many routes for them to choose from.

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NANCY L. GREEN, *Ready-To-Wear and Ready-To-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York*. (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press 1997. Pp. xi, 426. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Nancy L. Green has written a book that is both delightful and profound. Comparing the women's ready-to-wear businesses of New York and Paris over the last century and a half, she tells the stories of the industry's structural imperatives, organizational variants, changing workforce composition, workplace relationships, union struggles, and ethnic kaleidoscope in a beautifully integrated and engagingly written narrative. The format, design, and editorial quality add significantly to this first entry in Duke's new Comparative and International Working Class History series.

The book's central argument makes a quite important theoretical contribution, especially welcome in our season of postmodernist discontent. Through the systematic comparison of Seventh Avenue and the Sentier, both spatially and chronologically, Green demonstrates that the structure of the women's off-the-rack fashion industry remained relatively constant (and would not have flourished as it did otherwise) and gave rise to patterns of work and life that were, despite a disparate cast of characters, rather similar over time and space. Nevertheless, contingent factors and human agency wrought significant differences and large-scale shifts that made each history unique and altered structure strikingly. The historical reality was, in fact, a dialectic between structure (itself buffeted by contingent circumstances, such as war, genocide, or decolonization) and agency: "agency, then, is also a question of context" (p. 185). This interactive paradigm Green calls "poststructural structuralism."

The human history of the ladies' garment industry is largely one of waves of immigration and the relative dominance of particular ethnic groups during variable time spans. Jews (and which Jews) were only one of several such groups. So for New York, the overlapping parade went from Germans to German Jews to Russian Jews and Italians (mostly homeworkers) to African Americans and Puerto Ricans to, most recently, Chinese and a variety of Latin Americans; for Paris, heavily indigenous to begin with, it went from border immigrants to Russian Jews (pre-1914) to Polish Jews and Armenians to (post-deportation, post-1945) Italians, North-African Jews, and Yugoslavs to, most recently, Turks, Chinese, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Indian Mauricians, and Africans. Two constant patterns stand out. First, members of the earlier wave, mostly men, become employers or jobbers of their own group's (largely) women and of workers of both sexes from the next wave. Second, the sex ratios of the work force at any time depend not on some gender formula (it is a myth that this trade is simply "women's work") but on the skills and economic circumstances of men and women in the various immigrant pools. "What is male work in a Turkish garment shop in Paris today, is

women's work in a Paris or New York shop a couple of arrondissements or an ocean away" (p. 169). The key characteristic of any worker in the industry, immigrant or not, is that she or he is "ready to work"; low-wage hand work, whoever does it and wherever it might be done, was and is the foundation of "ready-to-wear."

The garment industry has, since the inception of clothes made on patterns for sizes, been the prime example of Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin's "historical alternatives to mass production" ("Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Industrialization," *Past and Present* 108 [August 1985]: 133-176). Its success requires enormous flexibility in order to put out "standardized goods," as Elizabeth and Stuart Ewen remarked, "laced with the lingo of individual choice and self expression" (p. 18). Changing styles, of course, pays. Thus seasonality, just-in-time delivery, unbelievable hours, highly varied venues from the large factory to homework, and complex out-sourcing and subcontracting systems give substance to flexibility. Without a constant flow of new, exploitable labor, the industry could not function, and Green lays these structural features out beautifully. They mixed in different ways and at different times in the two settings, particularly because, in contrast to New York, Paris produced for a vast international market. Until World War II, original creations could not be pirated in France; the neighborhood *couturière* still made many things to order, homework was less regulated, and the labor movement in clothing was weaker and expected more social welfare from the state.

Green deals with these last two areas in detail and very well. The understanding of the positive motivations of women, especially, for taking in work at miserable piece rates is carefully explored, as are those of their subcontracting suppliers, both male and female, who were largely recruited from their midst. "Independent because working at home, setting one's own hours and conditions, often working for more than one employer and giving work to one's own kin and neighbors" (p. 94), the suppliers, as their workers, nonetheless made their choices within the structure's parameters. Unionists operated under the same constraints and, despite significant gains in collective bargaining and union-pressured social legislation, never broke beyond the bounds of a system dependent for its survival on cheap labor, ethnic sympathy between many bosses and their workers, ethnic segmentation and antagonism among workers ("those Chinese [Puerto Ricans, Armenians, Russian Jews, Belgians] work for nothing!"), seasonal fluctuations, and homework. If they had, of course, the move offshore would have been all the more rapid.

My only criticism of this study now comes into focus. Despite the continuing arrival of ready workers, there has indeed been a substantial decline in both New York and Paris employment figures in recent years. Green does not really assess the problem (and therefore the future). We assume that most of the jobs are

going to Asia or the Caribbean (or Eastern Europe?). But the way was laid by out-sourcing in the home countries, a process, especially in France, that goes back a century. I was surprised to see no reference to Tessie Liu's analysis (*The Weaver's Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western France, 1750–1914* [1994]) of the interplay between outworking for the Paris fashion industry and the maintenance of traditional textile work in the Choletais, where daughters and wives made up the difference between men's paltry pay and a living family wage through such activity. Liu also explores the internal family dynamics and the gendered character of this self-exploitation, a discussion that would have added another dimension to Green's theme of post-structural structuralism.

But clearly, this is only asking a great book to be greater. It demonstrates brilliantly how long-term, comparative analysis can explode myth after myth and mark out important new theoretical terrain.

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LEO CHARNEY and VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ, editors. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 409. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz have edited an important new collection on a topic—or, rather, a set of related topics—important to film historians and worthy of the attention of others concerned with the cultural history of the last *fin-de-siècle*. The subject matter may come as a surprise to those not acquainted with so-called “primitive cinema: roughly, film production before 1908. Such readers should probably at least sample the five cassettes of Kino Video's *The Movies Begin* (1994) before reading this collection. (Even many film specialists do not know this area very well and assume that oft-cited works such as *Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory* (1895) or *A Trip to the Moon* (1902) will suffice for an understanding of the early years of the medium.) Otherwise, one of the book's main benefits—its help in explaining and contextualizing an extremely peculiar body of work—will go unrealized; also, the whole rationale for Charney and Schwartz's project will probably seem rather mysterious.

If most people know “primitive” cinema at all, it is through those films that seem naturally to lead up to modern narrative cinema most logically and clearly. Some time around 1908, the cinema industry ceased to produce the heterogeneous set of performance-based film genres with which it began (the “trick film,” the dance film, the documentary “view,” the *scène grivoise*). It adopted instead a relatively standardized, normative set of formulas for the production of “realist” film narratives. Charney and Schwartz's anthology is, with only two significant exceptions, concerned with the cinema from *before* this great divide. Its contribu-

tors show how this earlier “cinema of attractions” grew out of and found a place among such diverse visual attractions as wax museums, posters, impressionist painting, department stores, and other landmarks of what Miriam Hansen terms the “emerging culture of consumption and spectacular display” (p. 363).

Hansen provides the most pithy and cogent argument for the unity of the materials collected here, in the first four pages of her essay. She points out that the essays follow two broad trends: they contextualize early cinema within a “history of sense perception in modernity” (p. 363), and within what Jeannene Przyblyski understands as the more comprehensive movement toward the commodification or “packaging up” (p. 271) of “reality” or the “everyday” (to use Margaret Cohen's perhaps more useful formulation). It is important to note that contributors to this collection devote a great deal more of their energies and space to this second stream of inquiry. (In fact, the volume would arguably have gained greatly in coherence if contributors had solely concentrated on it.) This emphasis seems entirely appropriate, for the history of perception is largely, and more properly, a theoretical endeavor, and it is not at all clear that contemporary commentators will have a great deal more to say on this subject than Walter Benjamin, Siegfried Kracauer, and others who wrote about it when at least some people could still remember the phenomena being described.

The texts on the mass culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are, for the most part, quite stimulating. Some contributors deliberately and successfully make connections between their own pet area of mass culture and the cinema: for example, the lovely piece by Marcus Verhagen on the poster and the useful and surprising essay by Mark Sandberg on the folk museum. Others (the majority) do not do this but explore a larger cultural-economic context that may also include the cinema: for example, Schwartz on wax museums, Tom Gunning on photography, and Cohen on “panoramic literature.” There are also a few essays that seem unlikely to add much to our understanding of the place of early cinema in the nineteenth-century “culture of consumption and spectacular display.” Oddly, these are the essays that are mainly concerned with consumer culture. Erika Rappaport's piece on shopping in London's West End, and Alexandra Keller's essay on early mail-order catalogs somehow manage to stray so far from the book's premise that they contribute little to its overall strength.

But unevenness is the problem of all anthologies. The assumption throughout this one seems to be that cinema is automatically an integral part of consumer culture. The problem, however, is that so much of the early, “primitive” cinema had little or nothing to do with promoting consumption. That would be the function of the later, post-1908 *narrative* cinema elaborated by the giant, integrated companies first of France (Pathé Frères and Gaumont) and then the United States (Fox, Paramount, etc.).

Here emerges the big weakness, not of this volume, but of its field—one which neither the editors nor the authors of the individual texts could have done much about. There is almost no consensus at all about the relations between the early “cinema of attractions” and the later narrative-based films mass produced and mass marketed by the big companies. The two texts that treat mainly cinema *after* 1908, by Hansen and Richard Abel, exist in a kind of lonely, proud isolation. Hansen makes the best of this situation by explicating it. Abel pays almost no attention to the context of his essay, with the result that his very useful piece on Pathé Frères will probably seem out of place even to readers familiar with his undisputed position as the leading historian of the silent French cinema. At the very least, we need another anthology, one on the relations between the “cinema of attractions” and the industrial narrative cinema that comes after it. But there may be quite a wait.

In the meantime, this collection is like a fascinating, seductive jigsaw puzzle that is missing some pieces. It invites us to play with, and assemble in different ways, its major themes: commodification (“reality was increasingly consumed as artifice in the spaces of urban Paris”; Przybylski, p. 272); narrative (“the contextualized folk museum display may be part of a larger trend toward narrative in turn-of-the-century visual culture”; Sandberg, p. 354); and the increasing intensity of the “culture of the moment” (“the new prevalence and power of immediate, gripping sensation defined a fundamentally different epoch in popular entertainment”; Ben Singer, p. 88). It will also be necessary, over time, for scholars to debate the extent to which all these things really *were* new, and “modern,” in the late nineteenth century.

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MICHAEL SHORTLAND and RICHARD YEO, editors. *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 295. \$75.00.

Adapting their title from Marc Pachter's *Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art* (1979), editors Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo have organized a lively set of excursions into the burgeoning genre of scientific biography. Until recently, the history of science seemed to be largely exempt from the interest in biography displayed by academic historians as well as popular writers. Shortland and Yeo plausibly suggest that this disinterest resulted first from the prevailing positivist tone of the early postwar years and then from the rise of sociological modes of analysis among historians of science in the 1960s and 1970s; the former movement deflected attention away from the “merely personal” aspects of the scientist's life, and the latter focused on communities rather than individuals.

Further reflection, however, has suggested to many the utility of biography as a kind of historical labora-

tory for the construction of veridical models of the interactions between the individual and society in the development of the abstract (and putatively progressive) world of scientific ideas. It is precisely this opposition between the contingent sociopsychological world of human life and the apparently enduring product of the activity of that life that provides a focus of interest in the study of history of science. How better to study that tension than to investigate exemplars of it, in the form of individual scientific lives? Indeed, the genre has experienced significant growth during the last two decades. A harbinger of the renaissance was the appearance of Richard Westfall's magisterial *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (1980), notable for its sophisticated integration of the personal and cognitive aspects of Newton's life. Fittingly, the same year marked the culmination of the massive *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* project.

Of course, historiographically and methodologically speaking, biography has always been an intrinsically problematic medium for the professional historian, and this book can be a useful cautionary guide along several different axes. Several of the essays offer contributions to the history of scientific biography and autobiography, in the process reaffirming the familiar theme that this older literature can be more a cultural than an informational resource. In her examination of autobiographies by members of the French scientific elite during the Napoleonic period, Dorinda Outram suggests that these works were intended as public documents, designed to both induce and adapt to the rapid changes sweeping France at the time. Similarly, Michael Hunter's fascinating investigation of the early “lives” of Robert Boyle reveals much about the biographical genre in Britain *ca.* 1700, and Hunter likewise urges caution concerning just how these biographies should be interpreted. The early Boyle was raised to an icon of the Scientific Revolution, a process that began even during his lifetime; more accurate critical assessments are only now being developed. Yeo's study of biography (and the lack of it) in eighteenth-century dictionaries and encyclopedias has a similar thrust: historians need to consider carefully the rationales of inclusion, exclusion, and historiographic style in these writings.

A related and recurrent theme is the elucidation of self-consciously polemical or didactic programs of biographical writers. Geoffrey Cantor investigates popular biographies of Michael Faraday in the late nineteenth century, dividing this literature into a Romantic movement that depicted Faraday as the heroic Victorian laboratory figure and a realistic collection of Smilesian self-help narratives. In a similar vein, Martha Vicinus examines literature surrounding Florence Nightingale that was intended to provide a figure of patriotism and selflessness for emulation among young Victorian girls. Here, Vicinus notes, a generous coat of whitewash was necessary; more serious biographers, including recent feminist scholars, agree on Nightingale's manipulative and authoritarian character. But

the argument of Cantor and Vicinus is that historical accuracy was never the intent of nineteenth-century writers in the first place.

A final excursion in this direction is taken by John Gascoigne, who examines changes in the posthumous image of Joseph Banks. Banks's activities in the promotion and patronage of science, rather than original research, led to neglect of his scientific reputation for several generations, whereas his image as an icon in the history of Australia was much celebrated, especially in the antipodes. In the last two decades, as Australia's ties with Britain have loosened and the role of promotion and patronage in science better appreciated by historians, this assessment has been symmetrically reversed. One reason for continually writing new biographies of the same personality, Gascoigne suggests, is the need for each new generation to redefine its models.

Three of the essays defy easy categorization. Roy Porter's examination of the English physician Thomas Beddoes (Humphry Davy's first patron) provides him the occasion to develop the interesting thesis that there is a close analogy between the physician who "takes a history" of a patient and the biographer who writes the history of a subject. Physician-biographer Porter takes Beddoes's history in both senses. He provides a fascinating disquisition on the man's life and then speculatively diagnoses the underlying cause of his early decline: psychological distress due to uncontrolled onanism. In contrast to Porter's provocative piece on Beddoes, David Knight's treatment of Davy is quietly reflective, focusing on Davy's last years and his physical and philosophical travels. The book concludes with an amusing and edifying encore: James Moore's "metabiographical reflections" on his collaboration with Adrian Desmond on their hugely (and justly) popular 1991 biography of Charles Darwin. This highly personal essay is well worth reading, not least because of the gems of philosophy of biography interspersed among the anecdotes.

Easily the strongest and most interesting essay in the book—and the one that has the most direct applicability to general historiography and philosophy of biography—is Thomas Söderqvist's plea for an existential approach to the genre. Söderqvist refuses to choose between old-fashioned "scientific" biography and the newer, more sophisticated model, typified by Desmond and Moore, of social/sociological biography. He also rejects the poststructuralist focus on text and its repudiation of the referent. Instead, he calls for a program to provide exemplars of existential projects of individual scientists—that is, of human beings who can exercise free choices even from positions deep within their sociopolitical milieus. Söderqvist acknowledges the pervasive power of paradigms and epistemes but also suggests that an individual's struggle for authenticity is not foreordained to failure, and that it is precisely those moments of successful struggle that are of the greatest historical interest. Söderqvist contends that such narratives can also be edifying in the truest

sense, helping readers to "reorient our familiar ways of thinking about our lives in unfamiliar terms" (p. 47). These are large claims, and the position that Söderqvist takes is not without problems. But his call for an eclectic, pluralistic, and open methodology within an existential matrix is both provocative and appealing.

In sum, this is an outstanding collection of essays on the history and method of scientific biography, nicely woven together by the editors. It should find a ready place on the bookshelves of many historians of science and will also be of interest to historians engaged in the genre of biography.

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VASSILIKI BETTY SMOCOVITIS. *Unifying Biology: The Evolutionary Synthesis and Evolutionary Biology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 230. \$29.95.

The evolutionary synthesis in biology, which brought together mathematical population genetics and evolutionary theory, stands as one of the great scientific achievements of this century. Yet although scientists, historians, and philosophers all agree that biology experienced something profoundly important between the years 1920 and 1950, considerable disagreement exists about the precise nature of this achievement, the hows and whys of its accomplishment, and its ultimate significance. To remedy this situation, biologist-turned-historian Vassiliki Betty Smocovitis has produced a lucid, comprehensive, and well-researched account, which brings together a variety of "internalist" and "externalist" perspectives into a coherent interpretation of the evolutionary synthesis.

In Smocovitis's view, the disunified state of biology became a cause of increasing concern in the 1920s, particularly for those scientists who were positivistically oriented. Leading biologist-philosophers like J. H. Woodger and J. B. S. Haldane lamented the survival of vitalistic and speculative elements in biological thought that left the field mired in metaphysics. "Mature," positive sciences like physics and chemistry were built around central principles and laws and were rigorously experimental and anti-metaphysical in their approach. To achieve this stage of development, and the enhanced status and support which accompanied it, biology would have to develop such unifying principles. These would, however, have to be distinctively biological ones, not reducible to physics and chemistry; otherwise, the autonomy of the field would be threatened.

To protect biology from physico-chemical reductionism while seeking positivistic status, biologists in the 1920s tended to rely on the doctrine of "emergent evolution," which emphasized the distinctive qualities and processes which developed among living organisms. Such a doctrine could serve, in H. S. Jennings's phrase, as "the Declaration of Independence for biological science" (p. 110), but many considered it too



mystical as long as the underlying theory of evolution was itself suspiciously metaphysical. With the development of mathematical population genetics in the 1930s, however, evolution could be redefined as a change in gene frequencies within a breeding population brought about by the natural selection of randomly generated, genetic mutations, thereby making possible the creation of a rigorous science of evolution. Here Theodosius Dobzhansky's *Genetics and the Origin of Species* (1937) played a decisive role in initiating the synthesis and in inspiring others to expand upon and modify his framework.

With the successful "attachment of numbers to nature" (p. 122), most of the metaphysical elements in evolutionary theory were purged, with one notable exception. Theoretically, genetic variation and natural selection could be used to explain the evolution of mind and culture in a reductionistic and mechanistic fashion, yet nearly all of the "unifiers" refrained from making such a case, preferring some form of "emergentism." By emphasizing emergent properties at the organismic, and particularly at the human cultural level, the evolutionary synthesis could be "made to 'lift' biology above the physical sciences at the same time that it 'bound' the fractured biological sciences" (p. 114). More importantly, the preservation of biology's autonomy seemed to protect human life from a completely reductionistic account that could threaten the belief in human freedom and the meaningfulness of human life (pp. 129, 131, n. 107). This aspect of the evolutionary synthesis—as a "scientific" ground for a "progressive," humanistic worldview—was popularized most prominently by Julian Huxley, whose "evolutionary humanism" reached an international audience of millions and was incorporated into textbooks that helped inspire and train a generation of scientists.

By 1955, the new science of evolutionary biology had achieved the kind of unification of biology that Woodger and Haldane had sought. Biology was now "an empirical, mature science, secure in its foundations and well positioned within the positivist ordering of knowledge," linking together the physical and social sciences, but in a way which seemed to preserve the dignity and meaningfulness of human existence (p. 169). Yet as Smocovitis notes in conclusion, the rise of molecular biology and sociobiology has now shifted the delicate balance of the modern synthesis in the direction of greater reductionism, thereby threatening both the independence of biology and human autonomy once again.

This book greatly enriches our understanding of the scientific, social, and, above all, philosophical context in which the evolutionary synthesis was developed. It teaches us to see this synthesis as the fulfillment of the positivist dream of unifying the sciences, a dream ultimately rooted in the metaphysical longings of scientists "to understand the world in order to add some meaning to life" (p. 213). But Smocovitis misses the final irony: the success of Western science in producing a coherent and unified world view seems to

empty that world of the very meaning that had been so passionately sought in this endeavor.

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#### ANCIENT

ROBERT TURCAN. *The Cults of the Roman Empire*. Translated by ANTONIA NEVILL. (The Ancient World.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. xiii, 399. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The title of the original French edition of this book was *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (1989). The omission of the word "oriental" from the English title seems rather odd, since the work does not cover all the cults of the Roman world but only those that originated in its eastern part and then spread west. But although misleading in terms of content, the English title in fact represents Robert Turcan's assessment of the religious situation from roughly 50 B.C.E. to 250 C.E. fairly accurately.

The body of the book consists of chapters focusing on particular cults, largely grouped according to place of origin. The first four cover the most important of these: Cybele and Attis from Anatolia, Isis from Egypt, deities from Syria and the Levant, and Mithras from Persia. There follow two more heterogeneous chapters, covering miscellaneous minor cults and occult traditions like magic and astrology, and a final chapter on Dionysus. An introduction analyzes the specific appeal of these cults, while an epilogue discusses their loss of popularity vis-à-vis Christianity.

One of this book's most impressive features is the breadth and scope of its coverage. In the chapters on Cybele, Isis, and Mithras, Turcan traces the development of their cults from the pre-Greek through the imperial periods, surveys the evidence for their existence in all parts of the empire, and closely examines their central rites. He treats not only major deities but also lesser figures on whom information is not otherwise readily available. In all cases, he provides a tremendous amount of detail, citing a multitude of specific texts, inscriptions, and monuments.

Although this detailed information strengthens the book, it also creates problems. Even a specialist will at times find it difficult to see the forest for the trees, while a non-specialist will probably find the rapid-fire succession of unfamiliar names and places very disorienting. Another drawback is that insufficient attention is given to questions of interpretation. Turcan repeatedly extracts descriptions of cult practices from ancient texts with little or no consideration of their literary nature. Yet a satirist like Lucian or a polemical Christian poet like Prudentius had his own goal, which was not necessarily to provide accurate data for later scholars. Specialists will know to make allowances for this kind of thing, but there is too little assistance for other readers.

A more serious problem lies in Turcan's overall



approach to the topic. He repeatedly implies that the traditional Greek and Roman gods had ceased to have any hold on people's minds and survived chiefly in the apparatus of public life; only in the eastern cults was religion alive and vibrant. On the one hand, this position presupposes the idea that religion should be something that "can monopolize the individual totally" (p. 22). But although the traditional civic religion of the Greco-Roman world probably never fit this description, it nevertheless worked very well for centuries. On the other hand, Turcan entirely ignores the abundant archaeological and inscriptional evidence that traditional cults were in this period far from moribund. In particular, the numerous dedications set up by private individuals cannot all have been empty gestures resulting simply from habit or adherence to social norms. By refusing to take traditional cults seriously, Turcan gives a distorted picture of what religion in the Roman empire was really like and so obscures the problem of why traditional types of religiosity were gradually replaced by something quite different.

Thus, although its scope and general character as a survey would seem to make this book a useful introduction to its topic, the mass of detail, the absence of methodological discussion, and the bias of its general framework will tend to confuse and mislead non-specialists. For specialists, it is too general to make a new and significant contribution to our understanding. Nevertheless, by gathering together and organizing a huge range of evidence, Turcan has created a very useful reference work: both specialists and non-specialists may with profit begin particular inquiries with this book, provided that they do not also end with it.

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JULIAN BENNETT, *Trajan Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997. Pp. xvii, 317. \$39.95.

Julian Bennett's book, the first biography of Trajan in English, fills an obvious gap in the Routledge series: the new format is much clearer, and Bennett's plates and figures extremely useful (despite the plan of Trajan's Baths being on page 151 and the explanation on page vi). There are four chapters on the rise to prominence of the Ulpii and another ten on various aspects of the reign itself. Trajan's campaigns are given detailed treatment and comprehensible maps are provided; Dio Cassius's account of the Dacian wars, added as an appendix, is particularly valuable.

The book is directed at the general reader. It avoids controversial issues (in the main), presenting a traditional if over-optimistic picture of the "best of princes," who, it must be said, was also "no less and perhaps more autocratic" than Domitian (p. 208) and a "pathological warmonger" (p. 189), motivated by "the need for personal glory alone, a contemporary Falklands Factor" (p. 212). Various items of imperial adminis-

tration (useful for the general reader) are treated in detail. These include the senatorial and equestrian orders (pp. 5-9), the *congariium* and *donativum* (pp. 59-60), the "marching day" (p. 90), the significance of the imperial *consilium* (p. 105), and types of provinces and the role of legates and proconsuls (pp. 111-14). The treatises of Pliny and Dio Chrysostom, whatever one thinks of their accuracy, are thoroughly mined and consistently cited, but Bennett is well aware of their deficiencies.

The book is also "intended to promote wider discussion [on] the more obscure aspects of Trajan's reign" (p. xiv). Here it is less successful. The reconstruction of Traianus's early career is confused: his proconsulship of Baetica is assigned to both 60 (p. viii) and ca. 66 (p. 14). The date of his consulship, together with the likelihood of a legateship in Cappadocia-Galatia, depends on the interpretation of the Syrian milestone discussed by Denis van Berchem in "Une inscription flavienne du Musée d'Antioch" (*Museum Helveticum* 40 [1983]). Although listed in Bennett's bibliography, the article is not discussed in his text or footnotes. A literal reading of the milestone (if that is what it is) suggests that Traianus could not have served as *legatus* of the new complex since it had not been formed when he was governing Syria and also that his consulship may indeed have fallen in 72, as was long argued. Bennett believes that Traianus and Vettulenus Cerialis probably did not owe their commands to their Vespasianic connections (p. 14). But the factor not taken into account by Bennett is the unprecedented appointment of Titus as *legatus legionis*, the only attested example of a son granted command of a legion in a province governed by his father. Nero must have given Vespasian *carte blanche* in his selection of legionary legates. The chronology suggested for the Chattan war is impaired: the title *Germanicus* was not assumed in 84 (p. 28) but a year earlier, between June 9 and August 28 in 83. Saturninus Satrius (pp. 33, 302), whoever he is, is not attested anywhere as one of the "chief conspirators" in 96. T. Flavius Clemens (p. 32) and Clemens (p. 33) are the same person, but this is not clear from the text. Julius Frontinus is assessed as being "not conspicuously advanced by Domitian" (p. 40) but also as "exalted in the reign of Domitian" (p. 75); a command in Lower Germany and a proconsulship of Asia suggest that the latter phrase is the more accurate. L. Julius Ursus and L. Julius (not Julianus) Ursus Servianus are sometimes confused, with Servianus assigned Ursus's prefectures under Vespasian and Titus, his first consulship of 84 and his third of 100 (pp. 75-76).

There are quite a number of misspellings and errors in the abbreviations and notes. Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* (1939) is cited in the text but does not appear in the bibliography, which also contains a few errors. But this is not to deny the value of the

biography that Bennett has written: students and the wider audience will consult it with profit.

BRIAN W. JONES

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SIMON CORCORAN. *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government A.D. 284–324*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 406. \$85.00.

Between 284 and 324, the Roman Empire experimented with rule by multiple emperors. The two most important were Diocletian, who initially appointed the co-emperors who joined him in a tetrarchy, a "Gang of Four," and Constantine, who finally eliminated his rivals and emerged again at the head of a single ruling dynasty. Presumably one of the objectives of this multiplication of emperors was to overcome the tendency toward regionalism and usurpation that had appeared during the political and military chaos of the mid-third century. Simon Corcoran's book now provides a fine study of the style and effectiveness of imperial rule during the reigns of Diocletian, Constantine, and their colleagues. His primary sources of information are the hundreds of imperial pronouncements subsequently collected in the *Theodosian Code* and the *Justinian Code*, in particular Diocletian's rescripts, or responses to petitions from private citizens, and Constantine's letters, or responses to requests from cities or imperial magistrates. In a series of painstakingly meticulous chapters and appendixes, Corcoran carefully analyzes the nature of some earlier but now-lost *Codes*, studies the characteristics of private rescripts and the emperors' use of earlier laws, evaluates the possibility of identifying the secretaries who drafted the rescripts, examines the status and origins of the petitioners and the role of the provincial governors, considers the impact of emperors at public hearings, assesses the powers of the junior emperors, and, finally, catalogues the letters and edicts in chronological order.

Even though Corcoran's excellent book will be of most interest to historians interested in the period or the legal texts, it also offers more general insights into the nature of imperial rule. Contemporaries had immediately acknowledged the impact of both Diocletian and Constantine. The rhetorician Lactantius may have vilified Diocletian for his persecutions of Christians, but he nevertheless credited the emperor as an innovator who enlarged the army, expanded the central administration, and meticulously exacted revenues and taxes. The bishop and historian Eusebius praised Constantine for converting to Christianity and then promoting the influence of the church throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond. The fundamental oddity of these evaluations, however, is the reality that so many factors conspired against the imposition of central directives. The Roman Empire was huge, communication was slow, and local aristocrats, imperial

magistrates, and even the secretaries at court might prefer to promote their own agendas. Corcoran admits that the machinery of government did not, could not, live up to the ambitions and intentions of its emperors. Diocletian in particular sometimes had grandiose ambitions. His notorious Prices Edict, issued in late 301, was seemingly an attempt to cure inflation by putting a ceiling on prices for goods and services, and its length and scope (not to mention its survival) have earned it a reputation as one notable attempt to impose a general directive. Corcoran's discussion now cuts this edict down to size. Rather than representing sound economic policy, it was, like other rescripts, most likely an *ad hoc* response to petitions, this time from soldiers. It also seems to have been a reaction to a particular instance of profiteering at Antioch that was a direct result of the presence of the imperial court and the troops: "the emperor is in effect carrying a mini-inflation with him wherever he goes" (p. 219). And, despite Diocletian's rhetoric of universalism in the preamble, the edict had a negligible impact, certainly in the western provinces, where it was not promulgated, but also in the eastern provinces, where one provincial governor simply replaced Diocletian's preamble with his own. Diocletian's directives for a general persecution of Christians were also largely ineffective, hindered by provincial governors and ignored even by junior emperors.

Emperors could hence show their authority both through decisions about individual cases and through gaudy announcements, but they could not necessarily enforce it: "The government . . . overreached itself" (p. 233). Since there was clearly a gap between intentions and outcomes, Corcoran's study raises the question of whether modern historians can or should attribute general "policies" to various emperors or describe them as innovators and reformers. Rather than imposing policies, most emperors seem to have been struggling just to keep up. Diocletian's "reforms" in particular were largely concessions to the chaotic events of the mid-third century; his solution to political anarchy, the appearance of multiple illegitimate emperors, was the tetrarchy, the sanctioning of multiple legitimate emperors. Constantine's patronage for Christianity was likewise an acknowledgment of its already increasing prominence, not the initial impetus. Multiple emperors were no more effective than single emperors: "the tetrarchic governments, having extended the scope of their ambitions, could not remedy the limitations that thwarted them" (p. 297). When issuing his Prices Edict, Diocletian had been reduced to indignant sputtering about "raging greed" and "unrestrained lust"; toward the end of the fourth century, the Emperor Valens was so annoyed at his prefect's inability to enforce an edict that he punched him.

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## MEDIEVAL

HUGH KENNEDY. *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. xvi, 342.

Books in English covering the entire period of the Islamic presence in Spain and Portugal are few and far between, a lack that makes Hugh Kennedy's work a particularly welcome addition to the field. As the title suggests, this is a political history of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain and Portugal) and does not attempt to study cultural traditions of the sort found in W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia's *History of Islamic Spain* (1965). Within the scope of political history, however, Kennedy offers a comprehensive survey of al-Andalus from the initial Arab and Berber invasion of 711 to the fall of Granada in 1492.

One of the attractive things about Kennedy's book is that, although his topic is political history, it is political history broadly conceived. Architecture becomes relevant to the history of government: an emir or caliph who located his administrative offices within the city of Córdoba. Kennedy suggests, was making a very different statement about his rulership than one who built a palace outside the city walls and lived there in splendid isolation. One cannot understand a regime's strengths and weaknesses without some knowledge of its tax base, which in turn necessitates study of agriculture and trade. The military history of al-Andalus is inseparable from its political history; much of Kennedy's book is concerned with how rulers controlled or failed to control factionalism within the military and tensions between soldiers and civilians. Exploring such issues inevitably leads to questions proper to social history: Were factions in the army based on ethnic conflicts? To what extent was the military ever truly integrated with civilian society? Even history of fashion comes into the picture here. The Almoravids, one of the Berber groups who ruled al-Andalus as a military aristocracy, maintained their separateness from the civilian population in part by their dress: the men wore veils, making them a distinct and mysterious presence in Iberian cities and also an easy target for irate civilians during anti-Almoravid uprisings.

Kennedy presents the political history of al-Andalus as determined by a set of problems that were, at bottom, insoluble. Al-Andalus was an ethnically diverse society in which Arabs, Berbers, Iberians, and Northern and Eastern Europeans brought in as slave soldiers were often in conflict; local elites hostile to the central government ruled in many areas; the military was fractious and sometimes undependable; and many regimes lacked legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects. Successful rulers were able to contain these problems for a time. An instructive example of such a ruler was al-Manṣūr, a palace chamberlain who in the late tenth century seized power from the Umayyads, up to then the ruling family of al-Andalus. Kennedy's account of his rise is engaging and drily funny and is reminiscent of Niccolò Machiavelli's analysis of Cesare Borgia's

rule in *The Prince*. He highlights the quickness and intelligence that allowed al-Manṣūr to eliminate his rivals at court, coopt or destroy local elites, balance hostile ethnic groups in the army, and use *jihad* or holy war to enhance his shaky legitimacy: it was al-Manṣūr who sacked Santiago de Compostela in 997 and had its cathedral bells carried to Córdoba by prisoners of war, a showy and apparently successful piece of public relations. Rulers lacking al-Manṣūr's *virtù*, by contrast, quickly let the tensions inherent in al-Andalus's society and government spin out of control.

Although this book will be a useful resource for specialists, it is accessible to those outside the field as well. It presents information clearly; even the period of Berber rule in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with its complex intertwining of Iberian and North African history, is made intelligible. When introducing concepts from Islamic history, Kennedy always gives enough background that a non-specialist can follow his argument, and as he moves through each period, he familiarizes readers with the primary sources and assesses their strengths and limitations (sources for much of al-Andalus's history are sketchy at best). This is a thoroughly engaging and informative work.

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ADRIAAN H. BREDERO. *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1996. Pp. xiv, 320. \$30.00.

Adriaan H. Bredero has not written a new biography of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153). Rather, he has set out to produce something more interesting: an analysis of how the holy image of this revered spokesman for the Cistercian Order was created in the twelfth century and then refined and expanded over the next 800 years. Thus his starting point is not the sainted abbot himself but rather the hagiographers who began composing Bernard's *vita* while he was still alive.

Bredero has been working on Bernard for some fifty years, and here he brings together many of the ideas that he has previously published in widely scattered journals and conference proceedings. His central concern is the difficulty, endemic in the twelfth century but especially evident in the case of Bernard, of reconciling the active and contemplative religious lives—metaphorically described as being married to both Rachel and Leah. Bernard, who indeed referred to himself as a chimera, was certainly aware of the conflicting demands of these different approaches to religion. Bredero argues that Bernard's hagiographers, uncomfortable with the division between his two roles, were at considerable pains to downplay or explain away much of his activism, while modern scholars have sometimes seen hypocrisy in a man who preached the values of withdrawal, humility, and solitude at the same time as he chose bishops and even popes, helped

launch the Second Crusade, condemned Peter Abelard's writings as heretical, criticized the papal curia and other monastic orders, and did not hesitate to advise kings and emperors.

In the final pages of this study, Bredero seeks a reconciliation between these two positions. He argues that Bernard believed that the monastic life at Clairvaux was the most perfect representation of the Christian life, the new Jerusalem on earth. Therefore, he felt it his duty to make not just other monasteries but indeed the secular world try at least in part to conform to his vision.

But Bredero's most important contribution to Cistercian studies is his recurring point that even though the first men to compose *vitae* of Bernard knew him personally, they were not attempting to create what a modern historian would consider an accurate biography. Rather, they attempted to interpret the events of his life to match their own ideas of sanctity. That is, because they had no doubts that this was a holy man, they had to describe him the way they thought a holy man should be described, and his unceasing intervention in affairs outside Clairvaux was difficult to reconcile with the preexisting model of the holy recluse. The *vitae* therefore, according to Bredero, cannot be read as literal accounts of Bernard's life so much as reflections of mid-twelfth-century politics and concerns within the Cistercian Order.

Thus this book is part of the recent interest in saints' lives, in which a number of scholars, working more or less independently, have turned a new eye on these sources. Long rejected by positivist historians because they rarely present what could be considered factually accurate accounts, saints' lives are now being analyzed for information on what their authors—and hence, the societies in which they were written—considered the principal elements of holiness.

As interesting and insightful as all of Bredero's analysis is, the book is frustrating to read because of a somewhat incoherent organization, an often strident tone, and infelicities of language. It is a translation from the Dutch (originally published in 1993) by Reinder Bruinsma, who is credited in the preface but not on the title or copyright pages. An editor should have caught phrases that ring awkwardly to the ear, such as "Clairvaux besides Cîteaux" (p. 212), meaning the interactions between Clairvaux and Cîteaux, and poor choices of words such as "spontaneously" for "willingly" (p. xi) and "process" for "trial" (p. 225). The translator may also be responsible in part for such harsh-sounding condemnations as the statements that other scholars have "failed in their analysis" (p. 17), or given a "one-sided, predominantly cultic evaluation of Bernard" (p. 18), or read Bernard in ways that are "dubious" and "biased" (p. 144), not to say "exaggerated" (p. 159). The editor should also have paid more attention to the bibliography. It is very extensive and thorough (up through about 1992) but peppered with misprints and inconsistencies. A two-volume work is as likely to be cited as "2 tomes" as "2 vols."; some books

are listed with publisher, some with place of publication, and some with neither; for some authors, their works are listed in chronological order, whereas for others the order is reverse chronological; and a number of names are misspelled (my own initials are given as C. H. rather than C. B.). In perusing the footnotes, it takes the reader a while to realize that if an article is cited by title but without an author, then Bredero himself was the author.

Because this book ties together so many of Bredero's earlier studies, he often quotes half a page or so verbatim from such a work, and someone made the unwise decision to print such sections in very small type (p. 20). This means that the most crucial passages are visually slighted on the page. There are also no footnotes to indicate which articles such passages are quoted from, so the interested reader does not even know where to go for further details. Perhaps because Bredero did not want to repeat his findings from earlier publications, he gives only skimpy details on the manuscript tradition of Bernard's *vitae*, yet his analysis of how these *vitae* developed and were reworked depends on this tradition. The overall organization is often unclear. In the first part, on the relationship between Bernard and the men who wrote about him, the discussion of who these men were comes after, rather than before, the discussion of the challenges these hagiographers faced in composing a *vita* that would lead to Bernard's canonization. The second part of the book, supposedly a historiographic survey, contains very little historiography other than dismissals of others' scholarship: instead it contains quite a lot on Bernard's theological understanding of the papacy, as well as more on the manuscript tradition of the *vita prima* than in the book's first part. The final part, supposedly on the historical Bernard, includes a major section on historiography.

It would be a shame if editorial sloppiness kept this culmination of Bredero's lifelong work on early Cistercian history from gaining the English-language readership that it should. The ideas and insights are well worth plowing through an irritating and sometimes confusing text.

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MATTHEW STRICKLAND. *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 387. \$69.95.

How far did the conduct of military operations, in field encounters and sieges, during the "long twelfth century" conform to the norms of chivalric behavior? How effective were the "laws of war" in restraining the savagery of combat and the greed of victors? These are the fundamental questions that Matthew Strickland explores in his stimulating book. Although Strickland centers his attention primarily on the Anglo-Norman world, he occasionally introduces enlightening com-



parisons with military practices elsewhere, particularly in the Latin Levant.

Strickland finds that the attempts of churchmen to limit warfare through the peace and truce of God did little to save churches, clergy, and noncombatants from pillage, plunder, and destruction. Ecclesiastical authorities, however, often managed after the fact to persuade perpetrators that they had done wrong and to induce them to make satisfaction for their misbehavior. Churchmen thus won acknowledgement, at least in principle, of the immunity that they claimed, together with tangible benefits that served to advance ecclesiastical interests.

Shared beliefs and common interests among the noble and knightly classes about honor, shame, and reputation, Strickland shows, also played important roles in moderating the savagery of twelfth-century warfare. Thus, for example, twelfth-century knights were far more likely to seek to capture opponents in battle in order to hold them for ransom than were their predecessors among the Anglo-Saxons or their contemporaries among the Scots. Although battle fatalities among knights and noblemen seem to have declined sharply after about 1100, fatality rates among the common soldiery apparently remained fairly steady, while foot soldiers who survived battle not uncommonly became fodder for the slave markets.

Battles, however, were uncommon events; medieval commanders were more inclined to spend their time and resources on siege warfare than on field encounters, and Strickland maintains that chivalric precepts modified the conduct of sieges as well as of battle. His evidence for this consists in part of the emergence of the practice of conditional respite, whereby a besieger halted operations for a specified period of time in order to allow the commander of the besieged garrison to seek aid, on condition that if help were not forthcoming within the stipulated period, the garrison would forthwith surrender. This, together with other conventions regarding the treatment of enemy garrisons who did surrender, Strickland argues, were important practical consequences the development of chivalric ideals.

Treatment of noncombatants and captured property presents a counter-example that Strickland maintains supports his thesis. Although ecclesiastical legislation forbade warring armies to kill or maltreat their opponents' peasantry, to burn their houses, or to ravage their lands, medieval armies routinely ignored these prohibitions. On the contrary, twelfth-century armies regularly employed economic attrition as one of their most dependable military strategies. Strickland argues that because these actions were directed against ordinary people and their property, rather than against members of the knightly and noble elite, they were not unchivalric. Chivalric ideals, as Strickland sees things, concerned behavior by members of the military landholding elite toward other members of that elite. Peasants, merchants, and townsmen, since they were not part of the warrior aristocracy, enjoyed none of the

protections that chivalry extended to the privileged few.

Similarly, Strickland argues that other outsiders, such as mercenary soldiers, Scots, and Galwegians, neither were bound by nor benefited from the restraints by which chivalry protected members of the aristocratic brotherhood from one another. Routiers and Brabantine mercenaries were notorious for the savagery with which they fought; indeed, that was precisely why kings and other potentates employed them. They were instruments of terror as well as agents of destruction. But since they were not members of the knightly class, and their actions were only occasionally directed against members of that class, they fell outside the provisions of the code of chivalric behavior.

Strickland supports his arguments about both the conduct of warfare and the elements of chivalric ideology with an impressive array of evidence drawn principally from published narrative accounts of military encounters and the observations of normative writers such as Honoré Bonet (*ca.* 1340–*ca.* 1405) and Giovanni da Legnano (*ca.* 1320–1383).

Strickland bases his discussion of the canon law of war, however, upon assumptions about the nature and purpose of law that seem to be drawn from the jurisprudence of John Austin and the English utilitarians. He thus ignores, for example, the very real possibility that legislation may often be designed to embody aspirations that the legislators themselves know to be unrealistic. Nor is it necessarily true, as Austinians maintain, that unenforced legislation is meaningless. Although Strickland never articulates his jurisprudential premises, they nonetheless color his whole approach to the legal dimensions of warfare and military conduct. That said, Strickland's book is a notable contribution to the military, social, and cultural history of the Middle Ages.

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J. A. RAFTIS, *Peasant Economic Development within the English Manorial System*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 243. \$49.95.

This book is, in effect, a summary of the results of a lifetime's work spent studying the manorial economy of medieval England. J. A. Raftis has had a profound impact on the understanding of agrarian society in the Middle Ages, not only through his own work but also through that produced by the myriad graduate students he has supervised over the years. Prominent characteristics of the so-called "Toronto School" have been its emphasis on strong empirical research, especially concerning the Huntingdonshire estates of Ramsey Abbey, and, equally, a reluctance to commit itself to a well-defined theoretical position.

In a commendably concise manner, Raftis remedies the latter by presenting a coherent account of what he feels comprised the driving force behind the medieval manorial economy from the thirteenth to the fifteenth



centuries. Taking particular aim at the Marxist position that sees lords as the key manipulators of medieval agrarian society, Raftis instead argues that it was the largeholding sector of the customary (or unfree) tenantry that was the most influential in directing change in the medieval countryside. The most novel part of Raftis's thesis is the crucial role that such customary tenants played in capital formation. Here, using local lay subsidy returns—never an easy source—Raftis shows that customary tenants tended to accumulate far more in the way of capital goods like livestock than did lords (pp. 12–13). This capital accumulation by the tenantry, Raftis argues, explains why the countryside as a whole was able to support the tremendously high level of royal and ecclesiastical taxation in the late thirteenth century (p. 123). Furthermore, by examining contentious issues like labor service and migration, Raftis demonstrates how customary tenants, especially at the wealthier end, had a greater degree of freedom over their lives and choices than generally thought. Lords, in Raftis's scheme, acted with self-interested benevolence. In the main, they preferred not to press their more influential tenants too hard, because they realized how important the latter were to the smooth economic running of manors (especially where demesnes were being operated directly by lords and were thus dependent on these same well-to-do tenants for the preponderance of labor and administrative personnel).

Raftis's view of a vigorous, assertive peasantry that more than held its own against the demands of lords has considerable plausibility. In the end, however, one wonders whether Raftis's version of this theme is such a major conceptual leap. Is he not simply turning the Marxist thesis on its head, making the exploited to a large extent the exploiters? Certainly, Raftis is sensitive to the idea that his theme might be considered a kulak version of history, and he spends some time trying to disassociate his thesis from this notion (p. 129). In the end, however, he may well be placing himself in a theoretical straightjacket as confining as the Marxists' insistence in the all-embracing power of lords. In short, Raftis's thesis appears too simplistic. It needs to be put in a broader framework and in the context of a more subtle assessment of the various factors in play. Certainly, the lesser peasantry—virtually ignored by Raftis in this book—deserve a more prominent role in the story. Also, since they are crucial to Raftis's argument, the nature of capital and its potentialities need to be viewed with a more critical eye. Local lay subsidy assessments, for example, largely measured peasant capital in terms of animals and (occasionally) what looks to be surplus grain. But were animals in particular a sufficiently flexible source of capital for other uses? Would a peasant, for example, have liquidated his work animals to build himself a new stone barn? The elucidation of such slippery issues is not helped by this book's somewhat dated methodology. Raftis has a fondness for simply listing data without aggregating them into more meaningful

numbers, and when more complex statistical exercises are attempted, there are often difficulties in framing the analysis effectively. This is especially the case in the examination of labor services, where Raftis unaccountably ignores how much money was being spent by demesne managers in replacing lost labor, which would seem an essential component in assessing the give-and-take between lords and tenants over this vital resource.

Despite these reservations, Raftis has provided a fruitful new focus of discussion. In bringing a greater emphasis to peasants in the lord-tenant equation and in providing a much more coherent statement concerning the work of a very influential school in medieval studies, this is an important and much-welcomed book.

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CHARLES R. YOUNG. *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166–1400*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1996. Pp. xiii, 172. \$59.00.

Histories of medieval families usually concentrate on the paternal line, tracing the fortunes of the eldest male heirs while casting only an occasional glance at the fates of their collateral relatives. For comital families such as the Clares or Lacys, this focus makes sense, as the wealth and power of the main line of the family clearly outstripped the other branches. In contrast, Charles R. Young has written what might be called a corporate biography of the Neville family. He follows several lines of Nevilles from their roots in the twelfth century to 1400, at which point one line, the Nevilles of Raby, were about to ascend to comital status, leaving the others far behind.

Young concentrates primarily on two aspects of the family's history: administrative service and property. From Alan de Neville, Henry II's chief forester, on, every generation and each branch of the family held offices at the county or regional level and sometimes at the royal court itself. Indeed, Alan's descendants became chief foresters themselves, and the family maintained a connection to the forest administration through the fourteenth century. Yet the Nevilles adapted to changes in royal administration and served on commissions of oyer and terminer, peace-keeping, and array as well as in other capacities as new positions were created. Most importantly, they took a leading role in the defense of the north against the Scots, laying the foundations for their power in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Royal service was also important for the patronage it brought the family. Favors took many forms, and Young demonstrates how the Nevilles took advantage of their connections to build up bases of wealth in different parts of the country, around which various branches of the family developed. He also describes how, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Nevilles married into families of equivalent rank, sometimes by marrying wards in their custody and at other times by forming alliances with other royal servants.

These patterns of service and patronage are not remarkable in themselves, and Young's work confirms earlier family studies that have discovered similar trends within the ranks of the medieval gentry. What Young adds to that literature is a demonstration of how the various branches of the family worked together for their mutual benefit. It was not simply that sons tended to follow their fathers in office holding but that brothers and cousins pursued similar careers and often worked alongside one another on royal commissions. In addition, different branches of the family benefited from the patronage that one leading member of the family well placed at court could secure. Of course, however strong the bonds among family, they could not withstand the strains of rebellion and social upheaval, and Young chronicles how the Barons' War in the thirteenth century pulled the Nevilles in different directions despite their common interests.

Young adds some details about landholding and family relations, but the documentation is too sparse to analyze thoroughly the Neville estates, households, or retaining. What emerges nonetheless is a valuable study of family service and solidarity spanning many generations.

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KELLY DeVRIES. *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology*. (Warfare in History, number 2.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1996. Pp. 216. \$63.00.

Kelly DeVries studies fourteen battles between 1302 and 1346 to demonstrate that knightly cavalry was not invincible on the battlefields of medieval Europe. It is apparently easy for him to find support for his argument: virtually every chapter concludes by pointing out that infantry beat cavalry. But DeVries has set up a straw man as his target, because few medievalists today hold the view of cavalry dominance that he argues against, one dating back to C. W. Oman.

Nonetheless, DeVries fails even to knock down his own straw man, for the book's argument and approach are deeply flawed. These flaws also undermine the larger case that the book's battle studies are supposed to prove: to wit, that there was an "infantry revolution" in the first half of the fourteenth century, purportedly the first stage in what would become "the Military Revolution." The problem with this thesis is that infantry were present on most medieval battlefields even before 1302, and they almost always outnumbered mounted forces. Furthermore, the defensive power of a solid line of infantry, of which DeVries makes so much, is a commonplace of military history and was not a new development even for medieval European armies in 1302. DeVries thus creates the illusion of a revolution in part by misunderstanding the base line of change, a fault common to much "military revolution" literature. The illusion is also fostered by

overstating the effectiveness of infantry forces that were still incapable of acting on offense. Thus, heavy cavalry continued to play a major role on European battlefields well into the sixteenth century, a fact that DeVries fails to take account of. I do not think that there was an "infantry revolution" in 1300; this book certainly fails to prove that there was.

The fundamental problem with this study, however, is that, like the position it argues against, it is extremely old fashioned. DeVries examines battles and tactics in isolation, stripped of social, administrative, and even military context. Medieval battles cannot be understood outside of their place in the larger patterns of warfare, which were decidedly non-battle centered. More importantly, medieval armies cannot be understood without reference to the social origins of their component parts and the powers of the communities or central governments that raised them. Social origins account for the patterns of capture versus killing that characterized medieval battles: knights captured each other but slaughtered their social inferiors, who slaughtered back whenever possible. Social and administrative context accounts for the cohesion of men fighting as infantry, since cohesion comes either from communal solidarity (a social, not a military characteristic) or central control and training. DeVries fails to explore these factors. As a result, he is unable to explain, and does not even ask, why Flemish, English, Scottish, and Swiss armies dominate his battles. Factors of social cohesion and the effectiveness of central authority also account for many of the tactical capabilities and limitations of medieval infantry, defensive and offensive, that DeVries looks at purely tactically. At the basic level, defensive stands were more dictated by infantry's limited ability to maintain order in an attack than chosen as the best of a variety of tactical options.

Part of the problem is terminological. DeVries writes about infantry and cavalry, but what he should be writing about is knights (who did not necessarily act as cavalry) and townsmen (who did not necessarily act as infantry). When he does refer to knights, he conflates them with cavalry in a most confused and misleading way. This approach, focusing on tactics and classical troop types instead of campaigns and social classes, makes invisible one of the most important aspects of European medieval warfare: its consistent bloodiness when conflict crossed lines of class, ethnicity, and religion—again, not a new feature after 1300, perhaps only a somewhat more prominent one as economic prosperity gave more communities the wherewithal to field well-armed and determined levies in defense of traditional liberties.

There are other problems with the book. DeVries knows the primary sources well, but he sometimes uses them uncritically in terms of numbers of combatants, tactics, and class bias. The battle diagrams are wretched, schematically unclear and produced on a low-resolution computer printer. The writing is often awkward. In sum, this is a book that unfortunately will

mislead beginners and teach specialists little about medieval warfare.

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JUDITH FERSTER. *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 216. \$32.95.

Judith Ferster's topic in this book is medieval advice manuals for rulers, often called "mirrors of princes" ("mirror" translates *speculum*, in the sense not of a reflecting glass, I think, but a glass that one looks through to find a focused scene). Ferster's professional field is Middle English literature, and she accordingly takes a literary approach to her subject. But her treatment should be of some interest to historians as well, since she tries to "historicize" the individual manuals she treats: that is, she speculates on the authors' motives for giving advice to the ruler *du jour*, based on the topical circumstances of the time. Ferster admits that such historicizing is often highly conjectural, but she helpfully fills us in on other scholars' conjectures as well as her own, thus giving a wide view of the possibilities.

The aphoristic nature of the advice in the manuals makes for dull reading—and annoying reading as well, since the maxims cited are often contradictory in import, like too much Sancho Panza all at once. These works have gained some attention recently, however, as examples of camouflaged criticism of powerful governments. Perhaps the most interesting part of Ferster's book is the introduction (chapter one), where she runs through various critical approaches to political criticism: for instance, Stephen Greenblatt's Foucault-based theory of government-sponsored and government-controlled resistance; the similar Marxist analysis; the feminist critique of patriarchy; as well as older analyses of the increasing power of the House of Commons. In chapter two, she gives an account of the political climate of fourteenth-century England (with rather sparing citation of the original French and Latin source documents), emphasizing the dangers of criticism both to the critics and to the kings criticized, especially in the lives and fates of Edward II and Richard II.

In chapter three, Ferster moves without transition to a ninth-century pseudepigraphous Arabic work, the *Secret of Secrets*, in which the author, claiming to be Aristotle, gives detailed advice to Alexander the Great on all sorts of subjects, ranging from health and physiognomy and astrology to the qualities necessary for a good ruler. Ferster mentions only the rather modest section on choosing advice-givers. She looks not only at the original work and various Latin and French translations but also and especially at English adaptations or reflections of it (John Lydgate's *Secrees of Old Philosoffres* would be worth a mention here). Ferster emphasizes especially the paradox that the

king has to be able to choose good counselors, but, if he can do that, he does not need counselors. We may observe that the counseling spoken of refers mainly to general attitudes of the ruler toward his high-class and low-class subjects, not to any need for specific reports of facts and situations beyond the scope of a single ruler. Her fourth chapter deals with the most interesting (for Ferster's purposes) of the English versions of the *Secret*, namely, the translation and expansion that James Yonge made in 1422 for his master, the earl of Ormonde, Henry V's lieutenant in Ireland. She shows that Yonge presents himself not only as an advisor to the earl (among other things, urging good treatment of clerks like Yonge) but also, implicitly, as an advisor to the king on behalf of the earl.

In the fifth chapter, resuming the subject of chapter two, Ferster examines the "language" of advice to the king in political conflicts of fourteenth-century England, looking especially at means by which criticism of the king is softened or deflected by blaming the king's current "bad advisors." She notes, for instance, that John Stratford, who as bishop of Winchester had been one of the deponents of Edward II in 1327, indirectly but unmistakably threatened a similar fate for his son and successor, Edward III, during the crisis of 1340–1341 (when Stratford was archbishop of Canterbury), if the king did not follow better counsel. Her account could be supplemented by treating the *Speculum regis Edwardi III*, a joint title for two highly critical anonymous treatises written around 1331–1332, when the new king was just emerging from his teens. Later fourteenth-century manuscripts attributed the *Speculum* to Stratford's successor as archbishop, Simon Islip (1349–1366), but it may in fact have been the work of his predecessor, Simon Mepham. The chapter ends with an account of the beginning of the reign of Henry IV in 1399, when criticism of Richard no longer had to be disguised through "tropes of advice."

Chapter six is dedicated to Chaucer's *Melibee*, and Ferster is no more successful than anyone else in making the piece interesting or relevant; but she is right to discount the modern critics who treat it, in effect, as entirely original to Chaucer. It is nothing but a literal translation of an unliterary French adaptation (ca. 1336) of Albertano of Brescia's *Book of Consolation and Counsel* (1246). Chaucer's omission of the biblical proverb, "Woe to the land where a child is the ruler" and his inclusion of the stricture against youthful counselors probably allow us to date the treatise in its original form to the first few years of Richard II's reign, say from the time that he took over in 1377 at the age of ten until his triumph in defusing the "Peasants' Revolt" at the age of fourteen. But Ferster historicizes it to the period of Richard's troubles in the late 1380s. This is when Chaucer must have resurrected it for use in the *Canterbury Tales*, first doubtless as the prose work that the Man of Law promises to tell and then as Chaucer's own back-up tale. By this time, Chaucer had at hand Albertano's Latin treatise, which he used not for the *Melibee* but only for another

treatment of good and bad counsel, namely, January's consultation with his friends on marriage in the *Merchant's Tale*, which critics have not subjected to historicizing.

In chapter seven, John Gower proves to be a more fertile field for finding original fictions of advice, which, moreover, can be given a historical political context. But his most relevant writing on advice, an adaptation of the *Secret of Secrets* in Book Seven of the *Confessio amantis*, remains the same in the two versions, even though designed for two different princes. The first is presented as a commission by Richard II, and the second, around 1393, is addressed to Henry Bolingbroke. In response to contradictory modern views of Gower's politics, Ferster concludes that he was at least consistent in claiming to give counsel in the name of the people. She adds an appendix on advice idioms that are so banal as to be of little value.

Chapter nine deals with Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, which the poet addresses to Prince Henry. It was written around 1411 or 1412, after Henry IV had taken back the reins of government from the prince. Ferster is illuminating in matching Hoccleve's financial problems (real or fictitious) with those of his royal addressee. A final brief chapter contrasts the medieval advice manuals with Niccolò Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513). In her conclusion, she speculates on the readership of these manuals and decides that they were popular among the middle class and the gentry and were at least occasionally read by the king and nobility.

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VALERIE R. HOTCHKISS. *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe*. (The New Middle Ages, number 1.) New York: Garland. 1996. Pp. 201. \$30.00.

Throughout the Middle Ages, people wrote of women who disguised themselves as men, while observers used these instances to reflect upon gender identity. Thus, accounts of female transvestites can yield rich information about ideas of gender, sexuality, and culture. Valerie R. Hotchkiss studies accounts of transvestism in a wide variety of sources, ranging from "historical, pseudo-historical, hagiographic, and literary" (p.7), to examine medieval ideas of gender.

The book consists of a series of almost independent essays, each covering one genre of "disguise literature." Hotchkiss begins with medieval hagiography and considers the many women who sought God by renouncing their female roles and living as men. This essay is supplemented by a useful appendix listing the lives of transvestite saints, but it does not fully consider the extensive, fairly recent secondary work on saints.

Hotchkiss follows this general account of holy women with two solid chapters on historical women, Hildegund von Schönau and Jeanne d'Arc. The first

tells of a woman who struggled with her life of disguise, and the second of a woman who was killed for her refusal to abandon male attire. In the latter, Hotchkiss nicely outlines the legal arguments against transvestism and raises the important question of how much this trial was about gender identity and how much about power. Both women are fascinating and merit much further discussion.

In the second half of the book, Hotchkiss turns to fictional accounts, beginning with the famous myth of Pope Joan, whose identity was discovered as she bore a child in a papal procession. Hotchkiss shows how this oft-repeated tale was used by anti-papal parties for political purposes. Again, power seems at least as important as gender.

In the last two chapters, the author tells a bewildering number of fictional stories about cross-dressing. Perhaps even more than historical accounts, fiction can offer a window into medieval attitudes, since the storytellers are not even remotely bound to facts. Many of the stories show people's concern with maintaining the social (and gender) order. For example, wives dress as men in order, ultimately, to reestablish themselves as wives. The world is overturned temporarily in order to restore it.

The final chapter considers romances, which in many ways are the richest, albeit most ambiguous, sources of information. In romances, some heroines become heroic knights while internally wrestling with questions of identity, and others are magically transformed into men, making real their disguise.

In all these chapters, Hotchkiss offers a great deal of information on the texts, which makes this book a good research tool. Less satisfying is the author's conclusion, which suggests that ideas of gender identity were fluid in the Middle Ages: "According to most of these texts, surprisingly perhaps, societal perception, more than the body itself, determines gender identity" (p. 126). For Hotchkiss, "clothes make the man," as the book's title proclaims.

Although this conclusion is best supported by the fictional romances (Hotchkiss's strongest chapters), it is contradicted by much of her other material. Repeatedly, Hotchkiss shows the sources demonstrating that "a disguised woman . . . remains a woman" (p. 26) or that "biological sex determines behavior" (p. 34). As medieval people considered the notion of nature vs. nurture (which is directly discussed in the romance *Silence*), I do not think they were as flexible as Hotchkiss suggests.

The conclusions may not be as fully supported as one might like, but the work as a whole is worth reading. If more work needs to be done to draw conclusions about gender and cultural identity based on how women present themselves to the world, so much the better. Such future studies will also make for good reading.

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JUDITH M. BENNETT. *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 260. \$49.95.

Judith M. Bennett's history of women in the brewing trade between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries is first and foremost a contribution to the history of patriarchy: "the ways in which the institutions and structures of a past time worked to maintain male privilege and female disadvantage" (p. 154). As an unusually well-documented area of women's work, brewing provides a telling case study. In 1300, it was predominantly a small-scale, highly localized by-employment involving the brewing of unhopped ale by women working from their homes. By 1600, it was in many areas a large-scale, highly commercialized trade involving the brewing of beer in specialized brewhouses and largely controlled by men. Bennett begins with an anatomy of the female-dominated ale trade in the early fourteenth century. She then traces the gradual withdrawal of unmarried women, especially single women, whose meager resources impeded their access to an expanding, increasingly specialized, and more highly capitalized industry, and the reduction of married brewsters to a subordinate role in the urban brewing trade: a process advanced in part by the effects of guild formation. These changes were influenced by the introduction and growing popularity of beer, which kept longer, travelled better, and provided higher profits; the discriminatory effects of regulative action and licensing laws on female brewers; and the ideological inhibition of female participation by profoundly misogynistic cultural representations of brewsters. By the sixteenth century, women brewers were usually widows continuing the trade of deceased husbands or licensed to brew ale as an alternative to poor relief.

This account of negative transformation in women's work might seem a familiar story of decline. In Bennett's hands, however, it becomes interpretatively much more interesting and distinctive. Although she reveals major change, she is more impressed by the "compelling continuities" (p. 6) discernible in the status and remuneration of the work open to women and in their capacity to support themselves independently. When women brewed, the trade was a widespread by-employment with low status and slim profit margins. As the trade was transformed, women's access to it was diminished, sometimes by deliberate exclusion but more generally as a consequence of legal, economic, and social disadvantages that stemmed from the perdurance of fundamental assumptions about female roles.

This lean, powerfully argued book merits attention both for its central theme and for its many insights into the development of brewing and the lives of those involved in the trade. Bennett's account of change, however, also raises further questions. Why did the market for ale apparently expand dramatically in the

post-plague era? Perhaps people drank more. Yet the national population halved, many settlements shrank, and ale was still hard to keep and transport. Were the major structural changes in brewing perhaps largely confined, before 1500, to the urban context that provides the best evidence for the central chapters of the book? And if the arguments based on women's competitive disadvantage in a developing industry are possibly less relevant to rural society, might there be other reasons for their diminishing role in the rural context? Did the greater availability of land, and of other by-employments, mean that married women had less need to brew for sale? Did greater social differentiation render redundant the informal rotation of such brewing among households? Did labor shortages provide alternative means for single women to earn a living, perhaps as farm servants? These questions do not challenge Bennett's view of the basic continuity of women's economic roles. They do, however, raise the possibility that if women ceased to brew because of diminishing access to the trade in one social context, their withdrawal may have reflected the emergence of different, sometimes better, options in others.

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VIRGINIA R. BAINBRIDGE. *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire, c. 1350–1558*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 10.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1996. Pp. xi, 177. \$53.00.

The title and subtitle of this book reveal its origins as a doctoral dissertation. The subtitle is the more honest description, for although Virginia Bainbridge focuses on gild material where she can, there is insufficient evidence to support even such a compact study as hers. Further, the richest evidence of gild activity in Cambridgeshire actually comes from the towns of Cambridge, Ely, and Wisbech. All were characterized by strong ecclesiastical influence: of the academics in Cambridge, the abbey in Ely, and the bishop of Ely, whose combination of economic and jurisdictional powers gave him immense authority in the deanery of Wisbech. Important though religious and social gilds undoubtedly were in late medieval life, their records are disappointingly meager. Partly this was because many gilds experienced fluctuations in fortune, and even in existence, for reasons not only of economy but also of waxing and waning enthusiasm; the analogy of student societies comes irresistibly to mind. Gild records were difficult to categorize, being neither wholly sacred nor secular. Many were allowed to perish, and some were deliberately destroyed. Government surveys of gilds, notably the enquiry of 1388–1389, were viewed with great suspicion by members, and concealment of assets and activity was widespread; there are valuable discussions here about the limitations of the returns.



Given the relative paucity of material, Bainbridge has adopted a number of strategies: she has included a historiographical survey of gild study; she has made much use of will evidence (this predominates in several sections, notably in the discussion of commemoration and the afterlife); and she has read widely among comparable studies of European religion, which enables her to put her conclusions into the widest possible context. In general, the book gains in confidence and authority as it progresses. The early chapters would have benefited from some rearrangement; the definition of a gild should surely have come earlier than page 19, and the number of gilds in Cambridgeshire set out earlier than page 33. The chapter on gild life and religious practice is in some ways the least satisfactory, and it is a pity that some old myths about the unbeneficed clergy are repeated (p. 55). The second half of the book is much stronger, and some interesting conclusions emerge. "Gilds were a status group within the community" (p. 114), the preserve of the better-off because the payment of subscriptions debarred the really poor from belonging. They were harsh, too; the poor widows of members could not call on funds, but the hiring out of the cows that many rural gilds possessed could make a difference to less affluent families during lean years. Dullingham operated a primitive "meals on wheels" system for the sick, while some gilds ran work for welfare schemes. The Reformation broke the connection of the "medieval idea of reciprocity expressed through the prayers of the poor for the salvation of the donor" (p. 121), with results that are still topical.

This is a carefully crafted piece of research that is well-written, pleasingly modest in its claims, and attractively presented; the maps are especially valuable. The old-fashioned use of "Sir" as the translation of *dominus* to describe individual clerics is regrettable, however. This is clearly an excellent example of research by an able young historian, but, as is often the case with a revised dissertation, I am left wondering whether a couple of substantial articles might not have served the cause of scholarship better.

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JOHN WATTS, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 399. \$59.95.

For several years a small group of Cambridge-based historians has been advocating a revival of late-medieval English constitutional history that sees principles, especially concerning the government of the realm, as being as important as patronage. This book by John Watts makes by far the most substantial and sustained case for the new constitutional history. Taking the position that the sincerity of the profession of principles by politicians is unimportant but the fact of their expression and the effect of their deployment are, Watts argues that political actions in fifteenth-century

England were guided by a framework of constitutional ideas to which all subscribed. Using the "mirror of princes" literature in particular (which by its very commonplace nature is taken to be a safe guide to conventional views), Watts argues that the political nation as a whole accepted without question that the king's sovereign power was unrestrained. Kings were expected to take counsel and to rule wisely in the interest of the common weal, mediating between the vested interests represented to them by their greater subjects, but their powers were without limitation. Effective kingship depended on the king's exercise of his royal will for the purpose of virtuous rule. Given that England was an hereditary monarchy, it was not to be expected that the ideal would be reached by many kings. Subjects understood, accepted, and lived with this because the king was more than a person; he was also an office and an institution. Watts's view of medieval kingship is not in itself startlingly new. But he brings together a wealth of evidence, especially from recent local and regional studies, to show how many fifteenth-century lords shared this perception and how the rule of localities was integrated under the king's grace into the rule of the whole realm.

The book, however, is not just an examination of political theory and constitutional structures; it is also an extended case study of the reign of a particular king, Henry VI, which tested the constitution to virtual destruction. Watts reemphasizes K. B. McFarlane's judgement that second childhood followed the first without the usual interval. The key to understanding the politics of the reign lies, he argues, in grasping that Henry VI was inane, if not actually a simpleton ("infantile"), throughout his life. He never once exercised his royal will, not even in desiring peace in France, or promoting clerical education. Nothing was done on his own initiative; everything was done by others in his name. For almost forty years, there was no king exercising his royal will. By default, the office became all important and was executed by a series of regimes in the king's name. With painstaking care, drawing on thorough research in the records of government, Watts shows how Henry's subjects coped: first in the strained transition to majority rule, as they discovered that there was nobody there; then under Suffolk's leadership, as they tried to construct royal rule without a royal ruler; and, finally, after 1450, as both the king's mind and political society fractured.

There is much to admire in this thorough and consistent study. Inevitably, however, not every interpretation or judgement will find general agreement. A reevaluation of the role of the Duke of Suffolk is timely. Watts shows more fully than any before how Suffolk used his position as steward of the household to establish himself as the focal point of a group articulating and exercising the royal will on the king's behalf; he argues convincingly that Suffolk enjoyed general aristocratic support until the end of 1448; and he suggests tellingly that some of the abuses of his regime were a result not of too much but of too little

control of access to the king. But it is to be doubted that Suffolk was in a position to manipulate the court much before he ousted Beaufort in 1443; and that he pursued a high-minded aim to supply the proper exercise of royal will on the king's behalf is only speculation.

There is, moreover, an underlying conundrum concerning the personality of Henry VI that can never be resolved. Watts may well be correct in his implied conclusion that he was a simpleton from childhood. But since, as he makes clear, the king's will was always expressed impersonally, even in those endorsements to royal letters that some have taken as evidence of Henry's personal intervention, we can never finally distinguish between what might have been the king's feeble attempt at exercising his own will and others exercising it for him. The political history of Henry VI's reign can be written in the belief that the king was always a complete cypher; but its twists and turns also make sense if he is seen as one who, even in the late 1450s, occasionally bestirred himself in a half-hearted and ineffective way. In other words, Watts's analysis of the constitution and its working can fit quite happily a different assessment of Henry's personality and its impact on his kingship.

It is notable that Parliament is given but scant attention in this study of the reign, notwithstanding the frequency of its meeting. Indeed, Watts explicitly plays down its significance. Moreover, he stresses the exceptionality of conciliar rule, although Henry VI ruled through councils of one kind or another for his entire reign. Watts acknowledges that there were precedents for conciliar rule, usually enforced through Parliament on a reluctant king, since the reign of Richard II. His brief comment on Richard II is revealing: that Richard rapidly convinced his subjects that he could not govern properly because of his overbearing and uncounselled will, and so his leading noblemen sought to retain a measure of control through parliamentary, conciliar, and administrative means. The underlying principle to which these nobles appealed—a principle, of course, in which they themselves did not necessarily have to believe to make it constitutionally significant—was that, in certain circumstances, the will of the king could be restrained.

The problem facing Henry VI's subjects was the opposite of that faced by Richard's: an absence rather than an excess of will. But the constitutional justification for intervention existed, and the commons had abundant reason to believe that government could be conducted through or in association with a formal council. It is arguable, therefore, that there were in fact two constitutional traditions in fifteenth-century England: one that held that the king's power could not be restrained, and another that held that, in certain circumstances, it could be. If we are to base a revival of constitutional history on the idea that it is the profession of principles rather than belief in them that counts, then surely we must recognize that the argument cuts all ways. There was not a single framework

of constitutional ideas. A new constitutional history must encompass a revitalised Whig version as well as the new Tory interpretation that this study presents.

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MARCO BELLABARBA. *La giustizia ai confini: Il principato vescovile di Trento agli inizi dell'età moderna*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 28.) Bologna: Mulino. 1996. Pp. 449. L. 50,000.

Marco Bellabarba's fine book is another example of the trend, current among Italian scholars pursuing an interest in the history of crime and criminal law, toward examining the operation of the law from perspectives other than from the center out and from a documentary base that goes beyond legal texts. Whereas some have gone to the periphery of a city-state for the purpose of understanding how legal controls issuing from the center might have appeared to those people, elites or the poor, who were brought into the grip of a new and foreign legal system, Bellabarba journeys to the borderlands of Italy and Germany and then stays there to examine the operation of criminal justice in Trent and its environs. The author's task is a difficult one on several grounds. Trent was an ethnically diverse region of Germans and Italians, remote from centers of political power in Austria or Italy. There existed multiple layers of law in the *jus comune*, laws of the Holy Roman Empire, and customary law, all attempting an uneasy coexistence within defined political boundaries. Trent was also an ecclesiastical principality, yet one with a fundamental loyalty to the emperor rather than the pope. In his analysis of the operation of the legal system, Bellabarba applies the lens of legal anthropology, an innovation of American scholars, in an effort to make his material come to life.

Bellabarba begins with the announcement—hardly a startling one—that his studies reveal a disjuncture between medieval jurisprudence on the books and its operation in actual practice. His question is, where did the actual power to exercise justice lie: with the territory defined as a geographical-political space, or with some other entity? The author's conclusion is that justice was exercised within jurisdictions different from those found on the books; these jurisdictions were variously defined by concerns of honor expressed through the vendetta, noble military alliances, family ties, and affinities based on language. Actual jurisdictions, then, were extremely flexible, much more so than those established and confirmed in legal texts and recognized by distant centers of power. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, this essentially medieval reality had reached a crucial turning point. Political boundaries began to function as they had been conceived in the medieval period because, under the impact of a variety of forces, the nobility was constrained to exist and coexist in new ways with those other social groups sharing the same geographical

space. That is, something like the modern state emerged, at least in terms of the reliability with which its fixed political boundaries determined the operation of a modified legal system, as the fulfillment of a medieval conception. Here, at least, Bellabarba ought to comment on the challenge that this conclusion offers to our concept of modernity.

The bulk of Bellabarba's book presents descriptions outlining customary law, followed by sociological analyses according to primarily political categories. Customary law among the nobles was expressed in various kinds of conflicts, such as the feud and the vendetta, duels, challenges, and tournaments, connected to an overarching code of honor that was closely adhered to, despite being in conflict with Christian ideas of harmony. Again, this material will hardly surprise either the many scholars working on violence and the law or their readers. Additionally, Bellabarba informs us how divisions within families, over the inheritance or use of property, also vitiated the operation of official justice. The Austrians introduced a centralizing reform, *Reichs-reform*, in the fifteenth century, but this attempt to overcome local justice failed. Bellabarba proceeds to delineate human relations according to various categorizations: city versus countryside in the economic sphere, citizen courts versus rural courts (merchants versus nobles), and noble powers versus the laws of the city.

By the beginning of the modern age (about 1500) Trent had a criminal justice system whose powers appear to Bellabarba to have been exercised by politically defined legal jurisdictions. Its nobility had at last become intermingled with its merchants and its alliances, concerns, and values were refocused within a whole new set of social and political relationships.

This is an erudite book. Bellabarba enlightens us as to the social and political development of a city and a region that few know anything about, despite the historical importance of its mid-sixteenth-century religious conference. Methodologically, however, Bellabarba has not utilized legal anthropology to any great effect here. Although cases are presented and conclusions gleaned from them, his method for analyzing the operation of the law is not case-based; when legal anthropological method is followed, results emerge as tentative and break down generalizations, because the law tends to be swallowed up by the interplay of a host of harder social realities. What we have here instead is a more traditional political/social history through a jurisprudential lens. Ultimately, Bellabarba does not stray far from an intense interest in legal documents and theory.

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ANTONIO IVAN PINI. *Città medievali e demografia storica: Bologna, Romagna, Italia (secc. XIII–XV)*. (Biblioteca di storia urbana medievale, number 10.) Bologna: Cooperativa libraria universitaria editrice Bologna. 1996. Pp. 326. L. 40,000.

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Bologna was one of the half dozen largest cities in Europe. Its archive surviving from that period is correspondingly rich. Of the numerous historians who have exploited the rich material from medieval Bologna, one of the most distinguished is Antonio Ivan Pini, whose collected essays are now available in a number of volumes. This is the latest to appear: it contains nine articles first published in *Festschriften*, conference proceedings, and Italian periodicals (some of them rare) between 1976 and 1993. Four of the essays—those constituting the heart of the book—relate to the city of Bologna at its period of greatest size and prosperity. Three essays deal with aspects of the demographic or economic history of cities in the adjacent province of Romagna. The remaining two offer historiographical surveys of the “infant discipline,” as Pini likes to call it, of historical demography in the Italian Middle Ages. The volume is attractively produced and includes a useful bibliography.

In the preface to this collection, Pini explains that medieval historical demography is a young discipline, adventurous, a little bizarre, and presumptuous: adventurous because it seeks to reveal aspects of society that were thought to be beyond the reach of documentation; bizarre because it applies statistical techniques to sources produced in the pre-statistical age; and presumptuous because it presents as facts what can be only more or less convincing approximations. These elements are in many ways present in Pini's own work as represented here. He was one of the first to recognize the demographical potential of a number of document-series in Bologna and could be said to have been, to extend his own metaphor, present at the birth of medieval historical demography in Italy. His work has also been “adventurous” in its use, for example, of financial figures to calculate the population of the city of Imola in the early thirteenth century; and it has been “bizarre” in its use of Bolognese non-fiscal lists to calculate population levels for that city over time. Pini does, however, avoid the label of “presumptuous” due to his careful presentation of his hypotheses and conclusions. A typical Pini piece starts with some unexplored problem or unquestioned orthodoxy and then solidly sets out the main hypotheses governing the relevant historiography and presents a source to solve the problem, precisely describing its character, its internal organization and consistency, and the constitutional-legal context in which it was produced. Only then does the author advance his own hypotheses drawn from the evidence, discarding those to which valid objections can be made.

It is useful to have these essays collected together, given their dispersed places of original publication. It must be said, however, that the two survey articles, dating from 1985 and 1993, are rather repetitive, that one article has an aura of slightly faded polemic (in Pini's jovial but robust response to John Lerner's intervention regarding the demographic use of hearth numbers in the *Descriptio Romandiole* of 1371), and

that the important articles are those relating to Bologna. In these, Pini establishes that there is a source to measure precisely the city's population losses from plague in 1348 (the *venticinque*, "documentary material perhaps unique in Europe" [p. 83]); that medieval governments did have demographic policies, and, although these were not always effective, they did help smooth out the worst effects of socio-economic fluctuations; that manufacturing, commercial, and service activities were not strictly zoned in the medieval town, as commonly supposed; and that, again contrary to received wisdom, the history of Jews in medieval Bologna is not a blank for lack of documents. Pini is a careful historian, working close to the sources, who also challenges received ideas and methods, and this collection is a welcome reminder of his virtues.

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#### MODERN EUROPE

WOLFGANG REINHARD, editor. *Power Elites and State Building*. (The Origins of the Modern State in Europe, Thirteenth to Eighteenth Centuries.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, with the assistance of the European Science Foundation. 1996. Pp. xv, 316. \$80.00.

This collection of twelve essays by fifteen European historians is one of seven similarly organized volumes in an impressive series devoted to exploring the origins of the state in Europe during the late medieval and early modern periods. Like other volumes in the series, this one has its own theme: the relationship between power elites and the formation of the modern state. Also like the others, this book has no single thesis. Its topical essays, comparative with respect to both time and space, explore different aspects of the interactions between states and power elites as influences on the evolution of both over time. But while the contributors make no collective attempt to produce a single overarching "general theory" that will explain the growth of the modern state in terms of these interactions, clearly the relationship between government and elites remains a crucial determinant of political development in general.

The emergence of new elites (bourgeoisies and professional classes, for example) as the result of ongoing societal changes and the evolving needs of governments themselves, their relationship to older elites (such as clergy and nobility), and the relative ability of both elites and governments to adapt to social, economic, and political change—all are dealt with in most of the essays. So are the question of "national" versus regional and local elites; the changing balance and nature of central versus local governments; the importance of patronage and clientage as a bond between elites and governments as well as between greater and lesser elites; and the significance of

elites' self-interest in shaping the role and importance of representative institutions in early modern Europe.

Apart from the introduction by editor Wolfgang Reinhard, which establishes the conceptual parameters for the entire volume, several other essays recommend themselves, especially to non-specialists. That by Pere Molas Ribalta analyzes the organs of central governments and emphasizes the importance of the princely court as the integrating institutional element of the early modern state. Robert Descimon analyzes systems of venality of office; and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens explores academic training and education as an increasingly important means of social mobility, leading to the creation of new elites that were important to the formation and growth of more competent bureaucracies and hence to the elaboration of more powerful and efficient state structures. Rudolf Braun also points to education and professional training as one of several strategies (including also marriage alliances, family self-discipline, and other means) aimed at maintaining social rank among the traditionally privileged elites. He argues that "a high degree of adaptability and a high degree of readiness, when necessary, also to integrate with social climbers" (p. 258) were the keys to successful retention of status under changing circumstances. Antoni Maczak deals directly with the relationship between states and nobilities, seen not only as fundamental to an understanding of the power structure of the early modern state but also as the key to defining the differences between particular states (although Maczak reminds the reader that nobilities themselves varied in composition and influence in time and place and that those differences "seem abundant and important, while few sweeping statements can be made about Europe as a whole" [p. 206]).

Although a solid general grounding in early modern European history would doubtless be helpful, this volume is clearly not intended solely for specialists. The sheer scope of its chronological and spatial coverage and the fact that its contributors rely entirely on secondary sources suggest that its purpose is not to reveal strikingly new information, nor even to arrive at impressively original general interpretations or conclusions (all of the essayists being candidly cautious on this point); instead, its intention is to present an intelligently organized topical synthesis of current scholarship on various aspects of an important subject that has heretofore been treated in fragmentary fashion in a mountain of specialized works. Thus, the organization and presentation of its theme—its disciplined topical and synthetic nature—the novelty of this volume, as indeed of the entire series of which it is a part. Specialists and more general readers alike will therefore find in these essays new lenses affording a clearer perspective on one important aspect of the emergence of the modern European state.

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WERNER O. PACKULL. *Hutterite Beginnings: Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 440. \$59.95.

Werner O. Packull's book traces the history of Philipites, Gabrielites, and Hutterites in the Reformation, concentrating on the 1530s and 1540s. The introduction contains a survey of literature and historiographical trends from Harold Bender's traditional view of a society shaped by gospel teaching to James Stayer's revisionist view of a socially constructed theology. Although Packull anticipates criticism from colleagues because he lacks an "insider's perspective" (p. 11), I consider that a recommendation, as it promises the kind of unbiased account desirable in a historian. I have misgivings, however, about the author's advocacy of an "approximation of the Rankean maxim 'Wie es eigentlich gewesen'" (p. 6), which tends to neglect the authorial bias and cultural climate conditioning source and reader.

Part one of the book focuses on the history of the Philipites and Gabrielites. Its purpose is to lay a broad foundation for the second part, which shows the interaction and links between these two groups and the first Hutterites. Part two traces the early history of the Hutterites, beginning with Jörg Blaurock's missionary activities in South Tyrol in the 1520s. In this context, Packull discusses scholarly theories concerning the typology of the Anabaptist movement, pointing out that the non-resistant position regarded as central to the Hutterite profile was clearly articulated only in the 1530s. The historical narrative continues with the trek of the Hutterites from Tyrol to Moravia in a bid to escape the repressive regime of Archduke Ferdinand, only to encounter renewed difficulties after the latter's accession to the Bohemian throne. Discussing Jacob Hutter's rise to power, the leadership conflict that led to the schism of 1533, and the emergence of the Hutterites as a distinct group, Packull does his best to "get the story straight," as he puts it (p. 225). He concludes that the schism was not merely a matter of personality clashes but of group dynamics, with the Hutterites forming a cohesive, numerically and economically dominant subgroup that strongly identified with Hutter's leadership. Here Packull strikes an apologetic note (unnecessary, in my opinion), defending the inclusion of details about personal rivalries among the leaders at the risk of offending the sensibilities of ideologically committed readers (p. 234-35).

The pressure that Ferdinand put on Moravian magnates led to the dispersal of the Hutterites, most of whom returned to South Tyrol in 1535, where they attempted to regroup and reconstruct a network of supporters. Packull recounts the fate of the principal leaders, who suffered martyrs' deaths, as well as of the women (notably Hutter's wife, Katherine Präst), who played a courageous supporting role in efforts to elude and, as a last stand, to confront the authorities. In the concluding chapter, Packull returns to the story of the

Philipites and Gabrielites after their expulsion from Moravia in 1535. The diaspora resulted in cultural absorption, with Philipites being subsumed under the label of "Swiss Brethren" and Gabrielites entering the broader stream of spiritualism. The doctrinal positions of their leader, Gabriel Ascherham, set down in *On the Distinction between Divine and Human Wisdom* (1545), are discussed in some detail. Of the three groups who tried the communitarian experiment in the 1530s, only the Hutterites preserved their identity in the aftermath of the Reformation.

The merits of Packull's book are evident. First of all, he provides a synoptic treatment of a subject that has been difficult to survey because relevant information is scattered among numerous articles and more narrowly focused monographs. Second, extensive quotations from the Hutterite *Chronicle*, the prison letters, and other witness accounts give immediacy to Packull's narrative and provide English readers with a window on primary sources that remain largely untranslated. The book also contains useful appendixes. Appendix A presents the text of three congregational orders, arranged in parallel columns to reveal corresponding passages. Other appendixes contain registers facilitating a study of the members of the congregations and their socioeconomic background.

The obvious merits of the book are tempered by two drawbacks. Part one is so densely packed with names, places, and dates that it makes for awkward reading. Some of this information might have been more conveniently placed in the footnotes or appendixes. Moreover, the structure of the book is rather complex. The result is a circuitous narrative frequently interrupted by cross references. It could be argued that the structure merely reflects the existing historical complexities, but a strictly chronological account might have proved more serviceable in the end.

These reservations notwithstanding, Packull's book makes an important contribution to Anabaptist history. While part one provides a formidable, not to say overwhelming amount of factual information, the second half, with its wealth of evocative source material, is a highly readable account that will appeal not only to specialists but also to undergraduates and general readers.

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RIVKA FELDHAJ. *Galileo and the Church: Political Inquisition or Critical Dialogue?* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 303. \$54.95.

The steady flow of books and articles on the Galileo affair that began in earnest with the publication of the Galileo file from the archives of the Holy Office more than a century ago has swelled into a torrent. Even a passing glance at this abundance suggests that the topic poses a sort of Rohrschach test for the historian, often revealing as much of the interpreter as of the object of study. The simplistic "warfare" account made



popular in the nineteenth century by J. W. Draper and A. D. White has largely given way to more sophisticated renderings, although the warfare metaphor still continues to resonate in the popular imagination, as evidenced by several recent television programs featuring Galileo. In addition to the obvious reasons for such interpretive diversity, there is also a documentary record that is, although relatively extensive, teasingly incomplete and difficult to interpret at key points.

Rivka Feldhay challenges earlier accounts of the Galileo affair in a number of ways. She rejects the traditional conflict model: "Once it is admitted that scientific facts are not simply waiting to be discovered, but grow out of contingent social situations, then the question of 'authority' can no longer be considered in opposition to the question of 'truth'" (p. 7). Adopting the contemporary idiom of culture analysis, she takes as a "basic assumption" the interpenetration of power and knowledge championed by Michel Foucault (p. 8). It leads her to adopt as a "radical hypothesis" that the Galileo affair is best understood as one consequence of the "power-struggle for cultural hegemony" between the two "intellectual elites" of the church at that time, the Dominicans and the Jesuits (pp. 54, 68, 213). Although Feldhay claims to be substituting a "dialogic model" for the older one of conflict and stresses the critical role of "cognitive interests" in the disagreements she is describing, metaphors of struggle still predominate in her account.

Central to the book is Feldhay's analysis of the "cultural field" of the Counter Reformation, in particular the rivalry between the "traditional" intellectual elite, the Order of Preachers, and the new "alternative" elite, the Society of Jesus. Three detailed chapters on the early growth of the Jesuits lay out, in a perceptive way, how its educational institutions made it a "cultural mediator" between church and society of an altogether new sort but also earned it the suspicion of the older mendicant orders, notably the Dominicans of Spain, who had their own tradition in the field of education. The Jesuit educators were less bound by traditional doctrines in theology and philosophy, more open to notions of the probable or the possible. This led to intense debate within the Society itself about the role of authority and the limits of freedom in matters intellectual, culminating in the promulgation of a relatively conservative *Ratio studiorum* (1599) as a "mechanism of control" (p. 149) governing the system of Jesuit education. Although it favored broadly Thomist boundaries, the liberty it still allowed, particularly in natural philosophy, gave it a "subversive potential" (p. 170) in regard to those same boundaries. The long-drawn-out debate (*De auxiliis*) between Dominicans and Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century, which several times came very close to a condemnation of the views on free will and "middle knowledge" of the Jesuit, Luis de Molina, "opened up a new conceptual space within which the commonly accepted canons of knowledge were questioned and renegotiated. It was not only theological hairsplitting

which was at stake, however, but the relative power and status of the groups involved" (p. 188). The controversy left the Jesuits in "deep need of legitimation" (p. 188); it also hinged on a notion of the "hypothetical" that Feldhay believes is crucial to an understanding of Robert Bellarmine's role in the Copernican controversy.

The stage is now supposedly set for the two main episodes of the Galileo affair: the condemnation of the Copernican theses of the earth's motion and the sun's immobility in 1616, and the trial of Galileo in 1633, consequent to the publication of his *Dialogue on Two Chief World Systems*. This is where, to my mind, Feldhay's book runs into trouble. There is no doubt that the ambiguity of the notion of hypothesis plays an important role in the Copernican debate. But how closely this can be linked with the *De auxiliis* controversy seems to me problematic. The view that the "hypotheses" of mathematical astronomy are merely practical devices, without ontological import, goes back to the perceived disagreement between Ptolemaic and Aristotelian astronomy much discussed in medieval philosophy. The commonest solution (proposed by Aquinas, among others) was to allow that the *causal* arguments of physical astronomy (part of natural philosophy) could attain to the reality of things, but that this lay beyond the reach of (non-causal) mathematical astronomy. Since the work of Copernicus seemed clearly to belong to the Ptolemaic mathematical tradition, it was easy, even without the misleading Osiander preface, to regard the work as having no bearing on which cosmic bodies *really* moved.

But a different notion of hypothesis had also made its way and is very clearly defined by Johannes Kepler in his *Apologia pro Tychone* (1600). Its roots go back a long way, at least as far as the criticisms of the Aristotelian ideal of demonstration by the nominalists of the fourteenth century. Some of the nominalists argued that natural philosophy could attain only to probability, but that probability, a high degree of likelihood, was perfectly acceptable in natural philosophy. One argument they used, and that Pope Urban VIII apparently recalled in a famous conversation with Galileo, is that when one is inferring from an observed effect to an unobserved cause, it is impossible to conclude with certainty, since there is always at least the possibility that God might bring the effect about using a different (hidden) means. The argument, intended to safeguard God's omnipotence against the implicit threat posed by Aristotelian claims to demonstration in natural philosophy, did not originate in the *De auxiliis* controversy.

Feldhay's thesis that the Galileo affair is best understood in terms of the rivalry between Jesuits and Dominicans faces at least two major difficulties. First, it is not at all clear that there was a "Jesuit" position in regard to the Copernican issue. The two leading Jesuit figures in the earlier part of the debate, Bellarmine and Christoph Clavius, did not agree about the status of mathematical astronomy, Clavius arguing for a

partially realist understanding of the Ptolemaic epicycles and Bellarmine displaying a strongly negative attitude to realism in mathematical astronomy. Feldhay argues that "Bellarmine's letter to Foscarini should be read as public exposition of the Jesuit attitude towards Copernicanism" (p. 232). But ought one really speak of "the Jesuit attitude" here? As far as one can see, this letter might just as easily have been written by a Dominican. Its stress on the primacy of Scripture and on the instrumentalist character of mathematical astronomy (not, be it noted, of natural philosophy generally) was at least as much Dominican as Jesuit. Feldhay concedes that Bellarmine is here "ignoring the claims" of such Jesuit astronomers as Clavius and Blaucanus (p. 238). So how can his letter be said to convey "the" Jesuit attitude? Feldhay seems to say that Bellarmine's failure to follow the practice of his Jesuit colleagues in this matter attests to his unwillingness to challenge the Thomistic organization of knowledge, in the light of the charges against the Jesuits in the course of the *De auxiliis* controversy (p. 239). I doubt whether this can be made persuasive. As Ugo Baldini has shown, Bellarmine's guide in physical astronomy had been the Bible rather than the Aristotelianism of Aquinas from his days as a professor at Louvain, long before the *De auxiliis* controversy erupted. To make matters worse, when Feldhay moves on to the events surrounding Galileo's trial in 1633, she is forced to admit: "Although the Jesuit position in 1633 is not consistent with Bellarmine's stance in 1616, there is a kind of symmetry between the two in the difficulty they present to the interpreter. Ambiguity seems to be an inherent feature of the Jesuit position" (pp. 56–57). Might it not have been better to abandon the notion of "the" Jesuit position at this point?

There is a second difficulty with Feldhay's approach, one shared with most other recent treatments of the Galileo affair. The "cognitive interests" she perceives to be at stake lie primarily within natural philosophy; the "transgression of the boundaries" between mathematical astronomy and natural philosophy was in her view what was really in question, threatening as it did "the Thomist principles of the organization of knowledge on which [the Dominicans'] status as a privileged intellectual elite depended" (p. 211). But surely this is to mistake the charge against Galileo. Suppose for a moment that the passing references to the sun's motion and the earth's stability did not occur in the text of the Old Testament. Would—could—the charges against the books of Copernicus and Galileo still have been brought? It would certainly seem not. No matter how strongly the Thomist theologians of the day might have opposed the challenge to the Aristotelian worldview implicit in the Copernican cosmology, they could not have invoked a theological sanction without those references.

More directly, I would argue, the motivations of Galileo's theological critics throughout the Copernican controversy cannot be understood without primary reference to the challenge to Scripture that the theo-

logians of the day perceived in the Copernican theses. It was a time of special sensitivity to such challenge on the part of Catholics and Protestants alike. The hostility of those responsible for the Index decree of 1616 declaring that the Copernican theses ran contrary to Scripture did not stem in the first instance from a desire to protect traditional natural philosophy or its boundaries. It is true that they held the Copernican theses to be philosophically false. But what clearly led them to take the serious step of condemning these theses was not this but the, to them evident, clash between the theses and the obvious sense of various Scriptural passages. And it was the condemnation of 1616 that provided the grounds for the trial of 1633. Without that precedent, there would have been no trial, or at the very least a very different one. Though Feldhay does not ignore the Scriptural issues (see pp. 233–237, for example), they play a relatively minor role in her narrative and drop away entirely when she propounds her Jesuit versus Dominican theme.

After these criticisms, it may seem odd if I say that I liked Feldhay's book and learned from it. If one were simply to resituate her narrative and make the rivalries between the participants, Galileo himself and the Dominicans and Jesuits who opposed him, one factor among others in that extraordinarily complex event we call the "Galileo affair," the value of her book would be apparent. It is historically well informed and, in the main, interpretively sensitive in a context where such qualities have often in the past been in short supply.

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EDWARD G. RUESTOW. *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic: The Shaping of Discovery*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 348. \$59.95.

MARIAN FOURNIER. *The Fabric of Life: Microscopy in the Seventeenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. 267. \$47.50.

The introduction of the microscope in the mid-seventeenth century is increasingly recognized as a signal event in the rise of modern experimental science. Recent research has focused on the emergence of a descriptive microanatomy and its relationship to conceptions of the living being, the prehistory of the germ theory of disease, and detachments and connections between theology and natural history, topics that deserve to be considered along with episodes in the development of the classical sciences (theory of the heavens, optics, statics, dynamics) of the period. At the same time, the early history of the microscope has afforded an opportunity to examine questions of patronage, motivation, social relations, and the evolution of canons of practice and standards of proof and demonstration. Investigators have been intrigued by the curious shape of the interest curve in microscopy. After a period in the 1660s and 1670s, in which natural philosophers could scarcely contain their enthusiasm

for the new instrument, publication tapered off, and skeptical rethinking replaced excited praise. The microscope was not considered an indispensable instrument for teaching and diagnosis in medical schools until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, functioning in the interim mainly as a diverting toy. These books by Marian Fournier and Edward Ruestow are welcome contributions to the history of microscopy; both volumes shed light on its first contributions to positive science and on the limiting context of the microscope's early usage.

Ruestow's book is deeply researched and gracefully written. Its modest title suggests that it is a narrowly circumscribed study, but it is not. It is shaped by Ruestow's interest in two problems: the question of scientific motivation in a period antedating the introduction of institutional incentives, and the relationship between ideas and images. His central chapters describe the insect studies of Jan Swammerdam and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's investigations into generation against a conceptual background of mechanism and corpuscularianism. Ruestow's approach to the problem of post-seventeenth century decline is complex and draws on a wealth of literature; he appeals to the fashion for realism in Dutch art and the appeal of superficial appearances, to the prestige of vascular injection as the preeminent technique applied to the study of anatomy in Dutch medical schools, and to the inability, for social and for psychological reasons, of Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek to find a place for themselves in an academic setting and thus pass on their accumulated knowledge. At the same time, Ruestow argues, the uneducated Leeuwenhoek's lack of social status and his widely commented upon *gaucherie* drove him to excel at microscopical observation and to take a singular pride in his work. Ruestow takes us to the heart of Swammerdam's religious brooding and his obsessions, including his fascination with the miraculous, viviparous snail, and explicates his idiosyncratic notion of divinely instituted order. Another chapter discusses the place of the microscope in its relatively silent period in eighteenth-century France and its role in debates over the building blocks of life, variously supposed, on the basis of highly ambiguous optical evidence, to be fibers, vessels, globules, animalcules, or a transparent colliquament.

Philosophers of science used to appeal to the "theory-ladenness of observation," the notion that philosophical ideas determined perceptions. In its most sensational form, the thesis was that preconceptions could cause optical illusions; in its weaker form, that preconceptions influenced the direction of research and the descriptions and representations of experience which emerged. For the most part, Ruestow observes these important distinctions in his discussion of Leeuwenhoek's early commitment to a corpuscular theory of matter and to the role of the spermatozoa in generation, though occasionally the weaker thesis is presented as the stronger. The examples discussed appear to demonstrate not so much the determination

of perception by ideation but a feature of interest to contemporary cognitive scientists: belief persistence in the face of contrary evidence. This phenomenon was striking in the heyday of the theory of preformation, when the failure to see even with the best microscopes of the time anything resembling a complete organism in the early days after fertilization was taken to demonstrate the subtlety of nature rather than the falsity of the theory. Micrographical illustrations, despite a rhetoric emphasizing fidelity to nature, were frequently attempts to depict the microscopist's conception of a "proper" specimen. Thus, for years Leeuwenhoek had blood corpuscles drawn as round because of the excellence and suitability of that shape, only modifying them into their true shape—a kind of disk with an indented center—toward the end of his life. Fournier in turn describes how Govard Bidloo, in his anatomical atlas of 1685, based his illustrations on Marcello Malpighi's verbal descriptions and included nonexistent eyes, enlarged to show nonexistent detail, in his illustration of the liver fluke. Charges of uncertainty and uselessness plagued early microscopy.

Fournier, a longtime associate of the Museum Boerhaave, describes the interests, efforts, and accomplishments of the five classical microscopists. In addition to Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek, these were Malpighi at Bologna and Robert Hooke and Nehemiah Grew in England. Fournier provides a wealth of detail on anatomical researches into the structure of plants and animals, including that ever-popular subject, the insect eye. Both authors are properly skeptical of the once-prevalent view that microscopy did not catch on as a medical instrument because seventeenth-century microscopes were of poor optical quality. And Fournier, too, offers an explanation for the decline of microscopical research in the eighteenth century, a decline she documents with the help of several appendixes devoted to lists of microscopical publications between 1625 and 1750. Although microanatomy was experienced by its first practitioners as a welcome alternative to vivisection, the life sciences, she argues, moved from a search for ultimate structure toward a macroscopic hydraulic physiology (consistent with Ruestow's observation that an anatomy based on vascular injection won out over microanatomy in the Netherlands), realized in the quantitative and "Newtonian" approach in Britain of Archibald Pitcairne (and, one might add, Stephen Hales). Fournier emphasizes the tension between the two dominant ideas of mid-seventeenth century natural philosophy: first, the notion that the microscope would lay the inner workings of living creatures and the processes of growth and reproduction open to direct inspection; second, the idea that chemical and vital processes and sensory qualities were produced by tiny machines, running on "springs and wheels."

Both authors tend to think of microscopy as having experienced obstacles to its development after the 1690s. This reification is somewhat problematic. Agents can experience frustrations and obstacles, and Ruestow is excellent on those reported by and directly

attributable to his primary subjects. But the notion that an entire program of research can experience obstacles above and beyond those experienced by its individual members introduces the danger of appealing to an imaginary norm: the way the microscope ought to have been deployed in a briskly moving eighteenth-century science. What can be described with confidence is the habilitation or rehabilitation of the microscope in the nineteenth century, wholly positive and concrete: how individuals were recruited to microscopy despite the skepticism surrounding its use, and, subsequently, how institutions that had ignored it came to further its development and deployment. But this is a minor criticism. Both books are carefully documented and attractively illustrated, and the information they provide will do much to broaden and refine the currently contested notion of the Scientific Revolution. Both historians indeed treat their protagonists with a respect formerly reserved for the likes of Galileo and Newton and rarely encountered in modern historiography on the seventeenth century. The microscopists' single-minded absorption in their work—in the case of Leeuwenhoek and Malpighi, over a long interval—has few parallels in the classical or mathematical sciences of the period and resembles rather the experience of the artisan, working with hand and eye but with an astonishing range of materials: teeth and bones, parasitic worms, glands, tissues, and infusions of pepper water and melted snow, the epithelium of the mussel, the capillary vessels of plants, yeasts, molds, and animalcules. Just now, when scientific research is widely perceived as distant from real experience and as corrupted by venal motives, it is poignant to remember the purity of its beginnings and the irresistible fascination of being able to see into and intervene in the secret workings of nature.

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LINDA E. MERIANS, editor. *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1996. Pp. 269. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

This collection of fifteen richly detailed, intensively researched essays by historians and literary critics covers a wide range of topics that move outward from analysis of venereal disease to discussions of prostitution, medical quackery, wetnursing systems, hospitals, trials for adultery, William Hogarth's engravings, English satire, and French and English novels. It is the first major cultural history of venereal disease since Claude Quétel's *History of Syphilis* (1990) and differs from the latter, and from the even more recent book by Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French (*The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* [1997]) in its interdisciplinary emphasis and focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The volume is divided into two parts: the first part examines the historical and medical contexts of vene-

real disease, while the second part studies representations of venereal disease. Initially such a distinction seems appropriate, but, admirably, the boundaries begin to blur as historians like Roy Porter and Marie McAllister examine the rhetorical strategies involved in the presentation of quack remedies, and literary critics like Diane Fourny cite important early modern works on medicine or recent work in the social history of medicine in their efforts to comprehend the broader cultural milieu.

There is much material for reflection and further research, and there is little doubt that editor Linda E. Merians has achieved her goal of demonstrating the need for a scholarly conversation about venereal disease in the eighteenth century. A bit disappointing, however, is the fact that so few authors actually compare the situations in France and England or make reference to other essays in the volume.

Thus, we have a wonderful essay by Kathryn Norberg on the trend in eighteenth-century France to identify venereal disease with streetwalkers and the intense Restoration campaigns for the regulation of prostitution. Later in the volume, there is a superb analysis by Betty Rizzo of eighteenth-century English decorums for dealing with references to venereal disease. Rizzo notes that the most prevalent decorums could be found in advertisements for patent remedies, public gossip, and law reports. Each of these tended to minimize the seriousness of venereal disease, decoying patients into a false reliance and security and leaving the plight of infected wives and children in nearly total silence. Rizzo sees this silence as an indictment of the social establishment and an enormous misuse of male prerogative. Nothing is said, however, about prostitution in England or about decorums of reference to venereal disease in France. Can one necessarily infer that the dominant ideology in both France and England distorted society's perception of the true victims and victimizers when it came to venereal disease?

At points, contributors use the same evidence to come to radically different conclusions. Both Rose Zimbardo and Leon Guilhamet note the Restoration's frequent satirical references to venereal disease and show how the satirical discourse of venereal disease goes underground in the eighteenth century. Zimbardo argues that, in the Restoration, venereal disease was seen as a sign of our common human frailty and hence eminently discussable, whereas in the eighteenth century it was empirical evidence of the personal immorality and degeneracy of the marginalized "other." In contrast, Guilhamet attributes the reticence of the eighteenth century to a variety of factors including a reformation of manners; a decline in antifeminism; the reluctance of rakes to belabor the issue of venereal disease, since they, too, suffered from it; the advance of medicine and an increase in cures; and, finally, a changing and more humanitarian understanding of illness that ceased to view the sufferer as a sinner punished by God. These generalizations seem plausible enough. They are at odds not only with



Zimbardo's conclusions, however, but with a number of the other essays including that of April London, which documents strong antifeminism throughout the eighteenth century, even among women, and Merians's study of the Lock Asylum, which questions the ability of most remedies to cure venereal disease. In contrast to Philip Wilson's assertion that evidence abounds to prove that syphilis was curable, Merians points out that "cure" might mean simply that someone had completed the course of treatment rather than that she was free of disease.

Many early modern critics used venereal disease to symbolize corruption, but they identified quite varied sources of corruption. For Whigs in seventeenth-century England and revolutionaries in eighteenth-century France, the monarchy was infected and infecting the nation. For Hogarth, an idle and profligate aristocracy exploited and corrupted poor and innocent people. For Charles Walker, corruption was caused by the rottenness of the new monied order. According to Nicolas Edmé Rétif de la Bretonne, the urbane and cultured world of Parisian society had seduced the rural masses to the urban center of wealth for the few and poverty for the many. For Jonathan Swift, corruption was the result of the mixing of classes brought on by improvident marriages. Here such contradictions do not cause perplexity but rather admiration at the richness of the metaphor of venereal disease in the early modern period.

Most of the essays on France do not break new conceptual ground, as some authors rely implicitly on the theories of Michel Foucault and explicitly on those of Sander Gilman to assess the larger significance of their data. The collection does, however, bring together a wealth of material and interpretive frameworks and demonstrates a happy interplay between the methods and insights of historians and literary critics.

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ANNE GOLDFAR. *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 395. \$35.00.

The phrase "Republic of Letters," referring to the international world of scholars, has a rather grand and noble sound to it. Scholars of the Renaissance and early modern Europe used the term to refer to their network of scholarship. In this interesting and important book, Anne Goldgar focuses on the "conduct and community" of scholars in the period 1680–1750. This is the work of "an academic writing about academia" (p. xi). Although Goldgar does not belabor us with reading the past into the present, or vice versa, no academic reader of today will fail to make comparisons between scholars now and scholars of two to three centuries ago. This implied comparison is a great part of the fascination of the book.

Goldgar combines intellectual and social history to

tell the story of the community of scholars and to analyze their motives and social relationships. What scholars thought and published may well be important for historians, but Goldgar does not limit herself to summarizing the flow of ideas; her scholars must be put into their social context. Concepts like politeness, civility, and "form" tie the book together; in fact, they have a larger role than intellectual arguments. "The concentration in all fields of scholarship on form rather than content, exchange rather than the thing exchanged, moderation rather than vituperation" suggest that civility was of fundamental importance to the Republic of Letters (p. 7).

Although the time covered by this book corresponds with the "Age of Reason," the giants of the age (Isaac Newton, John Locke, Voltaire) do not dominate. Rather, the focus is on the rank and file—now rather faded—scholars, with an emphasis on refugee Huguenot intellectuals (Jean Aymon, Jean Barbeyrac, Jacques Bernard, Charles-Etienne Jordan, and Maturin Veyssière La Croze, to mention a few), whose activities in England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Brandenburg-Prussia Goldgar follows. Although the use of the Huguenots provides a handy "case study" of a network of scholars, it is only representative of a larger scholarly group. It would be interesting, for example, to bring in other scholarly travelers, such as English and Scottish dissenters, who also much frequented the Netherlands and other Protestant areas.

In five chapters, Goldgar describes the scholarly network of Western Europe in action. She highlights ties and mutual obligations (chapter one); writing for and getting published in scholarly journals (chapter two); becoming an *homme illustre* and building reputation (chapter three); balancing scholarly impartiality and religious and political convictions, which required a "complicated juggling act" (chapter four); and learning scholarly manners, including the art of "talking about nothing" (chapter five). Supposedly, these scholars were pursuing truth and knowledge by travel, visiting libraries, discussing important concepts, publishing books and articles, reviewing other people's books, and meeting scholars of renown for the sake of the larger mission of scholarship. Goldgar, however, shows that the underlying search for personal advancement and status was everpresent among early modern scholars.

The final chapter deals with concepts of politeness, *honnêteté*, and impoliteness. The scholars, usually lacking aristocratic blood, argued that they acquired *honnêteté* through moral education; but aristocrats put them down by declaring that *honnêteté* was inborn and exhibited itself in a grand style. The contrast between the two concepts (values versus polite style) may not be as sharp as presented, as the scholars in their own way also put a great deal of energy into cultivating style and form.

Writers of scholarly book reviews will be interested in Goldgar's discussion of book reviewing in the early



Republic of Letters; a good review was taken as a sign of good will and friendship, but a bad review might be a sign of malice. For this book, there is no need to equivocate. It is a fine work of scholarship.

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GERD-RAINER HORN. *European Socialists Respond to Fascism: Ideology, Activism and Contingency in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 211. \$45.00.

Reviewing a volume of this sort, nearly a decade after 1989, is at once intriguing and a little disturbing. It deals with a once pressing question: might something have been done, especially by the working-class left, to prevent the victory of fascism and its various allies and admirers? Were political opportunities missed in the early 1930s, throughout Europe, that might have unified the Left and ultimately prevented the horrors of Nazi rule? Gerd-Rainer Horn limits himself rather strictly to these old political questions; gender, for example, plays no role in his analysis, and he focuses on the astonishing factionalism of the left with a doggedness that few readers will have the patience to follow. Horn alludes to his own 1970s activism, his unfulfilled hopes of discovering lessons from the 1930s, and his continuing dreams of a future that is "qualitatively" different. The book is in a number of ways rather personal, even confessional. Maintaining the first person throughout, Horn tells us about various authorial struggles (for example, how he could best organize the material), and he is ever careful to remind us what he has told us in a previous chapter, then to allude to what he will tell us in a future chapter, and to share with us what he personally thinks and feels.

Horn brings many talents to his project, among them an unusual command of languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish), and he has explored an impressive range of archives. It is a pity, then, that these talents are not joined by stylistic polish or organizational dexterity. The book's origins in a 1992 dissertation show, at times painfully, in the author's apparent inability to weed out inconsequential detail, the straining over minor points, and the clumsy repetitions (how many times do we need to be told that Hendrik De Man was forging new paths?). There are a number of annoying stylistic tics (the word "increasingly" appears often enough to feel like Chinese water torture) as well as social-scientese (derigidification, agglomeration). Some sentences are nearly incomprehensible: "The signal contribution of the politics of popular fronts was its mindful problematization of alliance strategies beyond the realm of the working class alone" (p. 113). The final chapter, in which theoretical issues of structure, agency, and contingency are searchingly and knowledgeably explored, is in some regards the most interesting, yet its relationship to the rest of the work is woodenly and unsatisfactorily presented. It would

have been better placed at the beginning and integrated into the rest of the text.

Throughout, Horn makes well-informed and persuasive if not particularly surprising observations about various scholarly points. Comintern decisions were interactive rather than merely being dictated from Moscow to other Communist parties. Historians of anarchism, such as James Joll or Eric Hobsbawm, have overemphasized its rural foundations and failed to appreciate some of the reasons that it was so attractive to idealistic intellectuals in Spain. Particularly interesting are Horn's in-depth accounts of the way the Popular Front in Spain functioned at the local level, providing insights into the serious underrepresentation of the Left in the national government. His major conclusions are less easily summarized, in part because he presents them so lumberingly, but they have to do with the extent to which structural factors determined the ineffectiveness and disunity of the Left. He argues that popular sentiment and initiatives by leftist leaders interacted in often inscrutable ways, but the decisions finally made were by no means always inexorably determined. In short, opportunities were missed.

One of several oddities in this work, given its emphasis on the role that initiative by working-class leaders played or might have played, is how little individual actors come to life. De Man is the only one given extended treatment; nearly all others remain little more than names listed. More attention to personality would certainly have lengthened this book, but its 200 pages are not excessive, and with other stylistic and organizational economies, more attention to the role of individual actors would not necessarily add much to the length but might make it more readable and in other regards more satisfactory.

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MICHAEL BUSH. *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 445. \$69.95.

The authoritative narrative of the rebellions of late 1536 and early 1537 (which are collectively but incorrectly called the Pilgrimage of Grace) is, and may always remain, the two volume account by M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538* (1915), drawn almost entirely from the texts published in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, edited by J. S. Brewer, James Gardner, and R. H. Brodie (1862-1910). Some years ago, I began work on a new narrative, but during its extended gestation, Michael Bush has published an account of one period within the larger movement: the rising in Yorkshire and the northwest of England in October 1536. Having stated my own interest in the Pilgrimage, I cannot say that Bush's study deserves a wholehearted welcome. It has

some redeeming features. Bush has gone back to the original manuscripts in the Public Record Office and has turned up some new points of detail. One is of considerable interest: that Robert Aske served as secretary to the sixth earl of Northumberland in the later 1520s. But for a book that only really deals with the events of three weeks, it is at once massively overlong and extremely limited. There is only a cursory historiographical introduction and little on the political, religious, or regional context of the revolt. The Lincolnshire revolt is barely discussed, even though Bush admits its crucial influence on the rising in the East Riding of Yorkshire. There is no account of Thomas Lord Darcy's defense (if so it was) of Pontefract. The events leading to the disbandment of the movement are treated as a mere epilogue. Bush shows no psychological interest in the motivation of individuals. There is no sustained account of either Aske or Darcy. Nor is Bush interested in popular religion as a motivating force.

Omissions apart, the problem with the book lies substantially in its structure. Bush divides the movement into eight "hosts" and discusses each one separately, outlining their grievances, aims, and organization. This approach raises three problems. First, it wrecks any narrative. Second, it makes the book massively repetitive both within and between chapters. Third, as Bush wishes to see each of these movements as having had distinctive ambitions, he is driven to read fragile materials much too hard. So his identification of Sir Thomas Percy's host as having an agrarian grievance is based on a question put to Sir Thomas not about the movement with which he was connected in October, but about the pilgrimage as a whole. The book contains a range of contentious points. Bush appears to be uncertain whether to accept the claims that Aske wrote to Beverley demanding that the town should rise (p. 28), but he proceeds to invent a whole series of to-ing and fro-ing for which there is no evidence (p. 78). He believes that as the pilgrims assembled behind Doncaster, there was a struggle between a peace and a war party within the gentry leadership. But there is no evidence for this either, certainly not in the references Bush provides.

The overall Bush thesis is that the Yorkshire movement should be seen as a popular rising. This is to be welcomed, but Bush is actually much closer to the conspiracy thesis advanced by his old teacher, Sir Geoffrey Elton, than appears at first sight. His thesis is that, in the early days of October, as the rebellion spread, the gentry took a positive decision not to resist the movement. "There is a marked contrast between the northern uprisings of 1535 [what "uprising of 1535"—I shall spend years striking that one out of undergraduate essays] and 1537, both of which the gentlemen put down, and those of 1536, to which the same gentlemen responded by either flight or submission." In October 1536, they "had no incentive to suppress risings whose grievances they shared . . . The strategy of many gentlemen was to allow popular

revolts to become so impressive that they might persuade the government to change its policies" (p. 408). How Bush reconciles this statement with his belief that there was a plan to connect up with the Lincolnshire revolt somewhere in the Midlands is none too clear (p. 16). But Bush also shows (and appears to accept) how many gentlemen attempted to flee. Others were rounded up by bands of commons and forcibly sworn. The notion that some encouraged their capture by a "conspiracy of inaction" (p. 133), after which they seized control of the movement to press petitions about the points they had always held, is no more persuasive than the conspiracy thesis.

For all its size and painstaking accumulation of detail, this is not a very penetrating book. Worse, it makes dull an exciting and still contentious few weeks of Tudor history.

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ANDREW SWATLAND. *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 288. \$59.95.

Interest in Restoration England as a subject of scholarly study has grown appreciably in the last ten to fifteen years. As Tim Harris suggested in his recent survey of Restoration historiography (*Albion* 29: 2 [1997]: 187–222), the field itself is finally threatening to achieve something like parity with the first half of the seventeenth century in terms of attracting dynamic and talented scholars and engendering useful and stimulating debate. Andrew Swatland's book is very much a product of those trends. Arguing persuasively that the upper house has been unjustly neglected in political studies of the period, Swatland has undertaken a comprehensive study that both describes the workings of the house as an institution and places its activities in appropriate political context.

The book is very sensibly organized. Part one assesses the general condition of the peerage at the close of the Interregnum and then describes the actual process of restoring the house to its former status in the heady and uncertain days leading up to the Convention Parliament. Parts two and three provide a general overview of the institution itself. There are chapters on the composition of the house (including detailed information about attendance patterns and members' privileges) chapters that examine the Lords' legislative and judicial responsibilities, and two chapters that explore their ongoing relationship, respectively, with the king and the House of Commons. These chapters are largely descriptive rather than analytical, but they provide a real sense of the day-to-day operations of the upper house and they contain a wealth of revealing information about specific legislation. The description itself also seems carefully balanced. Swatland duly acknowledges the Lords' frequent support for (or subservience to) crown political

directives and the role they consequently played as a spoiler in the king's legislative battles with the Commons. Charles II's decision regularly to attend Lords' debates in person is appropriately (and repeatedly) emphasized. But Swatland also pays tribute to the complexity and volatility of political relationships and to the power of specific issues to transform alliances. He demonstrates quite clearly that the upper house was, on occasion, quite capable of defying the crown's wishes and going its own way, albeit most often in defense of its own privileges. He demonstrates, in fact, how closely the upper chamber needed to be monitored and, indeed, managed.

Parts four and five of the book are in some ways the most interesting. The first deals with the all-important matter of religion. The three chapters in this section examine the religious composition of the upper house, the role played by the Lords in the resettlement of the church in the 1660s, and their subsequent response to the problems of religious nonconformity posed both by Presbyterians and by Catholics. There is nothing particularly surprising about the results. The upper chamber emerges here as one would expect: less virulent in its antipathies toward nonconformists and more amenable than the House of Commons to crown-sponsored efforts to provide some measure of relief. All the same, it is good to have their proceedings so clearly delineated.

If there is controversy to be found here, it will be generated by the final section of the book, which deals with the ever-contentious issue of political parties. Contrary to recent arguments made by Jonathan Scott and Mark Knights, among others, Swatland insists that clearly identifiable political parties emerged in the Lords as early as 1674. He argues that court and country affiliations of the early 1670s (themselves largely a product of civil war allegiances) became the basis for later responses to the Exclusion Crisis and therefore the seed for the emergence of Whigs and Tories. His evidence of "party" is based on the existence of leadership, party organization (in and out of Parliament), clearly articulated policies, and consistent voting patterns. Most importantly, it is based on what he sees as the demonstrable continuity of response of specific personnel in the House of Lords from the early 1670s through 1681. The argument seems to me to work more effectively for the emergent Whigs than for the Tories. Since they were largely reactive or defensive as a group, members of the Court-Tory "party," as described here, appear less coherent, less self-consciously aware of their own aims and ambitions, less clearly organized for battle than they perhaps should have been, had they actually seen themselves as a genuine political party. All the same, Swatland marshals an impressive array of evidence to support his thesis, and his argument will undoubtedly generate lively debate.

The thematic (rather than chronological) organization of the book leads very occasionally to confusing juxtapositions and, more often, to considerable repetition;

the Irish Cattle Bill, for example, is discussed more or less fully in at least a half-dozen places. But, on the whole, this is a very impressive book. It is lucidly written and persuasively argued and demonstrates a convincing command of the scholarly resources. The Restoration House of Lords has needed a careful and intelligent assessment of this kind, and historians in the field owe a debt of gratitude to Swatland for providing it.

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ALLAN I. MACINNES. *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788*. East Linton, U.K.: Tuckwell. 1996. Pp. xv, 288. £16.99.

Much has been written about Highland clans in the past, a high proportion of it romantic rubbish. Highland society has attracted less serious attention than it merits, partly, one suspects, because relatively few historians, even Scottish ones, have had sufficient understanding of Gaelic culture, language, and sources. In recent years, however, significant new research has been done on the socioeconomic structures, as well as the political dimensions, of clanship. Allan I. Macinnes's book is a welcome addition to this literature, summarizing ideas that he has explored in a range of previous articles and developing them in a broader context. The book is based on evidence culled from a large quantity of original source material ranging from estate papers to vernacular Gaelic poetry.

An introductory chapter explores the traditional basis of clanship. Clans are clearly defined as political, social, and cultural entities that were the products of interaction among feudalism, kinship, and local association. In particular, the author emphasizes how clanship operated at the lower as well as the upper levels of society. The chapter is prefaced by a useful glossary of Gaelic terms, but the non-specialist may experience more problems with some of the Scots legal terminology, which is not always explained as clearly.

Macinnes enjoys challenging academic orthodoxy in provocative ways, although this sometimes leads him to make sweeping assertions without sufficient supporting evidence. He suggests, for example, that the Highlands did not experience any significant rise in population during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If so, surely this must have been the only part of Britain that failed to undergo population growth during the period. Macinnes's claim also conflicts with a wide range of evidence for the expansion of settlement, the reduction in average holding sizes, and the intensification of agriculture that, although indirect, strongly hints at substantial population growth. Instead, the author argues for a hitherto unrecognized increase in agricultural output in the early seventeenth century resulting from the redeployment to peaceful activities of the *bunnachan*, or "redshanks," former mercenaries who had previously enjoyed a drone-like

existence, maintained by West Highland farmers as a source of protection between campaigns in Ulster. The idea that, as a result of the Statutes of Iona, their swords beaten into ploughshares, they were used to reclaim lands laid waste by earlier feuds, thus significantly expanding grain production in the region, is fascinating, but it needs to be more clearly substantiated. So, too, does the idea that the absorption of the *bunnachan* precipitated a major shift in settlement patterns and field systems with the adoption of open field cultivation and running throughout the West Highlands. The evidence for the replacement of a system of dispersed settlement with small enclosures by open field agriculture comes from only a few localities and has yet to be dated with precision: again more detailed discussion is needed.

It is a pity that more space could not have been devoted to a discussion of how clanship changed during the sixteenth century as there is an implication that clanship only began to be influenced by external pressures after 1603. Nevertheless, the book stresses the continuity of clanship into the eighteenth century, a system which was being altered by the impact of internal and external pressures but was not in terminal decline. A recurring theme is that the association of clanship with militarism and violence should not be accepted uncritically. Government sources and bardic eulogies alike present a slanted view in this respect, and the military ethos of clanship has been overstressed. Throughout the Restoration period, central government exaggerated the amount of violence and lawlessness in the Highlands as a pretext for intervention, but interclan violence had virtually died out in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The later chapters, covering the Jacobite era, follow paths that are relatively well trodden: Macinnes's expertise lies particularly in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the author provides many perceptive comments, reminding us that the traditional Whig stereotypes are still active in the recent literature on the Highlands. He also makes the point that it is equally unrealistic to believe that most of the clansmen who came out in support of the Jacobites in 1745 or during earlier risings had been forced out and had no clear understanding of the cause for which they were risking their lives. Vernacular Gaelic poetry formed a potent source of political and social comment that kept ordinary Highlanders informed. The book's conclusion—that clanship was undermined by internal forces as much as by external ones—may not be new, but many of the pathways by which the author arrives at it certainly are.

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BRUCE G. CARRUTHERS. *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 303. \$45.00.

Debt relations create mutual dependencies because the creditor has an interest in the financial well-being of the debtor. When the debtor is a government, that long-term interest is partly political. Building on this central observation, Bruce G. Carruthers analyzes the institutional structure of the London financial market in the late seventeenth century and the behavior of individuals trading within it, demonstrating that it was not a purely economic sphere. Instead, "government borrowing frequently involved political relations and was 'symptomatic' of the polity" (p. 194). More than this, "Politics . . . helped provide the social material out of which the market was fashioned" (p. 195). The rise of the London stock market was closely related to the growth of public borrowing and was enabled by legal changes that effectively created a new kind of property. One of the central arguments of the book, therefore, concerns the necessity of considering markets to be "quintessentially social institutions" (p. 207). The relationship between the state and the market was reciprocal. The military success of the Hanoverian state rested on mobilizing capital through this market: weak in conventional terms (lacking a bureaucracy or standing army), the state was nonetheless effective in mobilizing for war. The second major theme of the book, therefore, is the reciprocal relationship between the development of the state and the market.

The core of the book is an analysis of patterns of investment in English public debt in 1672 and 1712. The Stop of the Exchequer generated documents that reveal the identity of many government creditors. Carruthers confirms and supplements Henry Roseveare's earlier work: a small group of Goldsmith Bankers dominated lending, drawing funds primarily from the prosperous, but not necessarily landed, middling sort of London and the Southeast. More original is his analysis of the behavior of those trading East India Company and Bank of England stock in 1712. This reveals a statistically unlikely propensity of those trading East India Company stock to trade with people of the same party (a phenomenon Carruthers terms "political endogamy"). This cannot really be explained by kinship or religious connections, or as a way of limiting risk by trading with trusted partners. Instead, it seems to have been a way of ensuring that control of the company, which was closely contested, did not fall into the hands of a rival political group. Political endogamy was not a feature of trade in Bank of England stock, by contrast, because the bank was so solidly Whig. This is a difficult case to make, given the nature of the sources, and Carruthers does it skillfully and (to my mind) convincingly.

Carruthers throws new light on the development of the stock market by emphasizing the institutional explanations for that development. In particular, the recognition in common law of the assignability of debt greatly facilitated the development of capital markets. Although the chronology of this development is unclear, the larger point is important: markets rest on



secure property rights and the enforceability of contracts, and as such they are social, political, and legal phenomena. Much of the rest of the book represents a synthesis of familiar material. Subsequent chapters argue that between 1672 and 1712, Parliament increased in importance, political parties were born, and patterns of public borrowing changed radically during the 1690s. The treatment here is not just familiar but also dated. Carruther's failure to take account of revisionism, or of the importance of earlier periods to the development of English finances, is not particularly damaging to his overall argument, but these particular issues are treated more effectively elsewhere. Similarly, the English pattern of fiscal-military mobilization compared to those of the United Provinces, Spain, Sweden, and France. Again, the material and conclusions will not surprise specialists. Chapter six demonstrates that the great joint-stock companies and the Bank of England had, and were understood to have, distinctive party identities.

These synthetic sections are important to the overall argument, however. The trading behavior of individuals was affected by the institutional structure of the market and the political meanings attached to those institutions. Similarly, the development of the later Stuart state was affected by the institutional structure of the market, which government fostered and which, in turn, fostered the development of the state. Stock markets are the most purely economic markets, and the London stock market was (and is) one of the most important in the world. Its development was closely related to the emergence of Britain as a world power and, subsequently, as an industrial power. By demonstrating that in this crucial period, in this crucial market, politics affected "economic" behavior, Carruthers poses important questions for sociologists and economists. There is plenty here for historians, too. His reflections on the social meaning of debt relations and of economic exchange, for example, have wider implications for our understanding of the early modern economy.

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PETER D. G. THOMAS. *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi. 280. \$45.00.

This sober, well-written account of John Wilkes (1725–1797) mutes the more sensational aspects of his stunning career and places the emphasis squarely on his undoubted political accomplishments. Peter D. G. Thomas understands Wilkes preeminently as a political journalist, but a journalist with a difference, for Wilkes's courageous political activism kept the king and his ministers off balance for nearly two decades. Wilkes so distracted the government of George III that affairs in America were neglected, a fact, Thomas hints, that may have contributed indirectly to the ultimate loss of the colonies.

The book provides us with a fresh, detailed analysis of a largely familiar story. The *North Briton* case raised the issue of what a government could legitimately call seditious libel, and by pressing the courts to constrict the definition of libel, Wilkes helped secure the freedom of vigorous, public critique of government. At no small cost to himself, Wilkes then successfully challenged the government's power to threaten an individual's liberty through the use of general, unnamed warrants for search and seizure. The Middlesex Election Affair raised the question of the abuse of executive power in yet another form: namely, the undue influence of the government in the House of Commons and the right of electors freely to choose their own representatives. Finally, Wilkes effectively forced the administration of Lord North to allow the public reporting of parliamentary debates, thereby securing yet another means by which people could enjoy representative government free from the fear of ministerial influence. In short, Wilkes changed the course of eighteenth-century English politics and, in a sense, placed all modern democracies in his debt. Thomas recounts these major accomplishments in fascinating detail, providing the reader with an insider's perspective on the motives and tactics of both government and opposition.

Thomas excels at explaining Wilkes's success, and herein lies perhaps the greatest value of the biography, for the unusual personality of the man and the high causes he championed were inextricably interwoven. The author locates Wilkes's success in a unique combination of sheer audacity, tactical skill, powerful rhetoric, and old-fashioned hard work. Wilkes's fearlessness in the face of adversity was undoubtedly connected to his opportunistic, even self-aggrandizing impulses, but on more than one occasion he demonstrated genuine courage and a willingness to suffer for his convictions. This is nowhere more evident than in the case of the Gordon Riots, when Wilkes, serving as a city magistrate and acting out of genuine sympathy for Roman Catholics, attempted to quell the rioters. Wilkes's clever insights as a political strategist amounted to almost a sixth sense. He simply out-thought and out-maneuvered the government, not once but repeatedly, and this aspect of his career is wonderfully illustrated by Thomas's account of the way in which Wilkes used the city government of London against the administration in the Printers Case. If Wilkes had been working on the side of government, he would have been truly dangerous. Thomas limns a convincing portrait of Wilkes as a gifted parliamentary speaker. In a House of Commons that knew the rhetorical skills of Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, Wilkes clearly held his own, and we are offered a sufficient sample of his wit and rhetorical power to be convinced by Thomas's estimate. Despite Wilkes's considerable literary attainments, his major speeches were always carefully prepared beforehand, and this fact points to a fourth and final reason for his success. Wilkes thrived on hard work, and his public labors



outside of Parliament, first as sheriff and then as mayor of London, fortified by a genuine interest in the workings of the English judicial system, show him to be a serious and effective public servant.

Wilkes clearly was an opportunist, but he was far more than an opportunist and cannot be blamed for exploiting the various institutions and media that gave him such a prominent platform. While this book illumines the radical tactics of Wilkes, it underscores the traditional aspects of his principles. He was no republican or egalitarian; despite all of his antipathy for the abuse of power, he defended the monarchy, applauded the balanced constitution, and ultimately bet his life on the justice of the English courts of law. As a political biographer, Thomas might have done more with Wilkes's library; we are left with no analysis of his reading habits and few clues concerning the sources of his thought. Further investigation of the books that Wilkes read might shed light on some of the unresolved tensions in this remarkably complex person.

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SCOTT HUGHES MYERLY. *British Military Spectacle: From The Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 293. \$35.00.

It is widely accepted that the establishment of national standing armies in Europe was a mark of modernity that necessitated, in turn, the creation of a modern state bureaucracy to collect the taxes required to maintain such an army. Drawing on largely sociological concepts, Scott Hughes Myerly takes this premise somewhat farther in perceiving the presentation and manipulation of military and martial images and values as crucial—"primordial" is his term (p. 171)—to the shaping of modern societies as a whole. Thus, while the manipulation of the military image "finds its purest form in fascism" (p. 172), Myerly sees all political and economic elites utilizing techniques of power and management derived from the military model. This elaborate theory, however, is constructed on a relatively narrow study of British military "spectacle" between 1800 and 1856.

Myerly has certainly dug deeply in contemporary memoirs and primary sources for all manner of observations on the advantages and disadvantages of British uniforms in what he rightly regards as the period in which the visual image was at both its gaudiest and its most impractical, not least in terms of the health of those required to wear such costumes. His argument in this context is also beautifully complemented by over thirty illustrations, sixteen of which are in full color, including a representation of the kind of large Household Cavalry bearskin cap that caused the Duke of Wellington to be blown off his horse at a review in 1829. Much of what Myerly says about the use of uniform for recruiting the army and maintaining its

morale and discipline is rather obvious, although he does have interesting points to make on the adoption of military organization and demeanor by rioting crowds. Similarly, he usefully draws attention to the influence of military imagery in British theatrical performances and, ultimately, circuses such as the equestrian productions of Philip Astley's Amphitheatre. In so doing, Myerly makes us aware of the wider importance of the study of uniform, which has been generally regarded as of only antiquarian interest.

There are some errors. It was simply not the case, for example, that "with a few exceptions, all officers purchased both their commissions and their promotions" (p. 2); purchase never applied to the artillery or engineers, and it was perfectly possible to advance without money in infantry and cavalry, albeit slowly. Lieutenant Colonel Brereton did not remove the 14th Light Dragoons from Bristol in 1831 out of sympathy for the rioters (p. 260, n. 32) but because he considered that his men were too tired to continue on duty and would be needlessly sacrificed by remaining. Moreover, by the first half of the nineteenth century, not even radicals seriously believed that the British army posed a major threat to the constitution (p. 10).

The principal problem with the thesis that Myerly advances, however, is that the real impact of the military on British society surely came in the second half of the nineteenth century and not the first. Inevitably, over twenty years of near continuous conflict against revolutionary and Napoleonic France did confront the British public with a constant military presence. But this was not the case after 1815, with rapid demobilization and only a small proportion of the army kept at home stations, amounting, for example, to just nineteen battalions in 1841. Large numbers of regular troops were simply not seen in Britain between 1815 and the organization of the camp of exercise at Chobham in 1853. Myerly himself acknowledges the army's unpopularity as a result of its involvement in aid to the civil power, and it might also be noted that the enduring hostility to the militia ballot led to its suspension in 1831. Myerly is undoubtedly correct in seeing a new concern for an orderly society emerging, one manifestation of which was the growing acceptance of more efficient policing, as seen in the permissive provisions of the Rural Constabulary Act in 1839 and the mandatory provisions of the County and Borough Police Act in 1856. Yet, the army only became truly respectable to the Victorians in the 1850s. It might be argued that the process began with the effect produced by the gallantry displayed at the loss of the troopship *Birkenhead* in 1852, but the greater impact came from the wide publicity accorded the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the invasion panics, and the resulting revival of the volunteer movement. Indeed, Myerly half recognizes the significance of this later period for his argument as a whole and, in any case, a number of his examples and sources lie outside his chosen dates.

In short, while Myerly's work affords food for

thought, its focus is too narrow to sustain his wider argument.

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BARRY REAY. *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800–1930*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 30.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 288. \$59.95.

Barry Reay, the author of this engrossing book has little faith in large, macrohistories that attempt to paint a "big picture." It is impossible, in his view, to understand society and culture without examining in detail local contexts, and this is what he has set out to do in an innovative, microhistorical study of three rural parishes in the Blean area of Kent. Building on established techniques of family reconstitution, Reay also adds other historical sources such as court cases, probate records, newspapers, poor relief accounts, school attendance logs, census returns, and oral interviews to provide the broader class analysis and cultural context often absent in earlier reconstitution studies. The result, fortified by dozens of maps, pictures, statistical tables, and charts, is a model of newer techniques of "total reconstitution," or microhistory, in which a group of small communities is put under a microscope to explore significant change over several generations.

Whether Reay's confidence that such studies can range well beyond their modest geographical and historical boundaries will be shared by readers concerned about the problems of representativeness associated with such detailed, local histories is an open question. But taken on its own terms, the book is both methodologically and theoretically an impressive piece of scholarship that certainly addresses broad topics of social and cultural transformation. After an introductory analysis of "Place and People," which describes the physical geography, economy, and social and occupational structure of the three parishes he puts under his lens, Reay divides his inquiry into three parts: "Demography," "Society," and "Cultures." These are in turn subdivided into succinct chapters on fertility, health, social economy (or work), class, families, sexuality, and literacy in which Reay tests several traditional and revisionist interpretations.

He finds, for example, that age-specific marital fertility rather than marriage age was an important mechanism behind population change in the nineteenth century, and that the English experience was socially and occupationally far from homogeneous. Moreover, the data for his rural parishes suggest that the onset of fertility decline began earlier than the 1870s or later dates cited by historical demographers and was not the result of a sudden turn to family limitation. Instead, the fall in the birth rate followed a series of gradual adjustments employing abortion, withdrawal, and abstinence dating back to the early

nineteenth century. Interestingly enough, Simon Szreter in *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain, 1860–1940* (1996), despite its presumably tainted, macrohistorical ambitions, has come to very similar conclusions on a national scale and, like Reay, questions many of the received assumptions about theories of fertility transition and the findings of the demographers of the Princeton European Fertility Project.

Central to Reay's analysis of rural society is the concept of a complex, interdependent social economy involving both paid and unpaid labor, which he uses to challenge econometric models based on adult male, average full-time earnings. Indeed, Reay argues persuasively that the work of women and children was essential to a social economy in which the margins between survival and desperation were so narrow for the majority of families that focusing on male wages seriously distorts the realities of household income. All too often, he complains, historians have drawn their conclusions from the study of urban, industrial communities while neglecting the countryside. This in part explains why rural voices have not often been heard in recent discussions about the validity of class as a meaningful, historical, social category. If the parishes of the Blean are representative, Patrick Joyce's revisionist notions of "the people" makes little sense for rural England, where the idea and experience of class was still pivotal into the second and third decades of the twentieth century.

The use of microhistorical data over several generations to question the validity of these and other broad, inclusive theses is in many ways the most important feature of this provocative book. The technique gives the work a breadth that transcends its narrow geographical and social limitations and requires the reader to rethink familiar assumptions. For example, in his fascinating chapter on sexuality, Reay demonstrates that in contrast to traditional views of the stigma of illegitimacy in what Peter Laslett described as a "bastard-bearing subculture," the evidence from rural Kent suggests that bearing children outside marriage should be seen not as a form of deviancy but rather as part of a normal sexual culture in which premarital intercourse was common and in which only a minority of children among the populous agricultural laboring class were conceived in wedlock. Indeed, if there was any sub-society in the nineteenth-century Blean, it was, as Reay describes it, "a society of the sexually pure" (p. 212).

All history may, as Reay claims, be microhistory sited in specific locality. Ironically perhaps, what makes his study so worthwhile is the rich body of broadly cast, macrohistorical literature he eschews, but which nevertheless gives his book focus, context, and value.

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PAT JALLAND. *Death in the Victorian Family*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 464. \$45.00.

Just as many people in the sexually liberated late twentieth century have felt disdainful about Victorian reticence in matters of sex, so might Victorians feel condescension for our own anxiety about acknowledging the reality of death. With AIDS, physician-assisted suicide, and hospice care receiving such current public attention, death has become a more socially acceptable if not comfortable topic of discussion. As we grapple with questions of suffering and death, we could certainly learn much from studies such as Pat Jalland's study about the ways the less repressed Victorians handled this unavoidable part of life. In addition to offering insights relevant to our contemporary world, Jalland has shown how the historical study of the management and experience of death can expand our understanding of the history of emotions, family relationships, sex roles, religious beliefs, medical care, and other aspects of social history.

Using the same methodology that she so successfully employed in *Women, Marriage, and Politics 1860-1914* (1986), Jalland draws on the private papers of fifty-five Victorian middle and upper-class families to create an "experiential history" of death. Her book covers all aspects of death and mourning among the affluent classes of Victorian England, including considerations of gendered experiences, death at various points in the life cycle, and changing funeral and burial customs. Jalland benefits from other recent scholarship on Victorian death. Without retreading the same ground, she uses material from the family papers to support or correct some of her predecessors' conclusions. She also uses contemporary psychological studies of dying and mourning for insight into the Victorian experience.

The major theme of this study is the transformation in the experience of death that was caused by the shift from the dominance of Evangelical religious faith in the early and mid-nineteenth century to the secularism of late Victorian England. The Evangelical ideal of "the good death" was that of a dying person with sufficient time and mental coherence to make peace with God. In contrast, the late Victorians defined "euthanasia" as painless, peaceful death. Defending the Victorians against the charge of staging inappropriately elaborate funerals, Jalland argues that such funerals took place only in the first half of the nineteenth century, as a continuation of earlier practices, and that they were for the most part only the funerals of notable public figures. Most of the people in her study wanted private family funerals, which became the norm by the second half of the century. Nor was excessive, chronic mourning common. Arguing that the experience of the best-known Victorian widow, Queen Victoria, was atypical, Jalland claims that most Victorians were not consumed by prolonged mourning. Without romanticizing Victorian death rituals, she concludes that they facilitated the process of grieving

by giving structure to the mourning process "within a coherent framework which reduced the terrifying aspects of death and also rallied the support of family and friends" (p. 12).

The Victorian experience of death was different from that in the modern West for both biological and social reasons. In the nineteenth century, there was still a high mortality rate, especially among infants and children. It was not until the late Victorian period that old age rather than infancy became the most probable time of death. Childbirth was also a major cause of young adult female death in Victorian England. Most affluent Victorians died at home, with family members present. Although doctors had few means to cure illnesses, they did offer supportive terminal care and often continuous presence. Opium was used to lessen pain, but doctors were reluctant to use drugs deliberately to hasten the end for a suffering dying person.

The Victorians in Jalland's sample kept detailed, intimate accounts of the last days and hours of dying family members. Death memorabilia included not only the well-known mourning jewelry, with locketts and rings containing hair of the deceased, but also photos and portraits of the recently deceased in their coffins. Prescribed mourning dress provided emotional space and sympathy for grieving survivors, but, as Jalland acknowledged, it also often caused great expense and logistical problems for a recently bereaved family.

The weaknesses in this book are primarily the result of its comprehensive scope and are more irritants rather than matters of substance. Organized thematically, the experiences of the fifty-five families are presented piecemeal from deathbed through burial and mourning. There is therefore a great deal of repetition about each of the families. Some of the conclusions seem almost too obvious to state, such as the assertions about the importance of family support in the grieving process. Unobtrusively letting her sources speak in their own voices, Jalland sometimes misses what seem to be subtexts or unspoken meanings in words and actions. The title is deceiving, in that the book explicitly deals only with the experiences of the upper-middle and upper classes. Nevertheless, in both depth and breadth this is a valuable contribution to Victorian social history, revealing the rich diversities and intriguing implications in the social construction of a universal and inevitable physiological process.

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ANDREW SCULL, CHARLOTTE MACKENZIE, and NICHOLAS HERVEY. *Masters of Bedlam: The Transformation of the Mad-Doctoring Trade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 363. \$35.00.

This book is reminiscent of two classics of Victorian history, Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918) and Asa Briggs's *Victorian People* (1955). Like them, it uses a series of short biographies to illuminate a broad historical development, here the emergence of the

modern profession of psychiatry in nineteenth-century Britain. In the process, it both humanizes and underlines the complexity of Victorian alienism. The “mad-doctors” that Andrew Scull, Charlotte MacKenzie, and Nicholas Hervey profile include conservatives and liberals, evangelicals and materialists. They disagreed about nearly every aspect of the theory and practice of psychiatry, and some of them changed their views considerably over time. The book argues that Victorian psychiatric ideas and actions arose out of a particular social context, one in which doctors such as these were simultaneously seeking personal success within an increasingly competitive medical marketplace and groping their way toward the creation of new professional specialities. Modern psychiatry was thus created amid and shaped by a mundane competition for patients, positions, and prestige.

Rejecting whiggish celebration of psychiatric heroes, the book often veers closer to Stracheyite debunking. It emphasizes themes of domination and ambition. John Conolly, archetypal hero of older histories of psychiatry, which credit him as founder of the nonrestraint movement, emerges as a rank careerist. Historians have long known that Conolly did not originate nonrestraint and that it was never an uncontested triumph. But the chapter on Conolly here, an essay that Scull has published earlier, goes further to question the intellectual sincerity of his shifting ideas about asylums.

None of the other “masters” achieved Conolly’s status as mythical hero. John Haslam is a villain in many psychiatric histories, an exemplar of the old “inhumane” methods of treatment that Conolly helped to abolish. Historians have indelibly linked Haslam with scandalous conditions reformers uncovered at Bethlem Hospital in 1815, while he was its apothecary. Yet Haslam, as the authors show, experienced considerable professional success in the wake of this embarrassment, thanks mainly to his many psychiatric writings, his reputation as an expert legal witness in insanity cases, and his defense of medical control of madness. Moreover, hallowed heroes of psychiatry such as Philippe Pinel and Samuel Tuke praised Haslam’s “enlightened” approach to patient care and treatment. Henry Maudsley won public acclaim and a substantial income as an author and consultant on mental disease in the late Victorian period. But he never earned a place in the professional pantheon. He alienated most of his colleagues by belittling the reputation of Conolly (his own father-in-law) and by contemptuously dismissing their ideas and practices.

The other subjects were prominent Victorian alienists but are comparatively unknown today. W.A.F. Browne and Samuel Gaskell were effective advocates for reformed asylums whose careers included stints as superintendents and lunacy commissioners in Scotland and England, respectively. But Browne eventually lost much of his early utopian optimism about the asylum’s curative possibilities, while Gaskell’s conscientiousness as a lunacy commissioner promoted rigid, bureaucratic

conformity in asylums. Sir Alexander Morison was the first British physician, in the 1820s, to deliver a regular series of lectures on mental diseases to medical students in Edinburgh and London. He also served as a consultant to some asylums, but he never held a superintendent’s position. Instead, Morison established a substantial practice specializing in treating the insane in non-institutional settings. Sir John Bucknill was an enthusiastic propagandist for public asylums while serving as a superintendent of one and as editor of the superintendents’ professional organ, the *Journal of Mental Science* (founded 1853). But Bucknill later joined Maudsley as a vocal critic of asylums, a reversal the authors attribute to dissatisfaction with his career prospects and status as an asylum doctor. Bucknill subsequently oversaw the care of non-institutionalized wealthy patients as a Lord Chancellor’s Visitor in Lunacy and then established an office-based practice as a consultant on mental and nervous diseases. The stories of Morison, Bucknill, and Maudsley demonstrate that even during the heyday of Victorian asylums, some alienists advocated non-institutional approaches to treatment. Their careers presaged psychiatry’s twentieth-century shift to a predominately outpatient practice.

Taken together, these engaging portraits provide an accessible view of nineteenth-century British psychiatry. Their clarity and polished style move the reader painlessly through the labyrinth of psychiatric history. But one would like to see more discussion of the context of these men’s practices, of how their ideas played out in interaction with patients and their families. Although this may not have been possible in every case, such an emphasis might have produced a more nuanced interpretation of the development of psychiatric knowledge and practice than the authors offer. It would be perverse to deny the influence of these men’s career ambitions in shaping their ideas and actions (although Maudsley’s writings and behavior often seem self-destructive). But a more thorough examination of family and patient records, or a study of less successful men, might reveal less rationally self-interested (not necessarily more altruistic) motivations at work as well.

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H. L. MALCHOW. *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 335. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

H. L. Malchow’s latest book has something in common with a gothic horror show, minus the music and the midnight viewings. With all the gusto and dedication of a rather recent convert to cultural studies, Malchow shows a keen appetite for lethal monsters, bloodsucking vampires, cannibalized bodies, and the tormented products of interracial unions. He ranges far and wide over tales of terror or horror, especially those oft-traversed and trendy texts, *Frankenstein* (1818) and



*Dracula* (1897), spinning out of the ideas and language found within an elaborate web made of both “historical reality” and contemporary fantasies that illuminate the “gothic” nature of racism and the racial nature of the gothic in Victorian culture and society. Drawing on the plethora of critical-cultural studies written over the last twenty years about the monstrous, Malchow addresses the close relationship between the anxieties of middle-class Victorian men and constructions of the menacing Other. He takes up the story of “imperial gothic” where Patrick Brantlinger left off in *The Rule of Darkness* (1988) and racializes this concept by insisting that “a gothic imagination . . . shaped the language, images, and rhetoric of imperial narration and anthropological, scientific, and popular discourse” (p. 231). As evidence of the collective gothicization of race, Malchow ranges over such topics as gender instability, sexual deviance, homosocial and homosexual bondings, homophobia, the hunger for human flesh and the thirst for human blood, and miscegenation. Locating his book “somewhere in the borderlands between . . . the imagined world of literature and the ‘real’ world of historical experience . . . between popular representations of the ‘unnatural’ at home and abroad,” the author insists that “the gothicization of race and the racialization of the gothic” were inseparable discourses (pp. 1, 3).

Obviously, the success of such an ambitious undertaking depends on not only the quality of the sources and the interpretive framework but also on how one defines that highly ambiguous word, gothic. Preferring a “looser and more popular definition,” Malchow stresses “a language of panic, of unreasoning anxiety, blind revulsion, and distancing sensationalism, as well as a particular ‘literature of terror’” (p. 4). Needless to say, some of these words—panic, sensationalism, and terror—also cry out for definition, if not deconstruction. But what matters most is Malchow’s emphasis on language and vocabulary rather than on the impact of gothic images, metaphors, and tales on presumably palpitating or trembling readers. In his quest to racialize the gothic, Malchow perforce rejects feminist and Marxist readings of *Frankenstein* and argues instead that the monster represents fears arising out of the revolts of black slaves in Haiti or Jamaica during the 1790s. Blending racialization and gothicization together, he builds an elaborate scaffold around a gothic tower that might just as well have been called “demonization.”

Regrettably, Malchow neglects the *fons et origo* of Gothic fiction: namely, the late eighteenth-century novels of Tobias Smollett, Horace Walpole, Ann Radcliffe, William Beckford, and “Monk” Lewis, which were forerunners of Charles Maturin’s *Fatal Revenge* (1807) and Mary Shelley’s famous novella. Because these earlier writers built the dungeon-like set, assembled the props, and designed the medieval costumes for the original gothic horror show—with all its emphasis on the supernatural, mystery, and medievalism—we learn little here about just how far “high”

Victorian gothic differed from that of the founding fathers and mothers. Although Malchow writes fluently about the images of darkness, evil, imprisonment, torture, perversion, menace, and terror that pervade nineteenth-century gothic, his decision to begin the exegesis with *Frankenstein* rather than, say, *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) or *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) obscures some of the special ingredients of “classic” gothicism. Here gothic becomes a continuous and floating signifier that can be imposed on almost any text that deals with darkness, exploitation, jungle exploration, the darker-hued races, sexual deviance, and the progeny of interracial unions. Whether symbolizing Black Jacobins in Haiti or mutinous slaves in Jamaica, *Frankenstein*’s monster becomes the ignoble savage in British and European imaginations.

Malchow’s zeal to universalize the gothic in Western imaginations does yield some valuable insights, especially when dealing with constructions of non-whites in the age of imperial expansion. At the same time, there are moments of excess or overkill, most notably in the second and longest chapter, “Cannibalism and Popular Culture,” which resembles a busy “roundabout” into which racist, xenophobic, misogynistic, and homophobic vehicles rush at high speed. Culling quotations from the memoirs, travelogues, and novels of Victorian writers (especially bible-thumping missionaries), Malchow finds endless examples of white men “racializing” the taste for human flesh by attributing this habit exclusively to the non-white “savages” of Africa, India, the South Pacific Islands, New Zealand, and Brazil. Taught since childhood to avoid temptations of the flesh and to maintain self-control, these imperial travelers and writers naturally believed that “civilized” Englishmen were incapable of eating human flesh—except, of course, when faced with death by starvation. Thus, only non-white or “black savages” really relished feasting off the bodies of their enemies (or loved ones). Significantly, we encounter here enough cases of white cannibalism—in most cases arising out of survivalism—to suggest that the Victorians racialized this “revolting” habit out of guilt over the obvious fact of their own culpability in its practice. Besides the trial in 1884 of the three men who survived the sinking of the *Mignonette* in the South Atlantic on the charge of murder for having eaten the cabin boy, there were the grim findings of Richard von Krafft-Ebing, whose *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) cited numerous cases of blood lust and anthropophagy among the whitest (and admittedly the most insane) Europeans. Anxieties about domestic cannibalism came to the fore again in October 1888, when the police and the press revealed that someone calling himself Jack the Ripper had written a letter boasting of having fried and eaten half a kidney taken from one of his victims. Readers were also left in the dark about why the killer had ripped the uterus out of several women and what he had done with these “portions.” In sum, all the instances and metaphors of white cannibalism cited by Malchow must have made it hard for educated Victorians to



insist that man-eating was the unique mark of "black or brown savages" who lived far from the centers of civilization in Western Europe.

At several crucial points in this chapter, Malchow indulges in what might be called over- or misinterpretation when dealing with the relationship between *anatomical dissection* and *cannibalism*. Venturing well beyond the use of cannibalism as metaphor, he labels Dr. Victor Frankenstein "the cannibal" because he "tears 'to pieces'" the bodies found in dissecting rooms and slaughter-houses in order to build both a male monster and a suitable "bride" (p.24). Malchow equates anthropophagy with both clinical dissection and dismemberment. Now if one construes cannibalism as having something to do with the eating of human flesh, then this equation will not do. In the case of surgeon Southwood Smith, we read that dissection becomes "a kind of cannibalism" (p. 68). Exactly what kind, one would like to know. By the same token, the dissection of criminal cadavers in English morgues or operating theaters is likened to the vengeful behavior of British soldiers during the Indian mutiny (p. 113). By this point, the line between medical science and racist atrocity has completely dissolved.

Malchow makes a much more convincing case for the Jewish character of Stoker's Count Dracula in chapter three. Bypassing Franco Moretti's reading of Dracula as the symbol of monopoly capitalism, he stresses the familiar image of the sexually aggressive and mercenary Wandering Jew, who preys on male and female alike with all the fury of a sadistic (Sadean) sodomite (pp. 143-66). Once again, Malchow eschews a "narrow" feminist reading, finding in the Count a "dangerous" mix of the homoerotic male and the racial Other or alien outcast, whom Anglo-Saxons feared as a source of racial contamination. Linking *Dracula* to the rising tide of anti-Semitism in England following the influx of thousands of East European Jewish "aliens" into London's East End, Malchow takes another great imaginative leap by drawing a direct line from Professor Van Helsing's impaling of the three female vampires and the cutting of the Count's throat to Dr. Joseph Mengele's sadistic experiments on Jews, Slavs, and gypsies in World War II. Bram Dijkstra makes a similarly acrobatic leap in his study of misogyny in *fin-de-siècle* Europe, *Idols of Perversity* (1986). However moot or tenuous such connections with the Holocaust may be, Malchow might have profited from some of Dijkstra's insights about woman as seductive vampire and succubus.

A fourth chapter deals in a rather kaleidoscopic manner with images of the weak or effeminate but still dangerous "half-breed," mestizo, or mulatto. Here Malchow draws on an impressive range of sources from India, Jamaica, and western Canada to point out how the hyphenated "half-caste" was stigmatized as illegitimate and condemned as living proof of the white sahib's shameful surrender to passion in the heat of the tropical day or night. Europeans were fond of comparing such persons to sterile mules, neutered males,

bloodthirsty werewolves, and cruel females. By the end of a long century of racial interbreeding, the offspring of these unions had become anathema to increasingly color-sensitive Europeans and North Americans, even though they needed such people for menial labor. In an epilogue, Malchow deals with the furor engendered in 1899 by the gothic prospect of an interracial marriage between a black performer in the "Savage South Africa" show at Earl's Court and a plucky English woman named Florence Jewell.

In a somewhat semicircular argument, Malchow contends that the "significant redeployment of racial gothic in Britain and Western Europe . . . focused by what is now commonly recognized as a kind of panic over sexual, racial, and social identities" emerged out of "a fear of cultural and gender 'anarchy'" (pp. 125-26). Desperate to allay such fears, respectable Victorians created and consumed lurid tales of savage or monstrous behavior by the non-white Other. By focusing on the (stereotypical) neurotic Victorian male, Malchow downplays the nature or imperative of maintaining power—not to mention acquiring more knowledge. By this I mean the kinds of discipline over the self and others required to preserve a stable, prosperous, God-fearing, and class-based society at home and a dispersed colonial empire overseas. As W. L. Burn pointed out long ago, the Victorians lived by or through a network of codes and disciplines, many of which converged around the necessity of the master setting the right example for servants or natives. However flawed in practice, the ideal (and ideology) of political and social control became all the more essential as the empire expanded and as democratic forces eroded the hegemony of the landed and business elites.

Lastly, if fantasies of cannibalistic savages, vampirish women and Jews, and racially polluting and polluted half-breeds really did drive so many middle-class Englishmen in the 1890s into a state of panic, one cannot help wondering about the state of play in our own time. Malchow's book provokes one to wonder what cultural historians a century hence will make of the current obsession of academic critics with tales of terror and the monstrous, all the way from *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* to *The Silence of the Lambs*. Could it be that scholars in the year 2098 will find us even more gothic and troubled than Malchow's profoundly gothic Victorians?

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PAUL SMITH. *Disraeli: A Brief Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 246. \$39.95.

Just as Colin Matthews's superb edition of William Gladstone's diaries has fostered a reexamination of the Grand Old Man's life, so the Disraeli Project at Queen's University, Kingston (published by the University of Toronto Press) may open new vistas on Gladstone's greatest parliamentary opponent. Draw-

ing primarily on the project's published letters, Paul Smith's concise and readable volume begins with an attempt to understand the extravagant and contradictory young Benjamin Disraeli, whose bizarre behavior, flamboyant attire, confusing political ideas, and unfathomable moral code bewildered friends and political colleagues alike.

To Smith, Disraeli's accumulated eccentricities are a clue to his "frantic process of self-fashioning" (p. 7). Smith argues that Disraeli's search for a "self"—that is, for an identity—was a crucial task in his early years. Smith believes that Disraeli's youthful literary excursions in reading and writing, his adventures abroad, and his strenuous efforts to achieve success in a variety of roles were dress rehearsals for an adult performance in which he would find an enduring order and coherence. Ultimately, Disraeli adopted the racial pride he felt in his Jewishness as the foundation of his identity. Grafted to this was a Germanic form of heroic romanticism discovered in his reading of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Heinrich Heine, Christoph Martin Wieland, and Madame de Stael's *Germany*.

However fundamental these characteristics became to Disraeli's construction of an identity, Smith points out their tendency to clash with the emerging ideals of Protestant (and anti-Semitic) middle-class Victorians. Disraeli's self-constructed identity, then, was a burden and a hindrance to his political ambition. To succeed in politics, Disraeli had to impose himself, from the position of an outsider, on his immediate parliamentary environment. This could be accomplished by continually refashioning the Tory Party to provide a place for himself. The strategy worked. Deferring to a traditional landed elite when necessary and bowing to public opinion when compelled, he gained the top of "the greasy pole." But there was a price to pay: tension generated between his political aspirations and his identity produced in Disraeli an ironic detachment that baffled his contemporaries, leading them to condemn his insincerity and vulgar search for power. Walter Bagehot's complaint that Disraeli lacked political convictions was common enough.

Smith's interpretation is an intriguing one, but its persuasive power is less than it could be. Inviting a psychological approach and employing psychological terms ("self," "identity," "self-presentation"), Smith makes scant reference to the relevant psychological literature. Nor does he indicate any notion of the complexities on the subject of "self-fashioning." Questions about the self, including fundamental definitional ones, abound—even among psychologists. One can, for example, understand that, for Disraeli, writing novels might explore emotions, but how do they become, as Smith puts it, a "theatre workshop" (p. 18) for the creation of a personality? What was the precise process by which Disraeli fashioned a self? What form of psychological self-evaluation was at work to induce his role play? What social comparisons were at work?

Smith's analysis is further hampered by his reluctance to apply his interpretation to Disraeli's impor-

tant final years of achievement. Thus, Smith's observations occasionally seem either commonplace or forced. We learn, for example, that during the brief ministry of 1852, Disraeli was "the least likely" chancellor of the exchequer in British history (p. 119); that Disraeli was "a wonderful" House of Commons performer during his years of opposition (p. 130); that his imperial policy "was defensive rather than aggressive" (p. 164); and that his social legislation "was unparalleled" until the twentieth-century ministries of 1905 and 1945 (p. 179).

But if we pursue, however tentatively, Smith's suggestive approach as outlined in chapter one, we can see Disraeli exercising his cognitive capacity to guide his behavior toward political advantage. Time and again, he reinvented himself, depending upon political exigencies. His election to Parliament in the conservative interest, his creation as a county member and a country squire, his wooing of an initially reluctant queen, and his legislative performances, especially during the struggle for the Reform Bill of 1867, all stand as examples.

Robert Blake's more comprehensive biography, now three decades old, must remain the standard treatment of Disraeli. Among short works, both Richard Davis and John Vincent have also made useful contributions. If Smith's forthcoming co-edited work on the fashioning of Disraeli's self can overcome theoretical and evidentiary problems and embrace more fully a promising psychological model it, too, can make a substantial contribution to understanding Disraeli's elusive personality and politics.

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KAREN HUNT. *Equivocal Feminists: The Social Democratic Federation and the Woman Question 1884–1911*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 296. \$54.95.

As a dissertation, an earlier version of this book was awarded the prestigious Sir Ernest Barker Prize by the Political Studies Association in the United Kingdom. Revision has done nothing to lessen the quality of one of the best books ever written on the subject of socialism and gender. Although the major emphasis is on the "woman question" within the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), Karen Hunt has cast a much wider net in leading up to, in the final chapters, the roles of women and attitudes toward them within that organization.

This is the first review I have ever written in which I am tempted to move to platitudes of praise rather than provide even a brief survey of the contents. And writing a review in the space allotted is difficult, for this small volume is packed with detail. Although Hunt refers to it as a feminist work, it is thoroughly grounded in a wide array of sources pertaining to subjects not necessarily associated with feminism. Fur-

thermore, Hunt is even-handed in approach and interpretation. The empirical data are nearly overwhelming. But because of an enviable writing style, in addition to the interesting parade of personalities that Hunt marches through her study, one becomes totally absorbed: theme by theme, chapter by chapter.

Beginning with the "founding fathers" of socialism, in this case Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and August Bebel, Hunt moves to their theoretical offspring in the British socialist movement who, in turn, take us to the early leaders of the SDF. Although she has a number of autobiographical works and several biographical studies on which to draw, Hunt uniquely relies heavily on *Justice*, the SDF newspaper. While acknowledging that the voices we hear from the pages of *Justice* are limited to those of the editor, contributors, and authors of letters that the editor decided to publish, Hunt manages to convey and interpret the diverse views that marked the SDF membership, especially as pertains to the heretofore mostly silent working class.

From the pages of *Justice*, we glean insights into "the SDF's understanding of the woman question" (not very understanding). In "Understanding the SDF and the Woman Question," we are treated to, among much else, a brief analogy between sex and race (in this case Jews, and opinions are both pro and anti-Semitic). Through "The Politics of the Private Sphere," we learn that SDF members were mostly opposed to "free love" because the controversial subject tended to lead their followers from socialist goals. As to the "family," there "was little space for the SDF to develop any sustained critique" except not to undermine the concept (p. 86).

"Women and Work" reveals the "tension between sex and class which lies at the heart of the socialist construction of the 'woman question'" (p. 118). In this chapter, Hunt delves into some of the antagonisms between middle-class SDF members and their working-class counterparts. The working class was, however, divided in its opinions regarding equal pay for equal work and whether a woman should stay at home and raise socialist children or engage in paid employment. Ambiguities also marked attitudes toward women's suffrage. Most in the SDF supported universal suffrage, although some women chose to work (briefly in most cases) in favor of votes for women. Ernest Belford Bax, briefly editor of *Justice* and frequent contributor thereto, was a member of the Male Anti-Suffrage League.

In part three, Hunt turns specifically to organizational matters: first, "The SDF's Attitude to Women as Potential Socialists." That, too, was divided and in some examples almost humorous. When, for instance, women complained about their husbands being perpetually late for Sunday dinner because of SDF meetings and a visit to the pub, one correspondent retorted that "the fault lay in keeping the dinner waiting, not in the men going into the pub" (p. 192). As to "Women SDFers and Their Role in the Party," Hunt concludes that "there is no one clear model of the activist SDF woman" (p. 206). In "The Organisation of Women

within the SDF," we learn that a few obtained positions of leadership within their branches, others formed separate circles, and a few were socialist propagandists. In short, members of the SDF were no different than other ordinary or even extraordinary human beings of their time. The men were either misogynist, supportive of women, or unconcerned regarding the "woman question." Women fell in the latter two camps in almost equal numbers.

There is much more to this book than I can touch on here. It should be required reading for anyone studying English history from the late nineteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth. One name that appeared and reappeared throughout its pages is that of the socialist, feminist, sometime suffragette Dora Montefiore. Montefiore cries out for a biographer, and no one is more equipped to undertake this project than Hunt, whose meticulous skills as a researcher and balanced reportage are so evident in this book.

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ROGER ADELSON. *London and the Invention of the Middle East: Money, Power, and War, 1902–1922*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 244. \$35.00.

By 1922, the political shape of the modern Middle East had been roughed out by Britain, with some help (and hindrance) from its allies. That fact alone is enough to explain the continued fascination with the way the carving was done, whether one begins in 1902, as does Roger Adelson; in 1914, as does David Fromkin (in *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* [1989]); or in some other year. Because the subject is complex and open to numerous interpretations, we are unlikely ever to see a completely definitive study, let alone the last word.

Adelson, the author of a fine biography of one of the lower-ranking British policy makers (*Mark Sykes: Portrait of an Amateur* [1975]), in this book explores the decision-making process. He focuses on London and the nine men most responsible, all conveniently displayed in a rogue's gallery of photographs (p. 20): Asquith, Balfour, Churchill, Curzon, Grey, Kitchener, Lansdowne, Lloyd George, and Milner. The author is interested in the background and contribution of each, together with a host of lesser stars. To some extent, however, this interesting focus is dissipated by Adelson's decision to organize the book's eight chapters chronologically rather than topically around each of his featured policy makers. As a result, each man's contribution must be pulled out from that of the others, and the book thus resembles other useful general surveys. Adelson offers no startling revelations, but his account reads well and adds some interesting highlights, not least for the attention given to the interaction of Whitehall with both the popular

press and the world of high finance. The text is enhanced by more than seventy interesting illustrations.

Yet the larger scheme does not really work, for two reasons. First, the book is quite short, with 217 pages of text, a good many of which are given over to half or full-page illustrations (Fromkin's, by comparison, is nearly three times as long). Length is not necessarily an attribute, but, in this case, some important aspects of how the modern Middle East was created receive over-abbreviated treatment. For example, although it is correct to say that thirty-five percent of British imperial forces served in the area (p. 171), a portion of these forces constituted Indian resources that might otherwise not have been used at all, given the unfortunate experience of those Indian units sent to France. For the same reason, it is far too great a simplification to note that "British nationalistic propaganda . . . stirred high expectations among the Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Persians, Zionists and others, all of which were shattered by the postwar situation in London" (p. 211).

Second, Adelson never provides a definition of "the Middle East." He notes that A. T. Mahan seems to have coined the term in 1902 and that, two decades later, it was used widely enough to be applied to the newly created "Middle East Department." But "Near East" had long been the stock label and remained in common use for some time, as, for example, in the influential periodical, *The Near East*, founded in 1908 to give coverage to everything from the Balkans to India. Having raised the issue, Adelson then side-steps by using "the Near and Middle East" throughout the book, only occasionally departing from this formula to make some rather imprecise distinctions. While "the geographical obstacles of the mountainous Near East and the arid Middle East" (p. 139) would seem to imply the Balkans and Turkey for the former and all else for the latter, "the Near East was of much less concern to the British than the Middle East" (p. 88) makes such differentiation problematic, given Adelson's considerable treatment of affairs in Turkey. More puzzling still, discussing the period 1902–1905 when Lansdowne was Balfour's foreign secretary, Adelson concludes that "Balfour had preserved the strategic status quo in the Middle East as Lansdowne had maintained the diplomatic status quo in the Near East" (p. 93), a turn of phrase that probably would have puzzled both men as much as it will the reader. Such imprecision is common, and of course we all think we know where the Middle East is, but without precise definitions, precise conclusions lose their effectiveness.

In his acknowledgments, Adelson thanks his editor for making the text "leaner and cleaner" (p. xii). One might wish that the book had emerged somewhat less lean, not only in the elucidation of these issues but also by the inclusion of a bibliography. Adelson does furnish notes, but they are not always adequate. Observing of the Chanak crisis that "historians have

sometimes failed to see the wood for the trees" (p. 208), he supplies precisely one reference: "D. Walder's" *The Chanak Affair* (1969), which is actually by David Walder (p. 232, n. 35). In sum, Adelson's work offers yet another useful if somewhat flawed entryway to the history of the Middle East in a critical era.

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ANDREW MARRISON. *British Business and Protection 1903–1932*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 491. \$89.00.

Tariff reform was one of the central and most contentious issues of British political, economic, and imperial debate during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Although there are a number of good studies on the political, economic and ideological implications of the tariff issue, little work has been done on how British business was converted to tariff reform and how it promoted the concept. Andrew Marrison has now remedied this omission. His work began as a Ph.D. thesis and has developed into a substantial and impressive study.

The originality of Marrison's work lies in his detailed analysis of business opinion on the tariff issue during the period from 1903 to 1932. Marrison is the first to exploit the records of nine Chambers of Commerce as well as those of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. He also makes extensive use of archival material to study such important pressure groups as the Tariff Commission, the Federation of British Industries, the National Union of Manufacturers, the Empire Industries Association, and others. In addition, Marrison has made excellent use of collections of private papers, official papers and reports, the periodical press, and contemporary accounts and has read widely in the secondary literature. The book contains a number of useful tables on the membership, finance, and resolutions of these groups and includes an excellent index and bibliography.

Marrison argues convincingly that support for tariffs was more widespread among British business than has previously been believed. Adam Smith pointed out that businessmen naturally prefer protection. Britain's mid-Victorian industrial primacy converted British business to free trade and allowed it to share in the moral superiority claimed for laissez-faire by liberal culture. Growing foreign competition led many British businessmen to seek "fair trade" and tariff protection. Marrison shows that there was already substantial support for tariff reform among business interests in 1903, when Joseph Chamberlain brought the issue to the forefront, and that this support grew despite the prosperity of the decade before the war. Protection was further encouraged by World War I, was only slightly muted during the early 1920s, and grew again after 1925. By 1929, British businessmen overwhelmingly supported protection. Yet, despite this support, only limited protection was achieved during the 1920s.



A general tariff was not passed until 1932, and then it was not the tariff that businessmen had advocated.

Others have argued that it was the survival of strong free trade sectors in British business that explains the slow adoption of a tariff. Marrison, however, demonstrates that free trade opinion was rather weak among British businessmen during the period. Business support for tariffs was muted for three reasons. First, free trade opinion held the moral high ground, was widely believed to be theoretically unassailable, and supported Britain's imperial position. Second, the protection offered by such advocates as Joseph Chamberlain, W. A. S. Hewins, Alfred Milner, and Leo Amery was of a social-imperialist variety that carried with it the heavy political baggage of food taxes and unrealistic expectations about the economic benefits of imperial preference. Third, many existing business organizations had grown up during a period when there was little need for business to choose between the economic policies of competing political parties. Moreover, they operated in a culture where pressure group politics, especially for business, was seen as sordid. When the new liberalism and the rise of labor presented business with important issues of political economy, such as tax policy and welfare changes, they choose to support the Unionists. Business was willing to subordinate the tariff issue to its larger program of keeping Labour out. Thus, while the majority of British businessmen supported protection, they expressed this support in a moderate form and allowed its tariff demands to be subordinated to the wider political program of the conservative political leadership.

Marrison's study is a solid contribution to a fuller understanding of the complexities of the tariff issue. As he points out in an excellent introduction, the economics of tariff reform during the period remains full of ambiguity and requires much additional research. Most British economic historians have shied away from studies of the economic efficacy of protection because it is difficult to isolate economic factors from others. Indeed, the economics profession remains skeptical of those who make a case for protection. Marrison notes that the more sophisticated among the advocates of early twentieth-century tariff reform did so on the basis of a credible and dynamic infant industry argument, which held that protection could promote industrial stability, stimulate domestic investment, and promote employment. It is an argument well known to development economists, and the policy has been widely practiced by successful developing economies in this century. Is it possible that Britain's long adherence to free trade was a factor in its relative economic decline in the late Victorian era and early twentieth century? At a time when the economics profession in Britain and the United States, as well as a good deal of elite public opinion, again appears quite certain about the benefits of free international markets, Marrison's study is a useful reminder

of the historical relativity of firmly held economic orthodoxies on trade policy.

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JOHN CHARMLEY. *Churchill's Grand Alliance: The Anglo-American Special Relationship 1940–57*. (A Harvest Book.) Paperback edition. San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace. 1996. Pp. xv, 427. \$18.00.

This is the final volume of a three-part study of British foreign policy in the years between the appeasement era and the Suez episode, and its two predecessors have certainly gained a great deal of attention. As a result of the appearance of these books, John Charmley is as well known as any interpreter of the subject since the late A. J. P. Taylor. Like Taylor, he has become, in some circles, even somewhat notorious. To read these books is to know that Charmley fears this not at all and probably enjoys it as evidence that, unlike too many historians, he is being read.

In the first volume—the most enjoyable for this reviewer—Charmley mounted a stout defense of Neville Chamberlain's policy, and in the second, he pursued severe criticisms of Winston Churchill. In this book, he indicts Britain's governors during World War II and after—foremost, again, Churchill—for the way in which British policy deviated from what Charmley believes was the national interest. Despite the author's laudable efforts, the reviews tell us that he has made fewer converts than he had hoped. But the way of the revisionist is always hard.

Among Charmley's principal arguments are these: Churchill viewed the United States of America through the most romantic of rose-colored glasses. The great Briton presumed that America could and would be brought around to support of a position that was good for the U.K. and that his own personal influence over the wily Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American people could make up for the fact that the two nations did not have precisely the same interests. Second, when the chips were down, Churchill usually gave in to Roosevelt and, on certain issues (postwar Poland, for example), readily "appeased" Joseph Stalin in a manner reminiscent of that for which he had savaged Chamberlain in Munich days. Third, Churchill was guilty of such single-mindedness in regard to bringing the 1939–1945 war to a successful close that he paid scant attention to the coming postwar world. It is news to no one that this cost the Tories the 1945 election, and Charmley argues that such selective blindness made Britain vulnerable to the American vision for a world reconstructed according to its design. In short, the great imperialist sat trustingly by, thus insuring the demise of the British Empire and the advent of a *Pax Americana*.

What ought Churchill to have done? The answers here are unambiguous: he ought to have been more suspicious of Roosevelt, less trusting that the English



and Americans shared common goals for the English-speaking peoples in the world that they would make after victory. He ought to have been more like Charles de Gaulle, who doggedly asserted the independence of French policy and culture. He ought to have kept a closer eye both on Europe and on the empire and to have looked more critically on the vision emanating from Washington. He ought to have been more realistic (like Chamberlain in 1938) or audaciously independent like Anthony Eden at Suez (who was himself betrayed by Washington). At the end of the day, Britain would have been better off if Churchill had viewed the United States as what it was: a foreign country.

Revisionism in the writing of history seems usually to serve one or another of several purposes: it can reveal concealed or overlooked truths, it forces the conventional wisdom into the dock and compels its examination and defense, and it often makes reputations. Among Charmley's primary targets have been the Churchill myth and the assumption that the Britain that emerged from World War II was somehow predestined. The first he batters pretty soundly, acknowledging that the great orator deserves credit for rallying the British people at a dark moment and criticism for trading on his wartime reputation as he ruled badly for years thereafter. Charmley blames the *religio Churchilliana* for obfuscating the errors of the great man's decisions. The second target he has assaulted before, and here he argues again that World War II was not necessarily Britain's conflict, that Germany was not necessarily Britain's deadliest enemy (and America not necessarily her best friend), and that the greatest empire the world has ever known was not necessarily a lost cause to be abandoned. This reviewer cannot help but conclude that in causing us to rethink the old orthodoxy, Charmley has not forced us to accept his contentions that Britain could have flourished in a Hitlerian Europe or the empire long survived in any case.

Charmley is a remarkable writer, and this is a serious book based on careful research. He is right to make us reevaluate a titanic figure too often treated as above criticism. After giving them his best shots, however, his targets seem to remain standing.

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DAVID DUTTON. *Anthony Eden: A Life and Reputation*. New York: Arnold or Hodder Headline. 1997. Pp. xiv, 576. \$35.00.

Anthony Eden, later Lord Avon, was among Britain's shortest-serving prime ministers, yet he has been very well served by his biographers. Nine English-language studies, as well as one in Russian, have been published. A number of monographs have also appeared, focusing on specific aspects of his career. Moreover, the Suez crisis of 1956—the one event most associated with Eden's public life—has produced its own massive

literature. Given this concentration of attention, what is another biographer supposed to do? Some might give up and find another subject. David Dutton takes one alternative suggested by his book's subtitle. Dutton builds on the work of previous Eden analysts to deploy what he calls "a series of linked essays" (p. xi). This enables him to concentrate on some key themes of Eden's life, with another significant difference: he focuses on the relatively unexplored notion of "reputation."

Eden's obsession with his reputation, his image, the verdict of posterity, and his place in the history books is Dutton's starting point. At the end of World War II, this reputation was at its peak. It was further enhanced from 1951–1955, during Eden's third term as secretary of state for foreign affairs. In the wake of the Suez crisis, however, his reputation was in ruins. On his death bed, Eden was convinced that "history would not treat him with kindness" (p. 18). One school of Eden analysts, the present writer included and quoted by Dutton, believes that it is a cruel fate "to be remembered by one failure and not by numerous achievements" (p. 6). Others contend that Eden was never more than a fortuitous coincidence of good looks, manners, speech, and dress: a mere lightweight among politicians and diplomats. It is Dutton's contention that an examination of Eden's life that plays off history against later recollection and memoir/memory can offer new insights about another "enigma" with roots in the 1930s.

Dutton begins with several chapters on the 1930s, Eden's earlier years having been covered in a few sentences. He argues that Eden's reputation was earned as much by the ineptitude of others as by his own abilities. His standing was further enhanced by popular misperceptions and the flattery of Winston Churchill. His resignation from the Neville Chamberlain government in February 1938 came at the best possible moment. Eden escaped the "guilty men" designation shared by most of his former political colleagues, even though his policies during the decade were not much at variance, as Dutton hammers home again and again, with those pursued by the so-called appeasers.

Eden's performance during World War II, after he returned to government as foreign secretary in 1940, is also subject to unusual treatment. Dutton focuses on two themes: "Eden and the United States" and "Eden and the Russians." With regard to the former, he contends that Eden's later anti-Americanism was evident during the war, for Eden feared that the price of the "special relationship" was the inevitable loss of national autonomy (pp. 146, 164). As for the Russians, Dutton suggests that Eden made this relationship his own in a way denied him by Winston Churchill with regard to the Americans (p. 181). But it was an approach that hovered between realpolitik and appeasement.

In the years following 1945, when Eden's career reached its height, his reputation was subject to in-

creasing strains. He spent far too long as the prime ministerial heir apparent to Churchill, being judged as much by potential as by achievements. He completed his third term as foreign secretary with an aura of success. Dutton argues, however, that Eden missed the chance to "seize the leadership" of the European movement (p. 280) and that the diplomacy of the Cold War forced him into a "more restricted partnership" with the United States than he might have wished for (p. 315). His brief period as prime minister was quickly dominated by the Suez crisis of 1956, which ruined his career and his reputation. For the next twenty years of retirement, he labored "to explain, to defend and to rationalize" and threatened any number of lawsuits for defamation. Eden went to his grave convinced that "he had been more sinned against than sinning" (pp. 364, 454).

By targeting the notion of "reputation," Dutton has pointed the way toward greater depth and hence balance in assessing Eden. What requires further analysis is the notion itself. Who creates reputation, the media or the person? How is it maintained or destroyed, by policy or personality? What is the role of the contemporary pundit and later historian in the process? Anthony Nutting titled his study of Suez *No End of a Lesson* (1967). The same can be said of the career of Anthony Eden.

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JEAN AGNEW. *Belfast Merchant Families in the Seventeenth Century*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts; distributed by ISBS. 1996. Pp. xix, 273. \$45.00.

The heyday of early modern English urban history has come and gone rapidly. Urban biography is now on the disciplinary periphery. Mired in an outdated empiricism and refusing to adopt models and techniques from other disciplines, chiefly anthropology and economics, premodern urban historians find themselves in a backwater. Even the magisterial labors of David Harris Sacks and Robert Brenner, on Bristol and London respectively, have been unable to revive a field determined to adhere to antiquated methods.

Jean Agnew's study of seventeenth-century Belfast illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of the genre in the past twenty-five years. Belfast, practically nonexistent in 1600, became the fourth port in Ireland within a century. The center of a modestly profitable provisions trade, it benefited from its proximity to Dublin and the English mainland and the absence of a restrictive guild structure. Although it remained a comparatively small town, Belfast became the economic and commercial center of the north and an important social center in Ulster.

Limited by their underdeveloped hinterland, Belfast's merchants exported chiefly agricultural by-products to Europe, North America, and the West Indies. This trade was continually hampered by high duties,

wars, and embargoes. The English Navigation Acts were a perpetual obstacle for Irish merchants. Agnew suggests that smuggling undermined the attempt by the English to channel trade into their own ships, but she is unable to quantify this.

The heart of the book consists of a detailed discussion of local business practices, the work of factors, and bills of exchange. Agnew convincingly demonstrates that a tightly knit merchant community of Scots Presbyterians came to dominate the trade and politics of Belfast. Arriving in Ireland with some capital and trading experience, this community of coreligionists soon became a merchant oligarchy with complex kinship ties cemented by partnerships and marriage. The overriding theme of the book is how they employed marriage, trade, and religion to increase the town's prosperity. Belfast's immigrant merchants reinvested their unspectacular but steady profits from trade, urban and rural property, and loans into partnerships and wisely directed their sons into lucrative and status-enhancing professions. Unlike their English counterparts, they showed little desire to turn their commercial wealth into manors and mares. The town's increasingly influential Scottish merchants laboriously constructed a close-knit community whose families were connected by intermarriage, employment, and trading partnerships.

Fleeing a strict Calvinist regime in Scotland, the moderate Presbyterians who immigrated to Belfast found themselves under the political tutelage of the earls of Donegal, who dominated the corporation. Immigrant status did not lead to permanent political exclusion, however. A brief period of Jacobite influence was followed in 1691 by an official recognition of toleration. By 1695, Presbyterians were in the majority in the Belfast corporation. In the 1690s, landlords sought to maintain their control over the Presbyterian corporation, resulting in the exclusion of dissenters. The Presbyterian burgesses decided that Belfast was not, however, worth the cost of conversion. The result was a mediocre and narrow form of town government, unable to meet the requirements of an increasingly affluent merchant community.

In the mid-seventeenth century, Belfast tradesmen were acting as factors for merchants in Dublin in the import-export trades. By 1700, the town's far-flung trading relations were in the hands of a diverse network of representatives abroad who were acting as correspondents for merchants at home. The town's trading community now consisted of Ulster Presbyterians linked by blood or marriage who controlled two-thirds of Ireland's trade. They were, Agnew believes, responsible for the town's development as a major industrial city in the eighteenth century.

Agnew's study illustrates both the advantages and drawbacks of the urban monograph. This is a meticulously researched and thorough study of the available archives. The book is free of jargon and inappropriate theory. The author has thoughtfully included extensive profiles of the leading figures of the merchant commu-

nity. Unfortunately, however, Agnew shows little interest in analyzing Belfast's position in the rapidly expanding world economy of the seventeenth century. In addition, she is unable or unwilling to study such important issues as social mobility, the structure of the urban market system, or economic relations between Belfast and its agricultural hinterland. There is no attempt, for example, to determine whether the success of the Scottish immigrant merchants was due to their kin group form of social organization. Sacks and Brenner remain the models for historians seeking to explain the origins of the capitalist world economic system.

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LINDSAY J. PROUDFOOT. *Urban Patronage and Social Authority: The Management of the Duke of Devonshire's Towns in Ireland, 1764–1891*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 398. \$69.95.

One of the branches of history to be developed during the past two decades concerns the landed estates of the British aristocracy. A number of historians have recently contributed to this development either by editing estate records or by writing articles and monographs. Among them are Lawrence Stone, G. E. Mingay, and J. V. Beckett (on landowners), J. R. Wordie and Eric Richards (both on the Leveson-Gower estates), and D. R. Hainsworth (on estate stewards). Lindsay J. Proudfoot's book is a useful addition to that sub-group of the genre: estate history as a branch of urban history.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the dukes of Devonshire were landowners on a very large scale. Their estates covered more than 198,000 acres in 1876. Almost a third of this acreage lay in Ireland, where even after substantial sales at Youghal and Dungarven in 1859–1861, the estates covered 60,000 acres and yielded an income of £44,000. Significantly for Proudfoot's study, the Irish estates included several towns, although the dukes were not the only landlords within most of them. The towns were Bandon in County Cork (sold in 1894) and Lismore, Dungarven, Tallow, and Youghal in County Waterford. Proudfoot's purpose is to examine the activities of the ducal agents in these towns and the economic, social, and political decisions taken by the dukes' auditors in London and by the dukes themselves. Some of the towns returned members of Parliament elected under a variety of franchises, usually very restricted, which gave the dukes of Devonshire the possibility of exercising political patronage and supporting the Whig interest in Westminster. (The varieties of political structure in the towns appear to confuse the author at Bandon: how could "twelve free burgesses" be "elected from a twelve strong common council" [p. 160]?) Through their agents, the dukes

took commercial and industrial initiatives, modest but real, in the hope of developing their towns into important centers that would benefit both the inhabitants and the Cavendish rent rolls. Socially, the dukes sought to be patriarchal if remote benefactors to their tenants, and they usually were responsible landowners, although the fifth duke was a lethargic patriarch at best and the seventh, struggling to reduce an accumulated debt of £2 million, sold much of his Irish inheritance.

After a useful historiographical survey of Irish landowning, rural and urban, Proudfoot examines the changing role of Irish landlords over the course of the eighteenth century and examines the impact of the prosperity induced by the Napoleonic wars; the extraordinary, indeed potentially disastrous, population expansion between 1800–1841; the Famine, which catastrophically reversed it; and the modernization that characterized the middle to late nineteenth century. There follows the history of how the Cavendishes acquired their Irish estates by a marriage that was more like a merger between Boyle and Cavendish properties and an analysis of how these absentee landlords managed their estates through auditors in London and agents in Ireland. The latter I found particularly interesting, but it left me hungry for more. For example, why was the fifth duke's Irish agent Connor allowed to run the estates for his own and his family's financial and political benefit without the London auditor (Sir Beaumont Hotham) intervening to check him? Proudfoot finds it mysterious, but we are entitled to know why it is mysterious. Are there gaps in the archives, or does the cause of the mystery lie elsewhere? Further chapters are chronological and concern the towns more particularly: neglect and speculation under Connor; reform under Heaton in London and Connor's Irish successors; and the interventionist development of the towns between the Act of Union (1801) and the Irish Reform Act (1832), which severely constricted the boroughs as sources of political patronage or influence. Declining interest in investment in the towns followed, as the political interest declined and the Cavendish financial position deteriorated at home.

Proudfoot's book will be read for instruction rather than pleasure because its origins as a doctoral thesis have left it relentlessly didactic, and its prose is often infested with sociological jargon. Irritatingly and confusingly, Proudfoot invariably uses the word "Devonshire," which is a title, when he really means "Cavendish." Estates go with families, not titles. Possibly a related confusion has Earl Fitzwilliam appear correctly (p. 109) and incorrectly as Earl of Fitzwilliam (p. 3 and the index). Nevertheless, Proudfoot's study contains much valuable data and shrewd analysis, and it will be mined by social, urban, and political historians of Ireland as well as by scholars specializing in the history of landed estates.

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ROBERT JAMES SCALLY. *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine, and Emigration*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 266. \$35.00.

Robert James Scally presents an intimate portrait of the community of Ballykilcline, County Roscommon, Ireland, and identifies the factors that led to its removal, virtually en masse, to the United States during the Famine of the 1840s. In compelling detail, Scally outlines the inner workings of the community from the perspective of its social structure, economy, culture, religion, landlord and tenant relationships, and education. He particularly emphasizes its cohesive value system, which allowed Ballykilcline to retain its distinctiveness until the early nineteenth century. It is the process whereby internal and external forces undermined that cohesion that is the focus of this book.

Scally identifies the novel events and circumstances that precipitated the irreversible breakdown of relations between the inhabitants of Ballykilcline and their immediate landlord, Denis Mahon. A rent strike (advanced by the larger tenants, hitherto viable but now in arrears), Mahon's employment of a Dublin firm of professional agents, the ravages wrought by the Famine, the insolvency of the middlemen, and the murder of Mahon in November 1847 (due to his policy of estate clearance) destroyed the delicate balance in relationships that had persisted hitherto, in which the role of middlemen had been pivotal.

The second part of the book deals with the mass emigration of Ballykilcline's inhabitants initiated by Mahon and continued by the crown (the ultimate owner of the property) in order to deal with massive arrears on the estate. That process ultimately led to the sponsored removal of 500 persons to New York via Liverpool. The prospect of such enforced removal transformed a subdued tenantry into defiant rebels, albeit largely nonviolent ones, who sought to defend their holdings and community. Only the onslaught of the Famine broke their collective resistance. The crossing to North America was uneventful with few casualties, thus disproving the notion of "coffin ships" as the universal norm.

What Scally's book tellingly illuminates, in a way not hitherto attempted in such detail and with such sympathy, is the clash of cultures between two contrasting worlds. On the one hand, the character of Ballykilcline is captured by the "hidden Ireland" of the title: oral, self-contained, permeated by folk religion, linguistically distinct, with a unified vision of its historical past, yet also poor, stratified socially, and vulnerable. On the other hand, there was a written culture in Ireland—relying on the law, improving, modern—articulated from without by the landlord class and its functionaries. Ironically, only when the former world came under attack from the forces of the latter did its inhabitants enter into the documentary record. In his reconstruction of this hidden world and the external challenges to it, Scally has provided a model from which all future studies of this kind must proceed, and in the process he

has effectively superseded the classic statement on the "hidden Ireland" by Daniel Corkery (*The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* [1925]). Scally contends that the Ballykilcline experience supports the Marxian model of modernization theory and asserts that other models of peasant displacement and emigration are inadequate because of their tendency to treat the emigration experience from the top down. Scally argues convincingly that the experience of Ballykilcline's peasants must be viewed from the ground up, taking account of their mental attitudes in response to circumstances.

This remarkable community portrait, written in an elegant and accessible prose in a style sympathetic to its subject matter, proceeds beyond the econometric examination of pre-Famine Ireland espoused by Joel Mokyr (*Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800–1850* [1985]) and the general account provided by Kerby Miller in his classic work, *Emigrants and Exile: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (1985). Scally's work bears comparison with Bruce Elliott's *The Irish in the Canadas: A New Approach* (1988) and Catherine Wilson's *A New Lease On Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (1994), although Scally, in contrast to Elliott and Wilson, stops short of giving a detailed treatment of the settlement pattern of his subjects after they dispersed from New York. In a historiographical context, the reader might wish that Scally had engaged in a more comparative exercise to determine how his work conforms to or challenges the work of these four scholars.

In a book of this scope, deficiencies are few. I noted, however, the absence of a bibliography and a map showing the subject area. Also, the hedge schoolmaster, Patrick Lynch, taught in Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary, which was more than "a few miles from Ballykilcline" (p. 143)! Scally speculates (pp. 222–23) about the disappearance of a large number of the emigrants en route to Dublin. This mystery might have been solved by consulting the records for the Poor Law Unions in Roscommon, a source of information that might also have been useful to the study generally. Similarly, given the book's emphasis on oral history, it is surprising that the extensive archives of the Irish Folklore Commission, located at University College Dublin, are not cited. This archive might have served to establish what perceptions about the removal of the emigrants were transmitted through adjoining townlands in later generations. These points, however, are subsidiary to the author's achievement of successfully delineating the mental world of the Irish peasant at a time of social upheaval.

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MICHAEL TURNER. *After the Famine: Irish Agriculture, 1850–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 313. \$54.95.



Michael Turner refers to his detailed study of post-Famine Irish agriculture as an "empirical exercise," and as such, much of this book is going to be hard going for the non-specialist. In the concluding chapter, however, Turner places his findings into the broader context of post-Famine Irish history and in so doing questions long-held assumptions about the relationship between Irish economic performance and social and political change. This is especially the case when he challenges the "orthodox view" (held by a long list of Irish historians, including this reviewer) that Irish tenant farmers, not landlords, were the primary beneficiaries of the post-Famine economic growth.

To reach this conclusion, Turner examines the changing structure of post-Famine Irish agriculture in order to provide new estimates of Irish agricultural output and from them "an appreciation of [its] performance" (p. 12). To do so, he created a data set of forty variables for each of the thirty-two counties over a seventy-year span, a good deal of which is reproduced in sixty-six pages of appended tables, which form the third part of the study. The first two are taken up with a discussion of land use and occupation, followed by an analysis of agricultural output in terms of its monetary value and its physical product and an assessment of its performance, including labor productivity.

The initial section details the familiar story of the post-Famine transformation of Irish agriculture from tillage to pasture and fodder crops. An integral part of this transformation was a change in land occupancy, which brought an increase in the size and number of holdings over thirty acres along with a decrease in the size but increase in the number of small holdings, especially of those under one acre.

Following this analysis of the changing structure of Irish agriculture, Turner turns to what is the core of the book and its most significant contribution: his measurement and assessment of the output and performance of Irish agriculture. He creates a new series of output estimates for the period 1850–1914, which he believes avoids many of the pitfalls of earlier estimates, especially those associated with the selecting or grouping of years for comparison and with factoring out "mortality, seeding, and the recycling of individual products" from the total agricultural output to produce estimates of the final output, or that which "was traded in markets or consumed in farmers' households" (p. 124). He finds that his new estimates correspond closely to those of previous historians regarding the direction of change of post-Famine Irish agriculture and the fact that the nominal value of output increased. What he does find is that the volume of that output remained relatively stagnant between the Famine and World War I.

After developing a new physical volume output index that stresses the importance of labor productivity, Turner finds that Irish agriculture compared favorably to that of the United Kingdom, concluding that the "farmers of Ireland acted both more positively, and more quickly, to changing agricultural situations in the

late nineteenth century" (p. 154). He cautions, however, that this may be due more to the retarded state of agriculture in the U. K. than the dynamism of that in Ireland. When compared with continental agricultural output, Irish productivity looks good until the 1890s when it was rapidly outdistanced by France and Denmark.

Turner concludes his assessment of the performance of Irish agriculture with a chapter that focuses on agricultural labor and the question of whether changes in agricultural practices were determined by the declining labor supply or were a cause of its decline. After constructing a new methodology for measuring labor usage that does not rely on the traditional assumption that tillage was significantly more labor-intensive than husbandry, he "seriously questions" the view that agricultural change came about because the labor supply declined.

Based on this extensive analysis and on a revised assessment of the relationship between factor inputs, including rents, and outputs, Turner concludes that tenant farmer incomes did not rise following the Famine to the degree calculated by William Vaughan, James S. Donnelly, Jr., and others whose findings have formed the basis for our understanding of the economic roots of the Irish Land War and the struggle for independence. Without question, Turner has succeeded in producing a volume that will compel a careful reassessment of the relationship between economic and political change in post-Famine Ireland.

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PHILIP BULL. *Land, Politics and Nationalism: A Study of the Irish Land Question*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 242. \$45.00.

Philip Bull's balanced and enlightening study of the Irish land question in the latter part of the nineteenth century is an important addition to this notoriously tangled and contentious issue. Coming fairly close on the heels of W. E. Vaughan's attempted rehabilitation of the Irish landlord (*Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* [1994]), it is also a welcome curative to some recent fashions in the writing of Irish history.

With a perspective more in tune with the cosmopolitan consciousness of Ireland in the 1990s, Bull successfully keeps the story of land agitation and the changing political culture accompanying it within the broader context of the commercialization of agriculture throughout western Europe. When Bull says in his postscript that, "In a capitalist world land is a commodity, but if its possession is in dispute, the rules that apply will not be capitalist ones" (p. 192), he effectively undermines the old but still-breathing notion that Ireland's intractable troubles over the land in the last century were due mostly to an indigenous culture embodied in both landlords and tenants that defied rational self-interest and condemned both to economic



failure and backwardness, even into the twentieth century.

From this conceptual basis, Bull is able to lend a greater continuity to the various episodes of the struggle over the land than is usually found in monographs on the subject. One of the more admirable virtues of this study, in fact, is its emphasis on the organic persistence of the mentalities of one generation of aspirants to the land into the ideological language of those that followed. This would seem to be self-evident to any dispassionate historian, but it has been markedly missing in much of the historical writing on Ireland in this period.

One of Bull's main ambitions is to clarify the connection between the land myths of the tenants and small farmers and the emergence of an Irish national identity. The land issue "became so important in nationalism and the shape of the society which emerged out of the nationalist struggle, creating between the issues of land and nationalism a nexus which was so strong that the one issue became effectively a metaphor for the other" (p. 4). It is this nexus, Bull argues, that is principally responsible for the "break-down of pluralism" in modern Ireland. While this thesis is perhaps a bit strongly put and seems to underweigh the significance of many other factors (ethnicities, Orangeism, emigration, the expatriate influence, racist policies), it offers a wholesome perspective in exposing at least some of the roots of the Romanist-ruralist Irish sort of nationalism that triumphed in the Ireland of Eamon De Valera. It might have been better still, however, if Bull had made at least a passing comparison to other forms of "catholicist" Catholic ideologies that persisted in Europe through the early twentieth century; this would seem to suit his general intent of putting the Irish case in the context of the intrusion of modern capitalism and, as Barrington Moore once put it, its effect on those over whom the wave of progress was about to roll.

There are other qualities of Bull's work that make it a useful instructional tool for advanced students, especially his terse and readable summary of the evolution of Irish political theory on the land question. Many of the key voices in that project, like William Conner, James Fintan Lalor, and John Stuart Mill, are nicely integrated into the thesis and brought a bit more to life in his reading of them. The main voice missing is that of the tenants and farmers themselves, the putative winning side in the long land struggle, whom the work is essentially about in the end. Bull often apologizes for not evoking these voices because they are difficult to resurrect from the historical record. It was the changing mentalities of the peasantry, the mixing of traditional mores and evolving expectations, that ultimately determined the shape of Irish nationalism, as he concedes. Yet many modern works have been able to retrieve the voices of the peasantry in nineteenth-century Ireland and elsewhere. Their silence here is disappointing, even allowing that this is a political rather than a social history.

Although the text still bears some of the signs of a revised dissertation, it is both more in command in its interpretations and much better written than the average representative of the genre.

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FRANK CALLANAN, *T. M. Healy*. Cork: Cork University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 754. £25.00.

Frank Callanan's biography of T. M. Healy is the first scholarly study of this controversial figure of Irish history, whose career spanned the years 1880–1920. Tim Healy, with William O'Brien and John Dillon, formed the core of the talented lieutenants whom Charles Stewart Parnell brought to prominence in the 1880s. Unlike them, Healy has long lacked a modern biography. Callanan fills that void.

Following on his superb study of the controversy over Parnell's divorce, *The Parnell Split, 1890–1891* (1992), Callanan examines the role played by the always irascible Healy in Irish politics. Callanan's study lacks personal detail, but it is rich in its analysis of Healy's role in Irish affairs over nearly sixty years.

The book is divided into three coherent parts, all closely related to Parnell: Healy's role in Parnell's rise, the part played by Healy in Parnell's downfall, and Healy's long career after Parnell's fall. Callanan's study is based on a solid examination of the major sources for this period. He had to overcome the fact that Healy's papers are scarce and has handled this problem superbly by using the original typescript of Healy's own fascinating memoir, *Life and Leaders of My Day* (1929). Callanan's research is exhaustive, and he provides the reader with 111 pages of notes and references to trace the sources of his insights.

It would not be fair to say that Healy has been neglected in Irish history. Rather, he has generally been dismissed as the chief villain who pulled down Parnell, the great leader. Callanan makes a strong case that there was far more to Healy than that.

Healy rose to prominence under Parnell's leadership, although Callanan notes that his connection with the Sullivan family and the Bantry Band gave Healy an entry into Irish politics. He made his mark first by attacking Isaac Butt for his politics of supplication. Healy believed that the "history of concessions to Ireland is the history of pressure" (p. 26).

Parnell's more aggressive brand of nationalism attracted Healy, and he became one of the Irish leader's most enthusiastic supporters. Callanan makes a good case that this support was never blind. There was no personal closeness between the two men. Healy also differed from Parnell in that he favored the creation of a peasant proprietorship and was sympathetic to a major role for Irish constituencies in the Home Rule movement. Parnell wanted a more centrally controlled organization and sought to preserve an Anglo-Irish landlord class as a way of keeping "a grid of unionist

socio-economic power" capable of counter-balancing Catholic nationalism (p. 220).

The second part of Callanan's study focuses on Healy's role in trying to destroy the Parnell myth. It is, in my view, the least interesting section of the book. The focus is highly interpretive and chronology suffers as Callanan analyzes the roots of Healy's attempt to destroy Parnell's influence in Irish political life.

In part three, Callanan shows how Healy labored to find a role for himself in Irish politics after Parnell's death in 1891. Although he remained a keen spokesman for the Irish clergy and labored to see that an Irish landowning peasantry came into existence, Healy began a drift into negation. His greatest success has been as Parnell's lieutenant, and he never again found a role that tapped his talents as well.

Callanan shows that Healy, despite the growing conservatism of his latter years, tried to stay in touch with political events in Ireland. He showed better judgment as the political scene changed than did many of his generation. For example, he appreciated how Sinn Féin changed the political agenda in Ireland in the years 1910–1920. Healy sought, mostly unsuccessfully, to carve a new role for himself as a kind of elder statesman and mediator between political generations in Ireland. But, as Callanan shows, he had sown such deep seeds of distrust that reestablishing a political role was impossible. Still, I found Healy's running comments on events in Ireland, in his letters to his brother, Maurice, and to his sometime political ally, William O'Brien, among the most interesting parts of the book.

Callanan has written a dense but valuable biography of a key figure of the second rank in Irish history.

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MARK W. KONNERT. *Civic Agendas and Religious Passion: Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion, 1560–1594*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 35.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1997. Pp. x, 182. \$40.00.

In this study, Mark W. Konnert examines a city where religious differences did not result in overt violence—where, on the contrary, positive steps were taken to ensure relatively peaceful coexistence between citizens of differing faiths. Without denying the importance of religious riots in key cities like Paris, Rouen, and Toulouse, he asks what differences in urban institutions or values caused some cities to erupt into violence while others successfully placed a damper on overt confessional strife. At the same time, Konnert challenges the link that Robert Descimon has postulated between a particularly intense urban socialization, or desire to preserve traditional communal values, and adherence in the climactic stage of the Wars of Religion to the ultra-Catholic party of the Holy League. "Could not devotion to ideals of civic virtue and communal solidarity have led a community to

oppose the League as an ideology?" he reasonably asks (p. 13).

Konnert proposes to answer these questions primarily through an examination of the debates that took place in the city council of Châlons-sur-Marne. The first half of the book surveys urban institutions, but what emerges as most important is geography. The city's position on an open plain exposed it to the benefits of trade and the hazards of war. Maintaining urban defenses necessarily played a dominant role in its political and financial strategies. The second half, or narrative history, focuses on those moments when city officers appear to have chosen the high roads of civic concord and monarchical loyalty despite potentially high political costs. In 1562, the city resisted royal orders to expel its Huguenot population, refusing even to supply a list of Huguenot residents of the town. In 1576, the town rebuffed efforts to secure its allegiance to the Catholic League, even though Champagne was a center of Guise power and the duke its governor. Châlons-sur-Marne's city councilors again refused to join the league when it was refounded in 1584 and only consented to sign the articles of alliance in August 1585, at which time their city was occupied militarily by Guise forces as a security town conceded by the Treaty of Nemours. Even then, Konnert points out, the page in city records where the oath should be recorded is blank. Despite occupation, the city officers tried to maintain "a studied neutrality by emphasizing their obedience to both the king and Guise" (p. 140). Remarkably, when urged to renew their league allegiance after the Day of the Barricades in May 1588, the city council refused, and when the league went into open rebellion against the crown six months later, following Henry III's assassination of the duke and cardinal of Guise, Châlons-sur-Marne was one of the first towns to declare its loyalty to the king.

Konnert is surely right when he suggests that the city's experience of Guise occupation, along with its longstanding competition with other Champenois towns for regional preeminence, helped to keep it in the royalist camp. Châlons was rewarded well for its loyalties; its "civic autonomy and civic agenda were better served by loyalty than by rebellion" (pp. 163–64). The broader argument—that the city council was consistently animated by principles of "integrity" and "solidarity" (p. 50)—is less convincing because more elusive. If, for the Châlonnais, these principles meant toleration of religious differences, citizens of other towns were equally emphatic in defining them in terms of religious unity, the "integrity" of the Catholic faith, and the "solidarity" of Catholic believers.

Konnert convincingly argues that we need to look more closely at those cities that managed to escape the worst of the confessional strife. If he is less successful at explaining just how Châlons-sur-Marne accomplished this feat, it is because a fully satisfying answer cannot be found in city council registers alone.

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BERNARD BARBICHE and SÉGOLÈNE DE DAINVILLE-BARBICHE. *Sully: L'homme et ses fidèles*. Paris: Fayard. 1997. Pp. 698.

Like Robert Knecht, who in 1994 greatly enlarged his *Francis I* (1982) into *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*, Bernard Barbiche has now totally revised his *Sully* (1978), this time in collaboration with Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche. In both cases, the result of these revisions are vastly improved books whose authors have allowed the experience of the years, and a flood of new scholarly work, to change and amplify their ideas. In the case of Barbiche, the amount of newly available studies is astonishing. Of the 176 works cited in the bibliography, about eighty have been published since 1978, and of these more than twenty have come out of English-speaking scholarship. One of the book's great strengths is that its authors are fully aware of this work in English, something that cannot always be said of French historians. The new material has amplified and sometimes changed Barbiche's ideas about a large number of problems, which are approached in a more strictly chronological framework than was the case with the first version of his book.

Much previous work was based on the figures supplied by Jean-Roland Malet's *Comptes-rendus de l'Administration des Finances* (1789): the authors show that the analysis of this work by Margaret and Richard Bonney (*Jean-Roland Malet, Premier Historien des Finances de la Monarchie Française* [1993]) now allows us to use the figures with confidence, thus laying a new groundwork for fiscal studies. In the same vein, the work of Françoise Bayard (*Le Monde des Financiers au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* [1988]) renews our understanding of the *système fisco-financier* through which a large part of the central treasury actually functioned (p. 366), and the research of James B. Collins (*Classes, Estates and Order in Early Modern Brittany* [1994]) allows the authors to set out the convergence of interest between the royal authority and the provincial elites. In general, Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche conclude that the work of Sully between 1605 and 1610 set up a sort of precocious "administrative monarchy," like that described by Michel Antoine as having been established by the "revolution of 1661," when the Colbertian system began to operate (p. 210). One aspect of this system was the reliance on *fidèles et créatures* identified by Roland Mousnier (p. 432), and a chapter is devoted to tracking down these elusive networks; there is also a section called *dictionnaire biographique*, in which the biographies of these individuals are set out in a very helpful way. Buildings and fortifications took up a large part of Sully's administrative activity, and here the authors make telling use of the work of Hilary Ballon, whose *Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (1991) has sorted out a good many problems that had baffled previous researchers.

The new book is much fuller than the old in dealing with the duke's activities during his long (and involun-

tary) retirement from 1611 to 1641. The work of Isabelle Aristide (*La Fortune de Sully* [1990]) is pressed into service to describe Sully's fortune; he was a sober investor, with extensive holdings in land rather than less tangible assets. This made him about as rich as Jean-Baptiste Colbert, but much poorer than Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. The authors analyze recent work on Sully's town of Henrichemont, concurring with Edmund Dickerman and Anita Walker that this was a sort of "toy town" (p. 316). Finally, the extensive work by Laurent Avezou (*Sully à Travers L'Histoire* [1996]) has permitted a full account of "the heritage and the myth," running from Sully as a hero of the Physiocrats to Sully as the patron of "French renewal" under the Vichy government *ca.* 1941.

To these insights of recent historians, Barbiche and Dainville-Barbiche add new ideas of their own. Previous writers, the present reviewer included, had not appreciated the degree to which the young Sully was a "malcontent," prickly and ready to withdraw his services if they did not seem to be adequately rewarded. The authors also set out the way in which the advent of French tax farmers involved the effacement of Lyons as the country's great financial center and its replacement by Paris. Using a most expressive term drawn from current political discourse, they show how Sully used the technique of *noyautage*, infiltrating his *fidèles* into all parts of the royal administration so as to undermine the power of rivals. Finally, they include some fascinating pages about the now rather neglected Grand Design, arguing convincingly that it has in many respects come to fruition in the operations of the United Nations.

This is, then, a rich and dense book, bringing together a great deal of new information. It is not strong on material culture, and it lacks maps and plates, in the usual French style. This is a pity, because the textual explanations could sometimes greatly have benefited from appropriate maps, and the magnificent dustjacket hints at the authors' extensive knowledge of such obscure but highly evocative imagery. Still, these are small complaints about a book that will surely be the standard work for many years.

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DAVID STEWART. *Assimilation and Acculturation in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Roussillon and France, 1659–1715*. Foreword by JOHN C. RULE. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 57.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1997. Pp. xvi, 202. \$59.95.

This book is the product of extensive archival research. It deals with French attempts to absorb Catalan Roselló (Roussillon) after it was ceded by Spain in 1659. Louis XIV tried to replace Catalan with French culture as the necessary corollary to the political assimilation of the province. David Stewart separates the two policies and demonstrates that, although the French

successfully imposed their pattern of authority, acculturation proved a failure.

French support had been welcomed throughout Catalonia during the 1640 revolt against the process of Castilianization. Roussillon's capital, Perpignan, fell to French arms in 1642, and when Barcelona was recovered by Spain ten years later many Catalans fled northward across the Pyrenees. In the course of the war, it was in the French interest to respect the Catalan liberties known as *usages*. Explicit assurances to this effect were given at the peace of 1659 and subsequently repeated. These promises were not kept, although innovative French institutions were often concealed under the pretence that they were adaptations of Catalan traditions. Emigré Catalans from the south, who were the dominating presence in the new sovereign council established in Perpignan, served the French well politically while defending Catalan culture. Among the French *intendants* appointed under Louis XIV in Roussillon there was even one Catalan from Barcelona.

French endeavors to restrict Catalan contacts across the Pyrenees proved ineffective, as did attempts to replace Catalan law and the Catalan language. The Catholic church in Roussillon and the University of Perpignan became centers of resistance to what Stewart calls "francisation." French economic and military policies did little to shake Catalan cultural loyalties, and fiscal innovations excited discontent. During the first two decades of French rule, there were several conspiracies among the elite to return Roussillon to Spain, and a guerilla war was waged by the peasant *Angelets* in the high valleys of the Pyrenees against the French salt tax or *gabelle*. Stewart skilfully unravels the complexities of the plots, the mountain wars, and the internal politics of church and university. The French mixed repression with conciliation in their handling of these issues, and the people of Roussillon came eventually to accept French political authority while preserving their cultural identity. If there is a weakness in Stewart's account, it lies in heavy-handed repetition of the central themes and some of the narrative details.

This is a very different book from Peter Sahlins's *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (1990), with which it will inevitably be compared. In his analysis of the division of Cerdagne (Catalan Cerdanya) between France and Spain after 1659, Sahlins focuses on the interplay between the center and the periphery and finds a cultural dynamic in local and regional rivalries. It is a pity that Stewart does not incorporate more of the insights Sahlins has provided. There might also be more comparison with policies of acculturation in other territories incorporated in the French state. Alsace is mentioned briefly in the conclusion, and there is a reference to the contemporary revolt against the *gabelle* led by Bernard d'Audijos in southwest France. There is more similarity between the experience of the Pyrenean peoples at either end of the mountain frontier than Stewart imagines.

Geography is a vital element in a book of this kind, but the maps, or, rather, diagrams are woefully inadequate. There are, however, useful appendixes providing demographic tables, biographical notes, lists of the dates of public officials, bishops and popes, and a glossary of terms.

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CHRISTINE ADAMS, JACK R. CENSER, and LISA JANE GRAHAM, editors. *Visions and Revisions of Eighteenth-Century France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 214. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

Dedicated to Robert Forster, this volume is a thoughtful tribute to one of the most respected American specialists of French history. Forster has played a large role in the popularization of *Annales* history in the United States, and it is no surprise that the editors of this book stress the importance of capturing the *longue durée*. More precisely, they argue that we too often see eighteenth-century history as little more than a progression to the cataclysm of 1789. Christine Adams, Jack R. Censer, and Lisa Jane Graham prefer to treat the period in terms of its continuities (pp. 4–5).

But here two problems emerge that are not resolved in this book. The first, as even the editors admit, is that a great deal of interesting work in the field has been forged outside the *Annales* school. Jürgen Habermas and the "public sphere" theme is one case in point. Another is the whole debate, kindled by Joan Landes, about the relationship between gender and ideology in the Enlightenment and French Revolution. The editors stress the value of these inquiries, but in their lengthy introduction, they fall short of providing a conceptual framework that synthesizes the old and the new. The methodological vagueness is compounded by an insistence on the importance of studying "individual agency" in history (p. 18). But how does one square methodological individualism with the *longue durée*?

The second problem is that the essays in the volume are not inspired by common questions, and they do not form a cumulative impression of the period. A few are certainly worth reading for their own sake. Cissie Fairchild gives a bold and thought-provoking account of the impact of Counter-Reformation piety on consumption habits. She artfully suggests that historians have exaggerated the special economic effects of Protestantism. Catholicism, it turns out, also stimulated an acquisitive habit. With its emphasis on material goods and images as aids to devotion, the church sponsored a mass market in crucifixes, rosaries, and pictures. Fairchild suggests that the passion for religious goods quickly turned into a passion for goods in general. Yet even in this essay, which is the most deeply researched and broadly speculative piece in the volume, confusion arises. Fairchild includes Jansenism as a form of Counter-Reformation Catholicism, which seems to be a simplification, for she notes that Jansenist theology



was closely allied to Calvinism. Much of the consumerism that Fairchilds detects took place in Jansenist communities, so the terms of her original argument (that Catholicism promoted consumption as much as Protestantism) are not nuanced enough to accommodate the middle phenomenon of Jansenism.

Another interesting essay is that of Orest Ranum on the letters of the Marquis de Sade to his estate manager. Focusing on the aristocrat's violent verbal abuse of his employee, Ranum ironically discerns a code of decency in the midst of Sade's insults. The absence of sexual and scatological language in Sade's letters suggests that even verbal abuse had its limits, its rules of *bienséance*. No less intriguing is Lenard R. Berlanstein's acutely analytical essay on Enlightenment attitudes toward actresses (in which he mainly agrees with Landes that all conceptions of the public sphere in the Enlightenment were designed to exclude women). But these are the only essays in the volume that are rigorous in their terms of analysis. The others are fraught with inconsistencies.

For example, in an essay devoted to the Jacobin pamphleteer Dufourny de Villiers, Harvey Chisick states: "Unlike many of his contemporaries and colleagues in the Jacobin Club . . . he [Dufourny] did not believe that self-interest worked as a sort of moral equivalent of gravity or that when subjected to the workings of a market mechanism it resulted in the general good" (p. 114). This formulation suggests that many Jacobins reasoned like Bernard Mandeville and Adam Smith, which is plainly untrue. A few pages later, Chisick himself describes Jacobinism as "a political moralism" (pp. 117, 125). He then criticizes François Furet for being "too cerebral" and paying too little attention to the working class. Yet, Chisick's own essay is an analysis of Jacobin ideology that stresses its failure to provide a foundation for stable democracy; both his topic and his conclusion place him next to the very person he criticizes.

One could provide more examples of illogic in this volume, but there is no need. A long part of the introduction summarizes every article in the book. Readers can begin there and select the topics that intrigue them the most. Although it does not keep its promise to provide "visions and revisions," there is no shortage of facts in this book from which interesting perspectives might be forged.

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DANIEL ROCHE, *Histoire des choses banales: Naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris: Fayard. 1997. Pp. 329.

In recent years, the history of material culture and consumerism has been mainly practiced by Anglo-American scholars. A notable exception, however, has been French historian Daniel Roche, whose path-breaking studies of popular consumption and clothing

in the Old Regime, based on a rich trove of after-death inventories, have put the subject on the agenda in France as well. This most recent and comprehensive volume synthesizes Roche's work along with that of others, attempting to understand the main aspects of material life in prerevolutionary France—heat, light, water, furnishings, clothing, and diet—within the broadest possible ecological, social, and political contexts.

At the outset, the author describes his endeavor as an "intellectual and cultural history" (p. 10) that draws together broad socioeconomic history of the sort once practiced by Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse with the microhistorical approaches favored today by historians of culture such as Roger Chartier. Although Roche occasionally invokes concepts such as "practice" and "appropriation," he is forced in the end to concede that the scale on which he is working does not allow for a close analysis of how people appropriated goods and transformed objects by making them into parts of themselves: "In order to get at that, we would need ethnography on a very small scale, in which we could finally see the process whereby value is invested in objects" (p. 269). Roche's debt is more clearly to the macrohistorical tradition of the *Annales*, whose influence is advertised by the very title of his first chapter, "The Natural Environment and the Human Environment." Not that Roche neglects differences; on the contrary, his chapters are crisscrossed with social distinctions and regional examples, from the contrast between a winegrower's house in Beaujolais and a rich farmer's establishment in Île de France to the variety of foods eaten by the peasants of Auvergne versus those of Périgord. But for all of its careful drawing of lines, this study offers much more of a bird's eye than a worm's eye view. Cultural commentary comes mostly in the form of explanations of the psychosocial meaning of such elemental goods (Roche often quotes Gaston Bachelard) as houses, fire, water, or bread.

Indeed, this study's strength and originality comes from the inclusion among the *choses banales* of goods sometimes overlooked by historians of consumption that nonetheless profoundly shape one's experience of the material world: air, light, heat, water. Roche's chapters on these subjects are excellent, bringing together questions of ecology, politics, social relations, and domestic architecture. His chapter on light, for example, touches on the illumination of palaces, churches, and theaters, the need to light up the night with festivals, the temptation for artisans to lengthen the working day illegally, the widespread fear of the dark, and the literal meaning of "Enlightenment." His pages on water take us from the problem of provisioning Paris with gallons of safe water—from the sixteenth century, the Seine was described as a "latrine"—to the role of wells and fountains in village and neighborhood sociability. The sections on furniture, clothing, and food, although not entirely new—they are drawn in part from Roche's earlier work—are of considerable interest and importance. We see the



dwellings of eighteenth-century Parisians change before us, as windows get bigger, chimneys smaller, and fireplaces metamorphose into stoves. People in these rooms take on new postures as they no longer crouch to cook in the chimney or to place clothing in trunks but stand at a table or open the drawers of a dresser. We witness the beginnings of a fashion revolution that was also a major cultural upheaval, as clothes for all but the very poor became an ephemeral, fashion-bound pleasure instead of an unambiguous badge of rank.

Another scholar might have hitched this wealth of information firmly to a central thesis, but for Roche, it is method and approach that count. His central question, drawn from the philosopher Henri Lefebvre, is "[W]hy and how can men live as they do, and why do they accept to do so?" (p. 14). Although the eighteenth-century consumer revolution is touched on in many of his chapters, it is never granted a special, separate focus and does not seem to be the author's central concern. This is no highway of knowledge to be speeded down but a more leisurely route, many of whose byways are, as the Michelin Guide puts it, "worth a detour."

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STEVEN LAURENCE KAPLAN. *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question, 1700–1775*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 761. \$49.95.

This book is the third of a trilogy of substantial volumes that Steven Laurence Kaplan has written about bread and the provisioning of Paris in the eighteenth century. In the first volume, Kaplan dealt primarily with the national policy debate between government regulation of the grain trade and *laissez-faire*. In the second, he focused on the economic organization of the grain trade, including the elaborate network of intermediaries, credit mechanisms, the emergence of the miller-merchant, new milling technology, and policing, all embedded in highly charged emotions surrounding a commodity that was literally a matter of life and death.

About this third volume, Kaplan writes: "This book about bread and bakers is a wholly new study with an agenda of its own, though it is true that I could not complete it . . . until I had researched, conceptualized, and written the others . . . No single, overriding thesis governs this book, except for the claim that the bread question relentlessly hedges and haunts every other life activity" (p.15). Kaplan's book is indeed a "world" in the *Annaliste* tradition, the world of some 500 Parisian bakers, based on archival serial sources: wills, marriage contracts, death inventories, apprenticeship contracts, bankruptcy declarations, court cases, and a wealth of police reports. Yet this rich book is also a contribution to a newer cultural history with its emphasis on bread as a symbol with aesthetic and spiritual qualities, especially the Eucharistic overtone. Kaplan

even speculates on "bread-as-France," suggesting that the stereotype of "a ruddy-cheeked man in a beret with Gauloise cigarette . . . and loaf of bread under his arm evokes more authority than either Astérix or Mari-anne" (p. 4). Above all, Kaplan intersperses his graphics and quantifiable data with case-studies of individual bakers in the manner of Olwen Hufton (*The Poor of Eighteenth Century France* [1974]). These vivid portraits rescue this 750-page volume from the charge that a subject need not be exhausted to be known.

The book is divided into three sections. Part one deals with the demand and supply of bread. Rather than a statistical exposition, Kaplan concentrates on the protocols of exchange; the tastes of Parisians, which made white bread mandatory even in times of scarcity; and the largely futile efforts of moralists, scientists, and administrators to modify consumer habits. Like Daniel Roche in *The People of Paris: An Essay on Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (1987), Kaplan uses death inventories to describe every artifact in the baker shop and bread market. After describing each stage of bread making, he evokes the master baker after a night kneading mountains of dough. Could this man be "indifferent to that warm, slightly humid, nut-fruit-and-wine aroma that gently engulfed the bakeroom as the just-baked batch ripened?" (p. 80).

Part two is the longest (283 pages) and most satisfying section of the book. Here Kaplan presents an in-depth analysis of the bakers' guild, moving beyond the corporate legal forms to the everyday lives of master bakers and their journeymen. What an enormous improvement on the earlier works on French guilds! Marshaling his serial sources and personal testimony, Kaplan explores guild admissions, the experience of apprenticeship, the long stage of journeyman-ship, and the journeyman's life outside the guild, especially his poor prospects for founding a family or having any time to be with wife and children if he managed to contract a marriage.

Kaplan's sources permit an even more thorough treatment of the master bakers. Here marriage, inheritance, and patronage could be crucial to the establishment of a shop with sufficient capital to insure a regular supply of grain and flour. Kaplan demonstrates statistically that masterships in the bakers guild were more accessible than the older works on guilds have concluded, which is not to say that the majority of bakers made it to mastership. Tables and bar and pie graphs abound as Kaplan explores marriage strategies, portions, median assets and liabilities, household goods, baker investments, and business failures. Each of these economic indicators is complemented by individual examples. Thus, Pierre Lepage with his prosperous bakery on the bustling rue de Reuilly and his family of ten living in a large house with garden, barn, and a cellar stocked with wine, wood, wax, and olive oil is contrasted to Pierre Anquetin who lived in two bedrooms over his shop and died leaving a widow, six minor children, and debts (pp. 369–74). In general,

the bakers did not profit from the bread crises of the late century, since the scope of their operations did not permit much speculation and stocking. Yet the fortunes of the bakery business as a whole seem to have improved slowly over the century, much as those of Roche's Parisian artisans did.

Part three inspects the policing of bakers. This is more familiar ground for readers of Kaplan's *Provisioning Paris: Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade* (1984), since the policing policies toward bakers were not so different from those concerning millers. Kaplan is sympathetic to the goals of the Paris administration: that is, to their efforts to provide enough quality bread at reasonable prices under conditions of marketing susceptible to surveillance. Given these goals, it was not in the interest of the administration to bludgeon the bakers. In fact, the police often helped the bakers procure supplies in the countryside and in the town markets, shielded them from the exactions of local seigneurs and venal officeholders, and offered them storage facilities. On the other hand, the police had to bend to popular rage in moments of bread shortage and make an example of those bakers accused of adulteration or short-weighting. In sum, the Paris police had to weigh the social costs and benefits of coercion, aid to bakers, and restraint from any regulation. Kaplan concludes, however, that after 1775, the old social contract—the moral economy that required policing—was unraveling. Under the banner of physiocracy the “sheer force of capitalism . . . proved increasingly irresistible” (p. 580).

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SUE PEABODY. *“There Are No Slaves in France”: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 210. \$39.95.

Until relatively recently, scholarly studies have been ambiguous about whether slaves could be kept in metropolitan France under the *ancien régime*. Offering little precision on the matter, books often made vague reference to the idea that ancient law prohibited slavery in France and that any slaves brought by their masters from the colonies were automatically freed upon touching French soil. Over a decade ago, the noted historian Pierre Pluchon established the general outlines of the question in *Nègres et juifs au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le racisme au siècle des lumières* (1984). Now Sue Peabody, without revising Pluchon, goes beyond his contribution to provide a more detailed analysis of the so-called “Freedom Principle” and how it enabled some slaves in mainland France to obtain their freedom.

Peabody has done a commendable job of digging out court cases, judicial decisions, and royal decrees to trace the origins of the “Freedom Principle” and show its complicated development. Prior to the eighteenth

century, the premise that slaves became free upon entering France prevailed, but this idea was modified during the Regency when an increasing number of slave servants accompanied planters visiting or returning to France. Royal edicts and declarations of 1716 and 1738 granted masters the right to retain their slaves under certain circumstances, but the Parlement of Paris refused to ratify these measures, primarily because they contained the word “slave.” As a result, over 150 slaves in Paris alone, especially during the 1750s and 1760s, obtained legal counsel and successfully challenged the restrictions of 1716 and 1738. In the process, a series of lawyers became expert at representing blacks, working out strategies, and pleading cases before the Paris Admiralty Court or the Parlement. They invariably won freedom for their clients. As more and more slaves landed in France—Peabody estimates a total of 4,000–5,000, or half the number that came to Britain—and gained their liberty through litigation, the monarchy attempted to impose new restrictions in the late 1770s. It based these laws on color distinctions in order to make their registration possible by avoiding the word “slave.” The “Police des Noirs” legislation of 1777 strove to prevent slaves from coming to France; it also called for their retention in port city jails if they did arrive and their return to the colonies at their master's expense. Subsequent refinements in 1778 banned interracial marriages in France and even ordered resident blacks to carry identity cards. Still, these restrictions remained largely unapplied or unenforceable due to ineffective implementation, jurisdictional disputes, and renewed court challenges. Just before the revolution, cases granting slaves freedom were still being pleaded before French courts.

Although Peabody ends her analysis with the coming of the French Revolution in 1789, a postscript points out that the “Freedom Principle” was finally legitimized by revolutionary authorities shortly before they abolished colonial slavery as a whole in 1794. Nevertheless, Napoleon reintroduced both slavery and the “Police des Noirs” in 1802. Only in 1836 did the July Monarchy reaffirm the principle that slaves brought to France were automatically freed, just a dozen years before the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic ended French colonial slavery.

Peabody has produced a solid piece of legal and social history. Unfortunately, it is redundant in places, annoyingly repeating certain points, phrases, and even developments. One also receives the impression that this work could have been better integrated into the mainstream of prerevolutionary French history. For example, the author should have stressed the manner in which her theme meshes with recent historiography emphasizing how inefficient the French monarchy was becoming in enforcing its legislation and imposing its will. Or she might have shown how her topic was integral to the emerging political culture of late eighteenth-century France. Still, as a whole, this is an impressively researched, exhaustively documented

book, a model of how to exploit archival and legal primary sources. It should prove to be the definitive study of the slavery question in mainland France prior to the French Revolution.

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ALAN FORREST. *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789–1799*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 377. \$85.00.

Regional studies of the French Revolution never fail to expand our understanding of that great movement and to show that it had ramifications far from Paris. Following his earlier work on Bordeaux, Alan Forrest has prepared a careful and intelligent history of the ill-formed and somewhat amorphous province of Aquitaine and its successor departments. Forrest comes to this work with an excellent background of archival work spread over several decades, and few can match his intimate knowledge of this region.

Every regional analysis has to consider the contending forces of nationalism and of particularism. Naturally, local politicians voice the specific demands of their constituents, and Forrest shows that these are important, if narrowly conceived. He demonstrates that the Municipal Revolution provided Aquitaine with “a revolutionary movement they could call their own” (p. 67), unlike the Great Fear, which had less impact. Before the Federalist revolt, most people in the region had only a faint adherence to the concept of national unity: Paris was far away, as were Belgium and Germany. Wrapped up in their own concerns, they had not undergone “acculturation,” lagging behind other regions in enthusiastic support for the *patrie en danger* and contributing few *fédérés* to serve the nation. The Bordelais *négociants* preferred to tend to their overseas trade, the Basques to continue their trans-Pyrenees smuggling, and the great landowners, noble and bourgeois, to expand their vineyards.

But the entrance of England into the war in 1793 began the long economic decline of the great ports, affecting Bordeaux especially. Coincidental to this was the political crisis in Paris, which resulted in the triumph of the radical Jacobins and the expulsion of the deputies from the Gironde. Other demoralizing tendencies included peasant unrest over common land partitions and the conversion of land from grain growing to viticulture. As a result of such disparate movements, each carefully described by Forrest, the urban communities of the region took leadership roles in the Federalist movement.

Previously almost apolitical in their refusal to follow national trends, many people of all classes in Aquitaine quickly turned against the revolution. The Jacobin Terror hit Bordeaux especially hard and caused the Basques to renounce support for the revolution. The chief villain in this story is the Jacobin national government of Year II, which is portrayed as insensitive to local interests, impatient with Basque demands

for use of their own language and culture, ignorant in trade matters, and generally out of step with what the vast majority of the populace wanted. Some of the Jacobins, however, tried to moderate the impact of their centralizing policies: the Terror “was tempered to reflect the interests and the traditions of the community” (p. 243).

The lucrative overseas trade in wine, curtailed when England declared war, was revived in 1795, when the United States began to import large amounts. But, as if the deleterious impact of Jacobin trade policies had not been bad enough, the Directory ruined this new overseas relationship with its quasi-war of 1797. Those who lived on the benefits of overseas trade, whether vineyard owners, merchants, dockyard workers, or sailors, suffered as a result of the war and ill-considered economic policies before and after Thermidor.

Forrest produces valuable insight on the role of the army as a nationalistic force. In many parts of France, the army did mobilize the populace in support of the revolution, but in Bordeaux and its region, it all too often seemed the strong arm of an autocratic state. High desertion rates and a lack of conscripts reflected disaffection. “More generally, the policies of recruitment and desertion would be one of the commonest ways in which local people were brought into contact with the revolutionary state” (p. 310), often to their displeasure.

The fruit of years of reflection and careful thought, this work illuminates the revolutionary history of an important region and helps us to begin to see, following in the footsteps of Beatrice Hyslop, how the forces of localism and nationalism together formed the French Revolution.

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JOHANNES WILLMS. *Paris, Capital of Europe: From the Revolution to the Belle Epoque*. Translated by EVELINE L. KANES. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1997. Pp. ix, 436. \$40.00.

Johannes Willms is fascinated by Paris. His history provides little reason to find the French capital lovable, but he has read deeply about it in primary and secondary works, especially memoirs, descriptions, and travelers’ reports, and he offers a wealth of information.

The book begins on the eve of the French Revolution and ends with Napoleon III’s and Baron Haussmann’s rebuilding projects, although a rather slim last chapter—“From Commune to Belle Epoque”—recounts the uprising of 1871 with its bloody repression and follows out some of the consequences of Second Empire urbanism in the period leading up to World War I. Willms’s prose is clear and straightforward and seems to have been ably translated by Eveline L. Kanes.

A brief summary of what Willms finds most significant would go something like this: Paris offered many

opportunities for living well, but most of its inhabitants had miserable lives mired in poverty, dirt, and disease. The social tensions and class hatreds that this situation nurtured account for the recurring outbreaks of revolt that the city experienced, but no political movement from below ever accomplished anything significant. The demoralization of the lower classes was matched by the self-indulgent and sometimes frenetic search for pleasure among the elites, two sides of the same reaction to the city's history of bad hygiene and periodic violence. The city's authoritarian transformation at the hands of Napoleon III was inspired by self-interested, fearful, and often unavowed feelings and motives, but it constituted "the only truly successful revolution in Paris during the entire nineteenth century, creating by force the conditions of modern life" (p. 338).

So bare a summary may make Willms's account seem dryer and more distant than it is: in fact, he provides much colorful, involved narrative, enlivened with quotes from contemporary accounts. All the same, this is very disillusioned history, a story of Paris for the 1990s, in which little of the city's traditional romantic attraction survives and where there is heroism neither in bourgeois ambition and energy nor in working-class protest and struggle.

This might not be reason in itself to look negatively on the book. The trouble is that a certain kind of disillusionment, when fleshed out in a narrative style intended to appeal to general readers, joins with the romanticization it replaces in putting on the stage collective personae whose exact identity does not matter much. Sometimes Willms's story sounds like a traditional tale of class conflict, but at others the poor appear too irrational and incoherent to have any goals worth struggling for. When "the people" failed to act vigorously against the Convention on 12 Germinal (1795), they "were going to have to pay for their weakness . . . for over a hundred years" (p. 90). But these are the same "people" (Willms knows that the label covered over large differences, but at crucial moments they recede from view) who in 1793 had revealed their "dark passions and secret, vengeful urges" (p. 70), who later came to regard Napoleon "with the same blind trust they had previously had in the king" (p. 119), and whose actions in June of 1848 were "a spontaneous hunger strike" (p. 249) with little political significance. Willms's suggestions about changing social relations are based almost wholly on anecdotal evidence, and are often vague or questionable (e.g., the claim that class "enmity and division" was more marked during the Second Empire than it had been earlier [pp. 288–289] or the assertion that the revolution of July 1830 had to be made by the *classes dangereuses* "because the traditional artisan milieu, from which the revolutionary cadre of the Commune of 1792 had come, had turned conservative" [p. 194]).

There are moments when Willms offers challenging or interesting *propos*, but these are seldom followed up. One example: "Haussmann's transformation of

Paris created the conditions for the great myth in which modernity is fulfilled, the myth of the metropolis as it manifested itself in the Paris of the Second Empire" (p. 277). Yes, one responds, tell me more, but no more comes. Indeed, one of the strange features of this book is how little attention it pays to cultural developments; various literary figures are mentioned, but neither Charles Baudelaire nor the Impressionists seem to offer any clues to the "modern life" that emerged in Paris, and although Walter Benjamin is mentioned, his ideas are neither expounded on nor confronted. The reader perks up when faced with the claim that "there is much to be said for the theory that the dance craze [the public balls of the early 1830s]—like all the popular pleasures that promptly became excesses—was a phenomenon complementary to the 'time of riots' as Parisians characterized the years 1830–34" (p. 233). Perhaps, but there are also things to be said against such a theory, none of which make any appearance here. The dustjacket blurb says that "this is a work that will delight the specialist and the tourist alike." *Bonne chance*. I fear it will frustrate the first and mislead the second.

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JUDITH F. STONE. *Sons of the Revolution: Radical Democrats in France, 1862–1914*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 434. \$55.00.

Judith F. Stone has written a saga of the radicals in the Third French Republic before World War I. Solidly researched and well written, her book is an exemplary model of narrative political history at a time when the genre has fallen from favor. It is a story told before, but with only mixed success because of the difficulties of defining radicalism in a coherent way. Various conceived as a political faction, a coterie of journalists, a caucus of parliamentary deputies, a way of public life, a stance toward politics, and a political discourse, the essence of French radicalism has never been captured in a way that satisfies specialists in the field. Against the odds, Stone may have succeeded in doing so.

Stone's narrative has a motif: the public life of Camille Pelletan, who epitomized the "sons of the Revolution." Pelletan was literally the son of one of the romantic radicals of the revolution of 1848; he was figuratively the son of a revolutionary tradition rich in lore, powerful in its emotional commitment to a republican vision of the good society, and tireless in its efforts to eradicate the vestiges of monarchism from the attitudes of French citizens and the institutions of the modern French state. I suspect that when Stone embarked on this project, she had a biography of Pelletan in mind. Because he spoke for the most progressive element among late-nineteenth-century radicals, he provides an apt focal point for tracing the rise of radicalism from a congeries of informal associations to a mass political party.



But Stone's study is no mere life and times. She offers an account of the radical movement considered as a whole, for which the life of Pelletan is less the essential thread than a sustaining totem. As she explains, her intent is to interpret the larger culture of radical politics. In her efforts to comprehend this elusive subject, she has the advantage of being able to draw on the themes of today's politics of identity. Topics such as class, gender, political discourse, and the social protocols of political life, which once provided the tacit understandings through which historians framed their interpretations, here become the objects of her scrutiny.

Stone builds her case for the radicals' identity amidst the familiar landmarks of their move from a politics of republican opposition during the last days of the Second Empire to their arrival at governmental responsibility at the turn of the century. Their defense of the Third Republic during the Dreyfus affair made manifest an idealism that propelled them into political power. Their confusion in the face of the challenges of their new role, however, led quickly to discord and to the dimming of the vision that had inspired their politics. Stone's saga is not so much of the rise and fall of a party, however, as it is of the growing recognition on the part of a generation of well-intentioned republican politicians of the limits of what politics could accomplish. Written from the perspective of a present age that no longer shares the radicals' particular expectations about the future, her history is not so much about their destiny as it is about the work they did while they played leading roles on the French political stage. Stone writes with perception about the mores of public life, notably the dynamics of the informal associations in which radicalism took its beginnings, the work of parliamentary committees, fraternal rivalries within the party, and the uneasy relationship with the socialists for the allegiances of the electorate. In the process, she lays out the dilemmas with which they continually wrestled in their passage from marginal opponents to reigning politicians of the regime. They were outspoken advocates of universal suffrage who remained lukewarm about women's political rights, champions of individual liberties unwilling to defend them in the face of claims about national security, spokesmen for the interests of the little people who failed to grasp the way they were being absorbed into new social groupings. Stone would expose the chimera of an ideal of progress that had inspired the radicals and lured them on, an ideological shibboleth that they never abandoned but which had lost much of its meaning by the time they formed a government of their own.

The grand narrative may be an old-fashioned genre. But in Stone's masterly rendering, it remains the most effective way to draw together the array of elements that constituted radical politics in that era. In this respect, her study is a significant accomplishment. She provides a wonderfully clear analysis of complex issues and writes with the authority of one who knows not

only the primary sources but also the best of recent scholarship. The radicals have fascinated the generation of historians that came of age in the 1960s as a venue for exploring the struggle to forge the democratic ideal. I suspect, however, that this tradition of exegesis is nearing its end. In an age in which the politics of culture has displaced the politics of progress, the radicals have less to say to us, and for reasons Stone suggests. All of their causes—their particular appreciations of class struggle, the heritage of the French Revolution, nationalism as a political allegiance, politics as a social pastime (not to mention a misogynistic view of the politics of gender)—have lost their appeal as places to which we look to locate our present ideals. Stone's insights into these elements of a rapidly receding political culture are impressive. Future generations of historians may wish to revisit the radicals for reasons we cannot yet suspect. But for this problem explored in this mode, Stone comes close to giving us the last word.

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BRUCE VANDERVORT. *Victor Griffuelhes and French Syndicalism, 1895–1922*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 278. \$50.00.

KENNETH H. TUCKER, JR. *French Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Public Sphere*. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 284. \$54.95.

French revolutionary syndicalism has both fascinated and repelled observers. The sympathetically inclined find refreshing its anarchist-federalist vision of industrial organization, its doctrines of class war and direct action, and its visceral opposition to duplicitous politicians and ivory-tower intellectuals. Critics find its *ouvriérisme* confining and its doctrines hopelessly naïve.

Two recent books revisit the history and ideology of this fascinating phase of organized labor in France. Beyond the obvious similarity of subject, however, the studies inhabit entirely different worlds. The book by Bruce Vandervort is a traditional "life-and-times biography" (p. xi) of Victor Griffuelhes, the general secretary of the French labor federation (the Confédération Générale du Travail or CGT) from 1901 to 1909. Griffuelhes is the person most commonly associated with the "heroic" phase of French syndicalism. The book by Kenneth H. Tucker, Jr., comes from the world of contemporary cultural and social studies; history is used principally to amend what Tucker considers to be the inadequacies of previous sociological models and cultural theories.

Tucker's book analyzes the evolution of French revolutionary syndicalist ideology utilizing the framework provided by Jürgen Habermas's notion of the "bourgeois public sphere." Tucker reasonably argues, however, that the "bourgeois public sphere" should

not be considered a transcendental space for rational interaction. It must be historicized; Habermasian theory must be, in Tucker's words, "supplemented by a consideration of the context in which social action takes place" (p. 49). The implication of this for nineteenth-century France is recognition that there were a plurality of public spheres. There was a "reactionary public sphere," which gets no real attention but is mentioned (p. 74); there was a "liberal public sphere," which is sometimes referred to as the "republican public sphere"; and there was a "proletarian public sphere," which is sometimes called a "plebian public sphere." These "public spheres" marked the influence of divergent scientific and cultural "orientations" and of different revolutionary and political "traditions," and they also intersected with and were influenced by different "discourses" and "vocabularies." Unfortunately, real historical figures and specific historical events are glimpsed only indirectly through this tangle of public spheres, orientations, traditions, discourses, and vocabularies.

The result is a book that alternates between perceptive synthetic observations and nearly impenetrable jargon-laden analysis. Tucker has reviewed an impressive amount of secondary historical material, and he critically and sensibly considers a large number of historical-sociological theories. But most historians, I suspect, will be disappointed with Tucker's book, however much they might applaud his insistence that many theories of the "culture wars" have been insufficiently sensitive to specific historical contexts and cultural traditions.

One recurring irritant is a tendency to juxtapose events and people in a way that jumbles any reasonable sense of chronological sequence. For example, in the chapter on revolutionary syndical ideology, Tucker states that "French socialists were able to unite in 1905 in the context of the political crisis of the Dreyfus Affair, after disputes between Marx and Bakunin and Proudhonists and Blanquists had begun to fade" (p. 134). What, one wonders, is the focus here: the dispute between Blanquists and Proudhonists during the Second Republic; the dispute between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin during the years of the First International; the Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s; or the events surrounding socialist party "unity" in 1905?

Even more troubling is Tucker's analytical penchant for extruding history through a bewildering array of sociological models and cultural theories. At the beginning of the book, for example, Tucker indicates that he is interested in the refusal of the CGT leadership after World War I to support labor militancy. Other scholars have attempted to explain this stance by looking at the history of France and the CGT between 1908 and 1920: the apparent failure of the general-strike strategy after the 1908 debacle at Villeneuve-St.-George; government repression of the CGT; the collaboration of CGT leaders with the government in 1914; the transformation of the work force during the war because of industrial concentration; the revolu-

tionary example of the Russian Revolution. Tucker would probably acknowledge these "causes," but he focuses instead on an amorphous dialectic of discourses within and between different public spheres. "The answer [to the decline of CGT militancy]," he writes, "lies in the history of French labor between the time of Proudhon and the end of WWI, and its relationship to the various republican, socialist, and economic discourses formulated in the French public sphere" (p. 4).

More specifically, Tucker believes that Léon Jouhaux, Alphonse Merrheim, and other syndicalist leaders abandoned the militant federalist ideal of workers' control of production because they had become enamored with "productivist strategies of rationalization that could be used to 'modernize' society" (p. 8). That is, they became committed to "a thoroughly technocratic discourse" (pp. 26, 167) that supported industrial efficiency and enhanced productivity, a stance that Tucker refers to as "instrumental productivism" (p. 10), "depoliticized productivism" (p. 48), and "technocratic *ouvriérisme*" (p. 179). This new understanding of industrial development led syndicalist leaders to favor a more centralized structure for the CGT and to propose a more moderate strategy vis-à-vis industry. This is an interesting thesis; and it contributes to our understanding of the shift in syndical doctrine after the so-called "heroic" phase. It creatively explores how syndicalist leaders dealt with the expansion of technology, the extension of the division of labor, and the general rationalization of French industry.

Here as elsewhere, however, Tucker filters his analysis through the theoretical sieves of "discourses" and "public spheres" that often become, for all the author's nods to historical context, disembodied conceptual systems which have little to do with the concerns of real French syndicalists.

Vandervort's study of Griffuelhes is a refreshing contrast. It succeeds in reintroducing the famous syndicalist leader and, by carefully placing Griffuelhes in the context of French socioeconomic changes and of French syndicalist struggles, enhances our understanding of the larger movement.

Griffuelhes was born in 1874 to an artisan shoemaker in Nérac (Lot-et-Garonne); was apprenticed in 1888 as a shoemaker; made the traditional "tour" as a shoemaker's *compagnon* between 1891 and 1893; then settled in Paris as a young worker. Close to the Blanquists in Paris, Griffuelhes became an active member of the union of his shoemaking trade, and he cut his teeth ideologically on the debate in working-class circles over whether or not to support Alexandre Millerand's entry into the Waldeck-Rousseau government. In Vandervort's estimation, Griffuelhes's opposition to the welfare state policies of *millerandisme* was the formative experience which shaped all of his later policies. He forever remained suspicious of reform-oriented socialists and middle-class politicians, assuming that participation in "bourgeois" politics would

compromise workers' autonomy and blunt the chances of real socioeconomic change.

Griffuelhes's *ouvriériste* opposition to *millerandisme* paid off in 1901, when many workers became disenchanted with the hopes for reform through legislation and, as a consequence, turned to the unions as the privileged loci for fighting capitalist exploitation. Union leaders like Griffuelhes, who had a record of opposition to reform, enjoyed a new popularity. It was in 1901 that Griffuelhes became the leader of the CGT; he was only twenty-seven and had only seven years of trade union experience. He remained at the helm of this organization for eight years, ousted in 1909 after the failed 1908 strike at Villeneuve-St.-George (Griffuelhes had in fact counseled caution) and after a dispute within the union concerning the mishandling of CGT funds. Griffuelhes remained active in union activities through the war years—although much of his time was devoted to journalism—and became a prominent postwar exponent of the thesis that the new Russian Bolshevik state was rooted in workers' soviets which, like French syndicates, provided the blueprint for a producers' commonwealth coordinated and managed by the unions.

Vandervort does an excellent job situating Griffuelhes within the contexts of international events, economic changes, and disputes within the labor movement. He emphasizes how, under Griffuelhes, the CGT grew from a Parisian working-class organization dominated by craft unions to a nation-wide organization that included farm workers of the Midi, coal miners of the Pas-de-Calais, and shoe-factory workers of Brittany. Griffuelhes oversaw the merger of the *bourse* movement with the CGT in 1902, and he orchestrated the victory of the revolutionaries over the reformists in 1904. In 1906, he coauthored and presented to the CGT Congress the famous "Charter of Amiens," which is widely considered to be the embodiment of French syndicalist ideology. And, due to his personal efforts, the CGT gained autonomy by controlling its own headquarters. According to Vandervort, Griffuelhes was "in institutional terms at least . . . the founder of the modern labor movement in France" (p. 247).

Vandervort reasonably suggests a modification of the common thesis that CGT labor ideology was related to the "proletarianization" and deskilling of French workers. In fact, he argues, there was no appreciable deskilling; what proletarianization did take place was related to falling incomes and frustrated hopes for upward mobility. The difficult issue, of course, is to relate any of these secular changes to CGT ideology. Cultural traditions must also be taken into account; one does not need to agree with Tucker's specific arguments to accept his general point concerning the importance of what he terms "discourses." Revolutionary traditions, the "language of labor," and workplace *moeurs* clearly influenced CGT conceptions of social change. It nonetheless seems eminently reasonable to argue that Griffuelhes's experience as a

cobbler—a trade facing proletarianization—also contributed to the formulation of his syndicalist vision.

Vandervort and Tucker both reject the old charge of CGT "utopianism." Griffuelhes believed that the future would belong to workers in increasingly mechanized factories; clearly, he did not look back longingly to some imagined bucolic rural ideal. Tucker details the influence of instrumental rationality on Griffuelhes's successors, but he appreciates the sensitivity syndicalists showed concerning issues of community, solidarity, and labor. Both find appealing the degree to which syndicalists favored a decentralized organization of the economy which would allow workers to control their own lives and the enterprises in which they labored. This has not come to pass, but it remains an attractive vision.

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HARRY W. PAUL. *Science, Vine, and Wine in Modern France*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. 355. \$64.95.

Harry W. Paul bluntly states the thesis of this book on its first page: "the modern or post-phyloxeric vine and its wine are the fruit of the sciences of viticulture and oenology, especially institutional science in Montpellier and Bordeaux" (p. 1). He pursues this thesis from a number of different angles: the scientific efforts to save French vineyards from phylloxera and other diseases in the second half of the nineteenth century; the work of two principal figures in the development of the science of oenology, Jean-Antoine Chaptal and Louis Pasteur; the role of science in the development of wine production in Champagne, Burgundy, and Languedoc-Roussillon; and the institutionalization of oenology, eventually in a university context, in Bordeaux.

The principal focus of the first part of the book is what Paul refers to as "a great oenological triumph, the saving of the vineyards" (p. 97). The practical method by which this was accomplished was most often the grafting of French vines onto American rootstocks that were, in theory, resistant to the phylloxera insect. Paul emphasizes the role of the École nationale d'agriculture in Montpellier in spreading the grafting gospel, as well as the importance of their scientific prestige and the support they gained from the government. But he also complicates the story by pointing out the inconsistent results sometimes obtained from grafting and by noting the longstanding importance of hybrids as an alternative to grafting. It was by no means obvious in the vineyards that grafting was the best solution, and since hybrids required fewer chemicals and less labor than grafted vines, they tended to regain popularity during the world wars, when both were in short supply.

The later sections on Chaptal, responsible for systematizing the process of adding sugar to fermenting wine, and Pasteur expand the discussion of the science

of wine making to more general concerns, and this is continued in sections on three major wine-growing areas and on the scientists of Bordeaux. There is always a strong undercurrent of the importance of institutional support for the work of scientists in this narrative, culminating with the institutionalization of an academic oenology in Bordeaux. The book thus provides a useful survey, with considerable detail, of the halting steps toward a modern oenology in which science and technology have gained a major role in the commercial production of wine.

Paul's book makes few concessions to readers who are not familiar with the sciences that contributed to oenology, and the multifaceted way in which he approaches the subject also leads to some confusion, especially with regard to the chronology of different developments. The focus on the science of wine making also leaves unaddressed aspects of modern wine production that are not amenable to scientific resolution. The production of *grands crus* is paramount in his account, and so the contribution of oenology to controlling the production of fraudulent or even lethal wine is scarcely mentioned. Nor is the question of taste considered in any detail, even though Paul assumes that the final test of oenology lies in the taste of its product and that all the science nineteenth and twentieth-century France could muster would be of no use if it did not produce wine that tastes good. What "tastes good" might mean is therefore of importance in his argument, even if it is an aesthetic rather than a scientific problem. It is disappointing that Paul never addresses the relationship between taste and science, only making offhand references to unexplained "taste models" and comments about "a striking mediocrity [of taste] that will make most people happy" (p. 259).

These are weaknesses that are peripheral to Paul's chosen subject, the science of oenology. His failure to address them, however, leaves open the possibility that the development of modern wine may be the result of more than just the application of science and technology to its production, as Paul's initial thesis suggests. Nonetheless, this book is a valuable resource for those who wish to examine viticulture in the history of the French countryside from the perspective of science.

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JASMINE AIMAQ. *For Europe or Empire?: French Colonial Ambitions and the European Army Plan*. (Lund Studies in International History, number 33.) Lund: Lund University Press. 1996. Pp. 311.

It is hard to write a book about a non-event, which is perhaps why so little has been published in the past thirty years about the European Army that never was. In October 1950, in response to American demands that West Germany be rearmed to compensate for the shift of American troops from Europe to South Korea, French Prime Minister René Pleven proposed that German troops be integrated with those of other West

European states in a European Defense Community (EDC), thus avoiding the creation of a separate national German army. In August 1954, the French National Assembly voted not to take up consideration of the EDC treaty and thereby killed it. European public opinion at the time and virtually all scholars who have studied the EDC since concluded that the natural French fear of rearming Germany only five years after the end of World War II had led Pleven into a somewhat Machiavellian scheme to profit from the warm reception of Robert Schuman's proposal to begin European unification by integrating Western Europe's coal and steel industries by presenting the EDC as another step toward greater integration rather than an old-fashioned move to keep Germany militarily weak. Jasmine Aimaq asserts that new documentation now available in French and American archives shows that the EDC should be considered in a broader international context rather than as a problem of Franco-German relations and that, in particular, the American influence on French policy making, especially in relation to its losing war in Indochina, was central to France's attitude toward the EDC. As Aimaq explains, the asymmetrical relationship of the United States and its partners in the Atlantic alliance created the context within which France had to operate. Its actions were determined by "perceptions," the theory of which is explained at length. From this theoretical background, Aimaq intends "to trace the development of French perceptions regarding American rhetoric and policy in the colonial context, in order to portray the construction of an image among the French, thus illustrating the motivation behind the architecting of diplomatic leverage" (p. 77).

Aimaq begins by analyzing French perceptions of their own colonialism to show that even politicians of the Fourth Republic believed in a "colonial myth" in which colonies and home country were indivisible. Consistent American rhetoric through World War II and American actions during the occupation of Morocco and Tunisia showed that the U. S. government was opposed to the French concept of empire. Even though Washington proved increasingly willing to shoulder the financial burdens of the French struggle in Indochina, Aimaq argues that, by 1950, the discord concerning French colonialism had not been resolved. In her most important contribution, she shows that, between 1950 and 1954, the French attempted to exercise leverage on Washington by promising cooperation in the European Army only if the U. S. government vastly increased its aid in Indochina. The European Army plan, however, was no longer necessary as a French lever on Washington once France admitted its defeat in Indochina. The death of the EDC came in August 1954, after Dien Bien Phu.

The book is impeccably researched in the diplomatic archives of the Quai d'Orsay, the army archives in Vincennes, and the René Mayer and Georges Bidault collections in the National Archives as well as in the National Archives in Washington. Footnotes are re-



plete with summations of the literature in English and French. The freshest and most valuable analysis shows the day-to-day links in Paris and Washington between European defense and the war in Indochina. But Aimaq fails to prove conclusively that fear of German rearmament was not the primary motive for the original EDC proposal. Partly because of collaborabon in the European Coal and Steel Community, French "perceptions" of Germany had changed profoundly between 1950 and 1955, when France accepted with equanimity West German rearmament and membership in NATO.

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HENRY KAMEN. *Philip of Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 384. \$35.00.

In 1628, Baltasar Porreño, a relatively obscure but aspiring historian, published his *Vida y Hechos del Rey Felipe II*, a hagiographic biography that appeared on the thirtieth anniversary of Philip II's death. By this time, the first part of Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's *Historia de Felipe II* (1619) had already appeared; so, too, had Lorenzo Van der Hammen's *Felipe el Prudente* (1625), but neither of these works had effectively counterbalanced the sinister portrait of the monarch that Spaniards had read about in the *Relaciones* of Antonio Pérez (although officially banned in Spain, this work circulated underground), Auguste De Thou's *Histoire de France* (1606), and other works by foreign historians. Thus Porreño, relying on a mixture of archival sources and eyewitness accounts, endeavored to present Philip as an exemplary monarch, one whose "life and deeds" would become a new "mirror of princes" and therefore worthy of emulation. It follows that Porreño's Philip had no vices, while his virtues—prudence, constancy, justice, liberality, even cleanliness—reflected the stoical values popularized in the writings of Justus Lipsius and current at the Spanish as well as other European courts. Porreño's exemplary Philip was a far cry from the real Philip. Nevertheless, the biography sold well, largely because Porreño, had succeeded in creating a Philip who represented the best in seventeenth-century politics and thus one his contemporaries wanted to read about.

The Philip II that appears in Henry Kamen's best-selling biography, is the creation of yet another anniversary—the 400th—of this monarch's death. Kamen, like Porreño before him, endeavors to refute those scholars (the *bête noir* of the book is the nineteenth-century American Protestant historian, John Lothrop Motley) for whom Philip II was evil incarnate. Also like Porreño, Kamen has gone to the archives in search of the information necessary "to look closely at Philip the man" (p. xii). Nor does the similarity between the two works stop here. Kamen's Philip II is also an exemplary monarch whose virtues far outnumber his vices. But whereas Porreño's virtues, echoing Lipsius,

were largely stoical, Kamen's are drawn from the lexicon of late twentieth-century politics.

Put simply, Kamen's Philip II is politically, and for the most part, socially correct. He is physically and mentally fit ("utterly normal"), an ecologist (yet curiously one who loves to hunt), charitable, a devotee of architecture, and a patron of learning and the arts. Kamen also goes out of his way to prove that Philip was never, as some have suggested, a recluse. Rather, he presents Philip as a fun-loving, gregarious man who likes women so much that he cheats on the first three of his wives. Yet Philip eventually settles down with his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, and becomes a faithful, loving husband and a doting father. Never a bigot, he is tolerant of Protestants, Muslims, and Jews, and although Philip gives the Inquisition his full support, he never uses the institution for political ends (an interpretation that conveniently overlooks the role of the Holy Office in the arrest of Philip's errant secretary, Antonio Pérez). As for politics, Philip is always high-minded, a monarch impervious to the dynastic concerns and personal self-aggrandizement that characterized other rulers of his day. Nor is he an imperialist. Notwithstanding his intervention in Portugal and in France, let alone his decision to launch the Spanish Armada and invade England, Philip acts only for defensive reasons and goes out of his way to respect the laws, liberties, and traditions of all of his subjects, Spanish and non-Spanish, Indian, *mestizo*, and white. Philip's style of governance, moreover, is wholly twentieth-century. He resembles a businessman turned politician, a ruler preoccupied with efficiency who toils long into the night in an effort to oust corruption and transform the entire apparatus of the Habsburg-Spanish monarchy into a smooth-running, well-oiled machine. Kamen's Philip is also more "European" than "Spanish," a political leader who, despite a lack of languages, is equally at home in Brussels and Madrid.

Kamen's anniversary portrait of Philip has much to commend it, and specialists will appreciate the new information, archival and otherwise, that it provides. But is this information sufficient to support Kamen's revisionist interpretation? Kamen has a point when he asserts that Philip's "sinister reputation" originally derived from biased sources such as the diplomatic dispatches of French and Venetian ambassadors resident at the Spanish court, as well as the polemics written by Philip's enemies, notably William of Orange and Pérez. This book is therefore to be applauded for its attempt to create a more balanced treatment of Philip and to criticize the veracity of the diplomatic reports that Motley and other historians used to defame Philip's character. Whenever it suits his purposes, however, Kamen treats these same dispatches as gospel and cites them uncritically. The book's use of evidence is equally self-serving. Kamen's Philip was not only "not imperialist" but a lax propagandist, yet no mention is made of the well-known medal, commissioned in the wake of Philip's conquest of Portugal, whose motto read: "Even the world is not enough."

More problematically, Kamen converts after-the-fact historians such as Famiano Strada, the seventeenth-century Jesuit and Catholic apologist, into a contemporary who helped shaped the king's Netherlandish policy. Thus Kamen, quoting Strada, has Philip proclaim that "Never in my imagination have I thought of introducing into Flanders the Inquisition" (p. 93).

Such manipulation of evidence can be excused. One can also overlook the book's careless annotation, as well as the pretense that it is the first even-handed treatment of Philip II. (Did not Geoffrey Parker offer the same in his *Philip II* [1978], along with an examination of "Philip the man"? ) More difficult to accept is Kamen's apparent readiness to deprive Philip of his historicity, notably that special sense of dignity and *maiestas* that set him, as a great monarch, apart from his contemporaries as well as from the readers of this book. For Kamen, Philip has one body, not two. He is simply "the Boss" (p. 305), a designation that carries with it the somewhat implausible suggestion that his *monarquía* is something akin to a modern multinational corporation.

Historians, of course, are apt to make such comparisons, especially when they seek, as Kamen obviously does, to reach a large reading public. Yet one of the chief responsibilities of biographers, especially those who write about a figure from the distant past, is to respect difference, the distance that separates their subjects, and their times, from us. Kamen's book collapses this difference, and that is why I, for one, feel somewhat uncomfortable with the cozy, house-and-garden, totally updated Philip it endeavors to present. The book has its value, but it is by no means the last word on Philip, either as monarch or man.

RICHARD L. KAGAN  
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ARNE JARRICK. *Kälekens makt och tårar: en evig historia [Love's Power and Tears: An Eternal History]*. Stockholm: Norstedts Förlag. 1997. Pp. 336.

Scandinavian scholars keep up with the latest questions elsewhere and, when commenting on them for their own readers, often add correctives based on their own research and insights. So it is with Arne Jarrick's new book on the history of love, which contends with the works of Thomas Laqueur, Londa Schiebinger, John Gillis, and others in light of archival and published sources available in Sweden. Jarrick has written a free-wheeling and engaged critique, full of interesting source citations and analysis.

The book is actually a series of essays on a theme. The first and longest sets out historical phases in the representation of women's sexuality. The first phase, which ran from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century, characterized women as driven by instinct and sex as satanic. The association with Satan, Jarrick observes, made the name Eve so unserviceable that fewer than one percent of women in Stockholm bore it in the seventeenth century. Even so, that century saw

the start of a shift to a second phase dominated by the idea that sex was not satanic but God-given, and by the next century writers began at last to acknowledge and approve of women's sexual feelings. In contrast to other historians, Jarrick does not see the wedge for this change so much in a new understanding of biology. Nor does he credit mercantilist ideas about the need for more people. A key influence, he argues, was a religious movement, the Moravian Brethren, which gave women a central role in preaching and filled its texts with sentimental and erotic references to sensual satisfaction. Jarrick also adds interesting evidence from eighteenth-century Swedish courts, which shows the authorities' much diminished desire to enforce marital and sexual discipline.

But what of a third phase, that of the desexed woman of the Victorian age? This phase came about as a consequence of the two-sex theory that, in the eighteenth century, supposedly supplanted the long-held notion that only one sex existed, the female sex organs being but an inverted version of the male. Jarrick questions the supposed dominance of the two-sex model and takes Laqueur and others to task for over-reliance on a single quotation from the British writer William Acton, who claimed that most women lacked sexual feelings. In an effort to find out more about Acton's treatise and its influence, Jarrick ransacked every major research collection in Sweden and failed to find a single copy. In frustration, he wondered how influential Acton's views could have been if his book did not even travel across the North Sea. Jarrick also finds startling examples of the one-sex theory persisting (for example, in the writings of Denis Diderot) after it supposedly had been abandoned. Laqueur, he writes, paints over all the continuing ambivalence about the two-sex theory in order to present a more compelling, but unfortunately reductionist, argument. Jarrick even uses Schiebinger (usually seen as a supporter of Laqueur) against him, because she makes clear that scientists were aware of their uncertainty on the sexual theories.

Jarrick then examines another level of discourse, Swedish "gutter literature," and finds that it remains permeated with one-sex model into modern times. Here women continue to have an equal or larger sexual appetite than men. The third phase, women with a weakened sexual appetite, Jarrick contends, was just one of several representations, an emerging new idea perhaps but not a dominant one. A fourth phase occurs in the late nineteenth century, a return to the older idea of equal enjoyment for both sexes but this time uncoupled from its association with reproduction. Although he uses phases in his own text, Jarrick remains troubled by them because of the many contradictory voices available in all eras. He mentions John M. Baldwin's analysis in *The Language of Sex* (1994), which showed that as many as five discourses might be in play at any one time. Even so, Jarrick sees as real and lasting the eighteenth-century shift that tamed the representation of female sexuality and

lessened the rationale for men to blame their sexual desires on women.

A delightful aspect of Jarrick's study is his foray into popular writing. A section on songs of love and death provides an excursion through chapbook literature with stress on its polysemy and ambiguity. The love culture of the common people, just like that of the elite, turns out to be full of different voices. Sexual attitudes represented in Swedish chapbooks were neither governed by official morals nor resistant to them. They stood apart, generally approving sexual initiative by both women and men. This is the "power of love" keyed in the book's title. Love's tears are represented in songs about suicide, which until the nineteenth century was treated very harshly by the authorities; suicides were condemned and not allowed burial in sacred ground. Chapbooks, in contrast, sympathized with female suicides who were betrayed by lovers and even granted rejected men the right to take their own lives. Letter-writers for lovers likewise supported this line, in resistance to official views.

Jarrick ends his book with a critique of two approaches fashionable in historical studies. One is what he calls "constructivism," the position that every scientific assertion is culturally constructed. Although he is able to show contradictions in the use of this idea by Laqueur, Bente Rosenbede, and others, he does not himself formulate a convincing basis for making truth statements about history. Second, he inveighs against what he sees as consistently negative appraisals of the condition of women in history. Most writers on women's and gender history, he asserts, want to see their period of study as a decisive moment in the degradation of women's position. They do not seem to read one another, he contends, for they make no attempt to cite each other's work and resolve the questions of decisive degradation. This criticism is unfair and reveals Jarrick's limited knowledge of women's history, which is replete with studies emphasizing women's agency. Jarrick himself believes that women's position in European society has much improved since the Renaissance as a result of the ever-diminishing link between muscle power and social power. He thus follows Norbert Elias but goes beyond him in seeing a civilizing process that not only eased repression but also positively liberated the personality in important respects.

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JOHN D. FUDGE. *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries: The Commercial and Political Interaction of England and the German Hanse 1450–1510*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 265. \$60.00.

If ever there was an historical enigma wrapped in paradox, it is the German Hanse. Neither entirely German nor entirely mercantile in its ambitions, fractious always, yet capable of stubborn unity when confronted, the Hanse confederation poses unique

difficulties for historians. Until quite recently historians, particularly in the English-speaking world, have refused to take up the challenge of writing Hanse history, but in the 1990s, partly as a result of the end of the Cold War, several works have enriched and revived Hanse studies. Among them is this revised doctoral thesis by John D. Fudge.

Because of its diffuseness, the history of the Hanse is often approached from the archives of its major trading partners, in this case the uniquely complete archival record preserved in England that attests to the importance of England to the Hanse trading network. Although T. H. Lloyd covered some of the same ground a few years ago in his excellent study (*England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611: A Study of Their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy* [1991]), Fudge concentrates on 1450–1510, a period both he and Lloyd see as critical to the history of Anglo-Hanseatic relations. This focus allows Fudge to explore the decline of the Hanse from the standpoint of extraneous political and economic pressures and to more fully analyze the role of politics in bringing change to the patterns of overland and oversea trade in northern Europe.

Fudge is careful to stress the complexity and importance of Anglo-Hanseatic trade before 1450. England lay at the crossroads of a north/south and east/west trading system in which salt and wine from the Bay of Biscay crossed the wood, wax, and other bulk commodities of the Baltic, complemented and complicated by the lively cross-Channel trade in cloth, wool and dyestuffs with Flanders and Brabant. Hansards played a central role in both England's export and import trades, accounting for virtually all imports of Baltic commodities and about a third of exports of English cloth. There was not unity among members of the Hanse, however, for Lübeck, Cologne, Prussia, and their respective satellites had sometimes divergent trade and political interests. Nor were relations between Hansards and the English without tension, for Hansards enjoyed special trade privileges in England while denying English merchants reciprocal advantages in Prussian ports. Piracy and anti-foreign agitation in England were the symptoms and barometer of political and economic tensions between the two.

A series of three events, Fudge argues, marked the increasingly troubled relations between England and the Hanse and the resulting reorientation of the traditional trading system. From the English seizure of the Hanseatic salt fleet in 1449, the general arrest of Hansards in England in 1468, and the disruption of Anglo-Burgundian trade in the 1490s, relations at best were turbulent. Fudge downplays the significance of direct English trade with Prussia, a factor given great weight by Lloyd and others. Instead, Fudge stresses the incessant Channel and North Sea piracy conducted by both sides as well as the general breakdown of political order in England and of the unity of the Hanse, both of which contributed initially to an all-out trade war imperfectly resolved in 1474 by the Treaty of Utrecht. After a brief hiatus, tensions between England and the

Hanse escalated again in the 1480s and were complicated by the Tudor-Habsburg trade wars, with their intermittent embargoes and privateering that persisted into the first decade of the sixteenth century. By then the structure of Hanseatic trade with England had changed considerably, although not fundamentally.

This change, Fudge concludes, must not be viewed simply as the "decline" of the Hanse; rather, it marks a shift in the overall structure of European trade in which England and the Hanse played a part. A half-century of conflict had unraveled Hanse solidarity, leading to a concentration of Baltic trade in the English ports of Hull and Lynn, largely in the hands of merchants from Danzig and Hamburg, while the preponderance of Anglo-Hanseatic trade converged on London, the center of a more diversified trade in cloth, dyestuffs, and many other commodities. Thus, changes in the nature of Anglo-Hanseatic trade contributed to the rise of London as England's commercial capital. Antwerp was the other great beneficiary of this trade realignment, for with the disruptions of war, the Brabantine fairs became and remained the most important outlets for English cloth, despite the trade embargoes of Henry VII. English cloth in turn became one of the foundations of the Antwerp market, complementing south German metals and Baltic commodities.

In short, this book adds considerably to our knowledge of the origins of the early modern economy.

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THOMAS H. BROMAN. *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine 1750–1820*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 209. \$54.95.

For more than a decade, Thomas H. Broman's articles and dissertation on the critical changes in German university medicine in the late eighteenth century have been an important guide to understanding the *Sonderweg* that Germany followed in medical teaching. The present book is a fuller statement and enlargement of his earlier work. In explaining the German path to medical education, Broman now—in comparison with this earlier work—gives special emphasis to the creation of a literary public sphere in Germany between 1750 and 1800. He also devotes more space to wrestling with the slippery issue of "professionalization" in German medicine. Neither change, it should be said, adds much to his earlier explanation of why the university became the locus of medical teaching in Germany but not in other Western countries.

Broman is quite right in his central argument that the development of modern medical pedagogy linking theory and practice did not emerge suddenly from the revolutionary turmoil in France, as often asserted, but from a broad series of intellectual and political changes in Europe dating back to the middle of the eighteenth century. These changes included the incor-

poration of new knowledge from the scientific revolution of the preceding century, a new impulse toward utility and practical training in medicine, a rapprochement between medicine and surgery, and the interest of absolutist rulers in setting universal standards of medical study and practice. His description of these changes in the German states is the best that we have and is the real merit of this book. It was the retention of medical education in the university, when it was being relegated to separate, more practical institutions elsewhere, that gave Germany its transcendent role in the development of modern scientific medicine.

In emphasizing the conflict over ideas in a German "public sphere" rather than the special social and political circumstances that made Germany "different," Broman leaves open the question of why other nations did not develop in a similar way. Were there not similar debates over the relative value of medical theory and practical experience in the "public spheres" of France, Britain, and other countries during these same years? Why, then, were the outcomes so different? In dealing with when and how German medicine became "professionalized," Broman simply does not differentiate this development from other nations clearly enough. At one point, he asserts that the attempt of scholars to define early efforts at reform as a call for professionalism "is nothing less than to import a distinctly modern sensibility into the minds of people who lived in different circumstances from those of modern professions" (p. 6). Yet he seems unaware that his own attempt to define this modern concept to fit a particular historical setting is open to the same criticism. Quite arbitrarily, he narrows the meaning of "profession" in this period in Germany to possession of a university degree.

Certainly, the most important innovation in medical teaching in the German universities after 1750 was the organization of clinical instruction in places where students could gain practical, hands-on experience observing, diagnosing, and treating patients. Between 1750 and 1800, at least a dozen universities inaugurated such courses, initially taught in outpatient clinics for the poor and then gradually developed into small "academic hospitals" associated with a university. In no other nation did such a development take place so early or on so large a scale. Broman gives major credit to the territorial medical boards of regional governments in promoting public health and also to individual professors who struggled often against great odds, to gain a foothold for practical training in the universities. Given the significance of these pioneer ventures, more research is needed into the precise conditions that enabled such strong personalities as Johann Juncker, Johann Gottfried Brendel, Johann Georg Roederer, and Ernst Gottfried Baldinger to succeed where others failed. Also lacking is a discussion of the major differences in transforming academic medicine between southern, Catholic Germany, with its large charity hospitals, and northern, Protestant Germany, where universities were located in small towns.



More attention might also be paid to the important role played outside the universities by military medical schools and medical-surgical academies in making practical instruction so attractive to university-educated physicians. "In effect," writes Broman, "the graduates of surgical academies possessed knowledge and skills identical to the [university] physicians" (p. 67), a conclusion that seems to contradict his earlier decision to consider only university graduates as real physicians. Further explanation is also needed to clarify how the development of a "public sphere" in the last years of the eighteenth century accounted for the many earlier efforts to accommodate practical instruction in a number of the universities.

For all these cavils, this is a wise and provocative book that is destined for an important place in the literature of medical education. Based on a relentless combing of the archives and the printed primary sources, it states boldly an interpretation of academic medicine's transformation that is the most persuasive I have seen. Like any significant work, it raises as many questions as it answers. Unfortunately, the book lacks a bibliography, which is a major omission in any work aimed at so highly specialized an audience.

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GUNTRAM HENRIK HERB. *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda 1918–1945*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xi, 250. \$59.95.

In this interesting monograph about nationalism and mapmaking in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s, geographer Guntram Henrik Herb analyzes German map production in terms of the broader intellectual underpinnings of German cartography and in terms of the political goals of geographers and map publishers. His thesis is that German academics and publicists created a nationalistic climate of treaty revisionism and expansionism that paved the way for the foreign policy of the Third Reich.

Drawing on extensive archival work, contemporary periodical and academic literature, and secondary studies in both geography and history, Herb focuses on the cartographers and publicists who responded to the territorial losses of 1918–1919 by drawing maps that aimed both to make those losses graphic to a larger public and to point toward the regaining of territory in the future. Herb contends that the nationalist vision of a "Greater Germany" was a creation of both academic geographers on the one hand and *völkisch* activists (a term that he uses—more inclusively than most historians would—to indicate a broad range of conservative and revisionist views) on the other. The most intensive map work in representing a revisionist program was carried out, Herb shows, by the school of *Geopolitik* (especially strong among German geographers in the subset of the "geo-organic" school, which viewed ethnic-territorial groups as living organisms) and by advocates of the concept of *Kulturboden*, which could

encompass many versions of the idea that German civilization was superior and had performed a civilizing role in the East. The efforts of these academics (like Albrecht Penck and Wilhelm Volz) and publicists (like Karl C. von Loesch) led to the invention of new ways to show the ethnic makeup of Europe as well as new ways of getting across the needed message. Hence, "suggestive" cartography entered a heyday in the late twenties. By means of striking color contrast, bold arrows, and "loaded" labeling, the mapmakers were able to warn of specific threats from the Poles, the Czechs, and others as well as to suggest that Germany should retake the area that constituted its *Kulturboden*. By the late 1920s, these cartographers had managed to put together a loose institutional structure that supported their efforts.

In the final, and perhaps less convincing, third of the book, Herb argues that these mapmakers provided a kind of academic support group for the National Socialist regime, and that, in turn, their ideas and maps assisted the regime in its aggressive behavior. This conclusion seems partly to contradict the evidence Herb has assembled: the government and the party agencies drew on relatively little of the sophisticated work of the 1920s. Herb shows that the military sought after some of the new, accurate ethnographic maps to help in planning for conquest in the East; that the *Publikationsstelle-Berlin* (object of in-depth study in Michael Burleigh's *Germany Turns Eastward: A Study in Ostforschung in the Third Reich* [1988]) often assisted the Foreign Office with maps and information; and that von Loesch, a party member himself, made his way into this hierarchy. But for the rest, much of the work of the 1920s was problematic from the Nazi perspective. If "suggestive" cartography was designed to bring an idea to a broader public, many of the new techniques of the ethnographic cartographers were far too complex for mass consumption. Further, Herb demonstrates that cartographers and map publicists were in agreement that postwar Germany was too small, but that they were not at all in agreement as to how to define the legitimate territory of the German state. Even the most excessive territorial demands of the mapmakers imposed limits on "Germandom," where the *Lebensraum* concept was really an argument for the limitless. When push came to shove, the Nazi government and the military ignored the greater part of the complex work of academics during the 1920s and demanded not persuasive, "suggestive" maps but accurate maps to assist in the conquest of Europe. Hitler himself, as Herb shows in an interesting passage (p. 168), was more interested in mapmakers of a flexible turn, who could make whatever point needed making, regardless of accuracy.

Perhaps disciplinary norms are different for geographers, but for most historians, Herb's very brief attempt in the introduction and conclusion to hang his work on a framework of quite recent, sometimes fairly ephemeral, political controversies (for example, the wild claims of a 1989 map disseminated by *die Repub-*

likaner) will seem distracting. His research does indeed have a contemporary resonance, but that resonance is far more complex than superficial comparisons of his geographers in the 1920s with recent extremist political discourse. An unrelated disciplinary characteristic might be mentioned: the confusing mixture of internal citation and endnotes often necessitates juggling the book while searching for the full citation. Simple endnotes would have made reading the book much more efficient.

This is a solid work. Specialists in Germany between the wars will find it a contribution to the analysis of Weimar neoconservatism, Social Darwinism, and the whole range of issues involving German relations with the East in the interwar period.

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ANTHONY KAUDERS. *German Politics and the Jews: Düsseldorf and Nuremberg 1910–1933*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 214. \$65.00.

This book examines political anti-Semitism in Düsseldorf and Nuremberg between 1910 and 1933. Anthony Kauders seeks a wider understanding of Jew-hatred in Germany during the late Wilhelminian period and the Weimar Republic. Although the sample of just two cities is admittedly small, their historical reputations represent two extremes: Düsseldorf, in the predominantly Catholic Rhineland, was noted for relative peace between Jews and Gentiles, while Nuremberg, a Protestant enclave in Catholic Bavaria, was known for its anti-Semitism and friendly reception of National Socialism. A comparison of the two extremes, Kauders suggests, affords us a picture of public attitudes toward Jews in Germany as a whole before 1933. He also concludes that popular anti-Semitism during the Weimar Republic was universal and fixed, suggesting that the German people as a whole were easily won over to Nazi Jewish policy in all its forms after 1933. To its credit, the book joins a recent trend that sees Weimar Germany no longer as a time of progress and security for German Jews but rather as a period of growing isolation and increasing insecurity, an era that had more in common with the popular mood of the Third Reich than with the relative good times of the Second. To its detriment, it seems to lean in the direction of sensationalist conclusions about a uniform, collective German will regarding Jews and the "Jewish Question," as assumed by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996).

Kauders rejects the arguments of Ian Kershaw and others that Germans tended to be indifferent toward the Jewish Question during the Weimar Republic and thus were a hard sell on Nazi anti-Semitism and Jewish policy after 1933. He also asserts that Hitler's relative disinterest in the Jewish Question before 1933 can be explained by his conviction that Jew-hatred was already so deeply ingrained in ordinary Germans that

intense anti-Semitism and Jew-baiting could be left to local politics. Kauders concedes that Germans tended to support the German National People's Party (DNVP) and the Nazis for reasons that had little to do with anti-Semitism, an apparent contradiction that provides an essential justification for the book. It was on the local level, according to Kauders, that popular Jew-hatred manifested itself during the Weimar years.

The author does a fine job of examining local politics and the Jews in Düsseldorf and Nuremberg, particularly during the Weimar years. In each city, he considers the attitudes of liberals and conservatives, socialists and communists, and the Protestant and Catholic churches toward Jews and the Jewish Question. Kauders's conclusion that there was less Judeophobia in Düsseldorf than in Nuremberg is certainly not surprising. His contentions, moreover, that political anti-Semitism moved from the periphery of political life in Wilhelminian Germany to the very center of German politics after 1918, and that it attained a higher level of public tolerance during the Weimar Republic, are conclusions that few would contest. But this otherwise interesting history of political anti-Semitism in these two cities during the decades before the Third Reich does not use local history to illuminate national history in any new or important ways, as the book's title suggests. Kauders's conclusions about the significance of the circumstances in Düsseldorf and Nuremberg for the rest of Germany before 1933 are not new, and his conclusions about the significance of these events for Germany's future are not at all convincing. Although it is true that racism became mainstream in these cities and throughout Germany after 1918, the author does not demonstrate precisely how or to what degree ordinary Germans suddenly embraced the anti-Semitism that political parties, as well as institutions such as the churches, brought from the periphery to the center. In Nuremberg, for example, the Nazis received 37.8 percent of the popular vote in the July 1932 election, dropping to 32.8 percent in the November 1932 election (p. 194). These were about the same percentages the Nazis received nationwide. How, precisely, do these figures reflect popular attitudes specifically toward Jews and the Jewish Question? Moreover, Kauders concludes that most Germans "usually held views on issues concerning the *Volk* and fatherland which made it possible to accept Nazi racism after 1933" (p. 192) without describing the substance of those views or the specific aspects of Nazi theory and policy that, eventually, Germans supposedly embraced. In short, while the book provides interesting local history, it falls far short, as so many have before it, of that elusive definition of the nature and substance of popular antipathy toward Jews that was indeed prevalent in German society during the first half of this century.

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SAUL FRIEDLÄNDER. *Nazi Germany and the Jews*. Volume 1, *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*. New York: HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xii, 436. \$32.50.

This first volume of Saul Friedländer's two-volume study of the Jews in Nazi Germany is a superbly written synthesis of previous studies supplemented by some original archival research. By juxtaposing the cold cynicism of the Nazi leaders as they formulated their prewar anti-Semitic policies with the impact of those policies on individual German Jews, Friedländer sensitively conveys the anxious estrangement that enveloped the victims. Their narratives are the book's most engrossing element.

Friedländer leaves no doubt that Adolf Hitler and his most avid supporters were committed to what he astutely names "redemptive antisemitism," a quasi-religious conviction of apocalyptic struggle between Aryans and Jews. This new brand of Judeophobia, pioneered in the 1890s by Houston Stewart Chamberlain and other members of the Bayreuth circle, saw liberation from the Jews as the only alternative to racial degeneration. Hence the Jews were always Nazism's primary target. Friedländer notes that other groups—Gypsies, homosexuals, the handicapped—were also considered racially dangerous, but none approached the Jews' presumed capacity for worldwide conspiracy. They would have to leave Germany. At the same time, Friedländer acknowledges that Hitler could exhibit coldly calculated pragmatism even on the Jewish question. Loath to alienate public opinion abroad or conservative allies at home, the dictator at first limited most expressions of violent anti-Semitism and channeled radical racism into legal discrimination. Hence, as late as 1939 he rejected ghettoizing the German Jews and created a new category of "privileged mixed marriages."

In placing Hitler at the center of Nazi anti-Jewish policies, Friedländer might appear to align himself with intentionalist historians of the Holocaust, but unlike them, he sees no good evidence of a long-term plan leading to genocide. He also criticizes functionalist historians for making too much of the Third Reich's bureaucratic chaos and improvisatory decision-making. Friedländer's own understanding of the internal dynamics of the Nazi state comes across most clearly in his accounts of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws and the 1938 Crystal Night pogrom. Certainly the former responded to, and neutralized, increasing levels of locally initiated anti-Jewish violence that embarrassed the regime at home and abroad. And yet, their adoption was anything but haphazard. Revoking the Jews' citizenship and isolating them from other Germans had been intended from the very first days of the Nazi state, and German courts were throwing up obstacles to mixed marriage well before the Nuremberg Laws were promulgated. Similarly, Crystal Night exploited the immediate opportunity presented by the murder of a German diplomat by a Jewish refugee, but it also enabled the Nazis to put into effect existing

plans to tighten the screws on the Jews and impel them across the German borders. "The idea of a pogrom against the Jews of Germany was in the air" (p. 270). In stressing the interaction of intentions and contingencies, Friedländer joins a growing number of scholars who take a middle position between intentionalists and functionalists.

Surprisingly in a volume devoted in large part to Jewish reactions to Nazi persecution, there is little discussion of the Jews' institutional responses or their internal life. The vibrant Jewish culture that kept spirits alive is briefly sketched, but activities and policies of the Jews' umbrella organization, the *Reichsvertretung*, are scarcely mentioned, and topics such as Jewish welfare programs for the increasingly impoverished Jews and changing relations between liberals and Zionists are similarly neglected. Rather, Friedländer has chosen to dwell on the problems German Jews encountered in sizing up their predicament, quite rightly stressing the impossibility of predicting how rapidly their situation would deteriorate. Friedländer's argument that 1936 marked a decisive new phase for Germany and its Jews makes a good deal of sense. By then, Hitler felt sufficiently self-confident to push ahead with increasingly radical measures against the Jews, but the latter felt the full effects of these only two years later. This analysis makes it plain that callous restrictions on Jewish immigration by foreign countries were not the only obstacles to resettlement. Equally problematic was the perhaps natural tendency under the circumstances for victims to reject the most pessimistic assessment of their situation, leading to the conclusion, shared by virtually all the Jews, that there was sufficient time to arrange for the emigration of all but the elderly.

Ordinary Germans' reluctance to join in tormenting the Jews reinforced this hopeful scenario. Friedländer persuasively argues that "redemptive antisemitism" was limited to radical Nazis and a few nazified state institutions and not shared by the broad masses of Germans. There were even some expressions of outright sympathy with the Jews in the 1930s, but they, too, were not typical. Most Germans, moderately anti-Semitic and genuinely impressed by the party's economic and foreign policy triumphs, passively accepted legal discrimination against the Jews and their gradual isolation and pauperization. Friedländer rightly singles out the churches for their feeble responses to anti-Jewish outrages. And yet, it is very clear that the German populace neither initiated nor relished Jewish distress. Even at the very height of his power and popularity, Hitler had not succeeded in turning ordinary Germans into murderous anti-Semites.

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DETLEV CLEMENS. *Herr Hitler in Germany: Wahrnehmung und Deutungen des Nationalsozialismus in Großbritannien 1920 bis 1939*. (Veröffentlichungen des

Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 39.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 468. DM 128.

If today's scholars still face a formidable challenge in unraveling the National Socialist movement and Adolf Hitler's rise to power, imagine how much more difficult it was for diplomats at the time to make sense of National Socialism and its leader. Among the most adept at observing affairs in Germany were members of the British Foreign Office. Yet "so carefully researched and so broadly constructed on a variety of critical factors was [the Foreign Office's] complex picture that it often appeared contradictory" (p. 439), says Detlev Clemens in this book. Clemens consistently lauds the British for their intelligence on the National Socialist movement in the 1920s and 1930s. At the same time, however, Clemens is highly critical of the multiple contradictory perceptions of Hitler and his movement that British analysts drew from their wealth of information. In the end, he concludes, a significant degree of blame lies at the feet of Great Britain, whose divided *Hitlerbild* made opposition to Hitler more difficult.

In Clemens's view, any critique of Britain's self-delusional policy toward Germany begins with the government's unrealistic appraisal of Hitler. So diverse were the images of Hitler consistently conjured up "by various British observers . . . in Germany" (p. 20) that Whitehall never knew *which* Hitler to confront. British policy makers inclined toward a "two-Germany" appraisal, with Hitler clearly representing the hated and feared Prussian, prewar, nationalist Germany, leading London to underestimate the genuinely revolutionary nature of the National Socialist movement. Others saw in Hitler a "Bavarian Mussolini." One who did not, however, was the British Consul General in Munich, William Seeds. Seeds correctly sized up the Nazi Party: "[It] would appear to exist solely for the benefit of its leader, Herr Adolf Hitler" (p. 46), and he soon tagged Hitler as "a rising star," warning that he was to be taken seriously. Nevertheless, conservatives in Whitehall preferred to see in Hitler a bulwark against communism, a figure directly comparable to Mussolini: "Up to 1924, and then again from 1930 until at least 1935, British observers clung to the comparison of Hitler to Mussolini, especially when it concerned future relations with Hitler or in their estimate of his character or that of his party" (p. 48). Equally misjudged in Clemens's mind was Hitler's anti-Semitism: the Foreign Office "failed to appreciate the full meaning of one of the most decisive elements in Hitler's *Weltanschauung*—the central tenet of National Socialism" (p. 85). But then, who in the mid-1920s took Hitler's anti-Semitism seriously?

By spring 1933, however, the German boycott of Jewish businesses and shops, combined with rising street violence against Jews across Germany, forced Whitehall to reassess its estimate of German anti-Semitism. Overcoming his own generalized anti-Semi-

tism, Sir Horace Rumbold, British ambassador to Germany, in May 1933 assayed Hitler's role thus: "Herr Hitler is himself responsible for the anti-Jewish policy of the German Government and it would be a mistake to believe that it is the policy of his wilder men whom he has difficulty controlling" (p. 280). Rumbold's commentary, particularly his earlier "*Mein Kampf* Dispatch" of April 26, 1933, forced Whitehall to reinterpret Hitler and his seizure of power. Despite Rumbold's warnings, others in the Foreign Office, Orme Sargent among them, viewed Hitler as the tool of the *Junker* class and Hitler's seizure of power as Germany "reverting to type," returning to its nationalistic Prussian roots. In time, Sargent opined, a decisive struggle between Hitler and his aristocratic supporters would produce the former's ouster. This tendency by senior British officials to understand Hitler solely within a domestic context, avers Clemens, blinded them to the broader scope of Hitler's ambitions and hence his threat to Britain.

Clemens gives us a highly detailed account of the formulation of British perceptions of Hitler and National Socialism from 1920 to 1936. Yet the reader is more than ninety-five percent into the narrative (p. 406, to be exact) before encountering the crisis-packed year of 1938. Only at this late date does Clemens tackle the question of appeasement, and then only superficially. Again, splintered perceptions of Hitler and Germany prevented Britain from formulating a powerful response: "Until well into the Second World War neither the Foreign Office nor the British government, much less the British public, could agree on a consistent, unified, and compelling vision of Hitler and National Socialism" (p. 443). Alas, Clemens overplays his hand. Such a convergent, uniform national vision is only possible in a democratic society under the extreme duress of total war. Even in Hitler's totalitarian state, complete uniformity was only theoretically possible.

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GEORGE C. BROWDER. *Hitler's Enforcers: The Gestapo and the SS Security Service in the Nazi Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 364. \$49.95.

This book is essentially a sequel to George C. Browder's *Foundations of the Nazi Police State: The Formation of Sipo and SD* (1990), which centered on the complex power struggles that gave rise to the Nazi police state. Browder's latest contribution remains anchored in the formative period of the Nazi police state, although the focus of his analysis has shifted to the internal history of what he labels the "enforcers": the men who gave birth to the Nazi police state and then acquired responsibility for carrying out the Final Solution and other racial programs.

This makes for a broad scope. Leaving out only the uniformed regular police forces (*Ordnungspolizei* or



Orpo) from his study, Browder takes a close look at the organizations that served as the keystone of state terror under the Nazi regime: the SS security service (SD) and the security police (Sipo), along with its two branches—the criminal police (Kripo) and the secret state police (Gestapo). Browder examines the interaction of SS mentalities and police culture, reconstructs the lives of individual enforcers, and provides insights into the logic these men used to legitimate the atrocities they committed in the name of a new order.

Browder aspires to rise above what he calls “the false dichotomy” of intentionalist or functionalist interpretations of the Third Reich. His views on the origins of the Final Solution, however, put him firmly into the camp of the functionalists. The creation of the SS police state by Heinrich Himmler never received more than sporadic support from Adolf Hitler, reflecting the need for domestic control rather than heralding some clear cut intention for future programs of mass murder. According to Browder, Himmler presided over an organization that evolved functionally from below, and it would take several years following the amalgamation of SS and police in 1936 for the machinery to evolve to a point where it could carry out the Final Solution. “Only after the means were in place and the many details were worked out” could Hitler seriously entertain radical solutions to racial problems; “only then could the conscious mind formulate ‘intentions’ and move toward planning their fulfillment” (p. 7).

Who were Hitler’s enforcers? According to Browder, most of them were neither the misfits nor the sadistic sociopaths of legend. Rather, they represented a diverse lot of ordinary individuals who generally did not commit murder for personal reasons such as anti-Semitism. When they did kill, they rationalized their actions by constructing for themselves a context in which their murderous actions were equivalent to legally sanctioned violence. The enforcers convinced themselves that they obeyed lawful orders because they acted on behalf of organizations that operated for the benefit of a higher cause, one not subject to traditional law and values. More specifically, members of the Kripo and Gestapo not only deluded themselves into thinking that they carried out normal police work but also tended to shift blame to the SS/SD men among them. Although both Gestapo and Kripo men participated in euthanasia programs and served in the murderous *Einsatzgruppen*, they clung to the fiction that they were professional policemen free from SS contamination.

Prodigious archival research provides the underpinnings for this work. Browder has scoured national, regional, and local archives for evidence and has taken advantage of German documents captured by Polish and Soviet authorities but only recently released for study. In a separate appendix, he presents the results of a collective biography of SD personnel, providing quantitative measures on some 100 variables, including information on religious origins, educational achieve-

ment, occupational background, social mobility, and political involvement. In several instances, the information gleaned from Browder’s SD sample is enhanced by comparisons with data on the German population and various units of the SS officer corps.

The going can be tough at times for those not on intimate terms with the Byzantine world of the Nazi state and its institutional complexities. To his credit, Browder tries to limit the confusion caused by organizational intricacies and the ever-present alphabet soup of Nazi abbreviations. Yet even he sometimes falters, falling prey to the inherent difficulty of his subject matter and then adding his own conundrums. A case in point is the organizational scheme of the book. To include chapters on the Weimar police, the Kripo, and the Sipo under the heading “Inside the Gestapo” does little to clarify the book’s narrative structure. This section might more appropriately have been labeled “Inside the Sipo,” since both Gestapo and Kripo were part of the Sipo. Such criticism, however, does not detract from the overall value of this work. Indeed, Browder has made an important contribution to the historical literature on the Nazi police state. When read together with his earlier work, this book constitutes the present standard for the subject.

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WOLFGANG SOFSKY. *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*. Translated by WILLIAM TEMPLER. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 356. \$29.95.

Sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky defines the Nazi concentration camp as “a specific form of society” (p. 9) in which “absolute power . . . liberates [violence] from all inhibitions and restraints” (p. 17). His subject is the camp as a functional system from the perspective of Clifford Geertz’s “thick description.” The result is a fascinating and detailed disaggregation and dissection of the “social autarky” (p. 55) of the concentration camp. According to Sofsky, “the social reality of the camp cannot be equated with the aims . . . [of] the top echelon of the SS,” since the camp was a locus of “antagonisms and dependencies” (p. 13). The deadly efficiency of the camps was thus not the result primarily of a smooth-running bureaucracy but rather of the initiative and autonomy of those who controlled the various stations in each camp. Drawing from the work of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu, Sofsky argues that the relevant *habitus* of the SS camp personnel came not from the culture at large but exclusively from their training and from the operative environment of the camp itself. He therefore concludes—behaviorally and problematically—that the perpetrators of concentration camp terror do “without reasons for their actions” (p. 225) and that, in such situations, “indifference is more powerful than hatred, anger, or rage” (p. 234).

Such a behavioral view based on such exhaustive

research does offer the historian a necessary complement to studies of the ideological and historical determinants of human behavior in the Nazi concentration camp system. And Sofsky is surely right in his emphasis on the absolute priority assigned in the camps to violence and destruction over work and production. But he claims too much for his analysis by seeking to render it a sufficient explanation for concentration camp behavior. While his tight focus on the operations of the concentration camp provides the historian with much valuable material, analysis, and categorization, Sofsky remains too much the behavioral sociologist when, for example, he asserts: "Atrocities do not require a deeper underlying ideological meaning" (p. 115). For the historian, the issue is not what is sufficient according to a certain model but what is present, in this case all the other determinants outside—and inside—the camp itself that influenced the behavior of the people running it.

Sofsky's book would benefit from greater recourse to the vast literature in English on the Holocaust. (The bibliography contains secondary works only, there are few citations of archival sources chiefly from the Federal Archives in Koblenz and the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, and there is no index.) He uses Robert J. Lifton's *The Nazi Doctors* (1986) because it, too, stresses the immediate effects on behavior of the camp environment, albeit from a unique psychohistorical point of view. By contrast, Sofsky rejects the psychodynamic study of prisoners by Bruno Bettelheim (*The Informed Heart* [1960]) but does not engage the relevant critique of Bettelheim by Terence Des Pres (*The Survivor* [1976]). He errs by making the sociological and the psychological mutually exclusive: at the very least, unconscious mental sequelae (and predispositions) to the impact of the camp environment described by Sofsky must have played an important role in affecting behavior, particularly among the prisoners. Since the original German edition of Sofsky's book was published in 1993, there is also no confrontation here with the even more recent rich literature on the motivation of the perpetrators, such as Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1993); John Weiss's *Ideology of Death* (1996); and Daniel J. Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996).

Sofsky's insistence on the exclusive validity of his analysis of concentration camp behavior even leads him into outright error. The most significant instance of this is his subsumption of the place of Jews in the concentration camp system. Because Sofsky is not concerned with the role of ideology or prejudice among the perpetrators, anti-Semitism is at best treated as a given though not, as we have already seen, for Sofsky a necessary given. Thus Jews as victims are subsumed in the discussion under the category of subhuman Eastern peoples. It may be significant in this regard that in an exhaustive listing of the colors of triangles worn by the various prisoners, the only color

Sofsky omits is yellow when mentioning the Star of David worn by Jews. Later, in the chapter on extermination, Sofsky declares that his study is simply not concerned with the reasons for the Final Solution but with the functioning of "the death factories" (p. 263). But it is possible to give only a partial account of the functioning of a system without including the attitudes, experiences, and motives brought into the system through the lived culture and history of the human beings in it. This determination not to consider the broader historical context also leads Sofsky to classify homosexuals and Soviet POWs as *equally* vulnerable to extermination as the Jews. This may have been true in terms of the ultimate fate of most such individuals in the camps, but it is not true in terms of overall Nazi policy. For one thing, many Russian POWs worked as slave labor on the German home front; only some Jewish skilled workers could hope for such indulgence. That the Jews were marked for utter and immediate extermination is not a fact in which this book is interested. It is also the case that Nazi treatment of homosexuals was not consistent: various types of punishment and even psychotherapeutic treatment were advanced by elements of the Nazi regime to deal with this "problem." One of the sources Sofsky himself cites (Hans Buchheim *et al.*, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* [1967]) points out that, even during the war, "habitual offenders" like homosexuals could be released by the SS for medical or criminal disposition elsewhere in the Nazi order. Once the war began, no Jew could hope to be released from a concentration camp.

In sum, Sofsky's book is indispensable as a detailed description of the functioning of the Nazi concentration camps. It is thus a necessary—but not, as Sofsky avers, sufficient—source. And although Sofsky's model is strongly generic in orientation, apart from reference to "the effective power of modern organization" (p. 278), it also does not offer a comparative analysis of the Soviet Gulag or any other concentration camp system.

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Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 327. \$35.00.

Michael H. Kater has added another important book to his impressive list of publications on National Socialism. In this, as in all of his previous studies, Kater is the master archival researcher, tireless in his pursuit of all the evidence, resourceful in the use of interviews, and always in command of the historiography. The result is the most authoritative account to date of music and musicians in the Third Reich. In *Different Drummers* (1992), Kater told the largely unknown story of the fragmented survival of jazz in that hostile environment and he is currently at work on a study of eight composers under National Socialism.

Kater begins by discussing the economic condition

of musicians, the National Socialist agencies for the control of music, and the varied patterns of Nazi musical careers. He then undertakes to lay bare the often-complex motivations of musicians in their relationships to National Socialism, weighing the relative importance of musical professionalism, careerism, opportunism, and political (ideological) allegiances. Kater is not content to describe the behavior, public and private, of musicians but seeks to discern their innermost intentions. It is a daunting task, sometimes only partially fulfilled but often revealing. In the chapter on Jewish musicians, most of whom went into exile, he highlights the unresolved problems faced by Nazi musicologists as they sought to distinguish between German and Jewish music and the special absurdity of their racist arguments in relation to musical composition. He follows the sorrowful story of the declining fortunes of the musical program of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund*, whose leaders apparently did not recognize the extent to which their organization was a product of Nazi manipulation. In a long section on Jewish musicians in exile, Kater presents numerous biographical sketches, several of which illustrate the point that modernist composers could be politically reactionary as well as naïve. In his treatment of the policies and institutions through which the Nazis sought to coordinate the musical culture of Germany, Kater concentrates on the promotion of *Hausmusik*, the increasing influence of the new musical institutions of the Hitler Youth, the comparative slowness—except for expelling Jewish and most modernist teachers—in transforming the curricula of the established conservatories, and the role played by church music in enhancing National Socialist influence on Protestantism. On the latter issue, he even argues that, despite the theological differences between the Confessing Church and the German Christians, “the music program of the Confessionals was essentially fascistic” (p. 162). In a long concluding chapter, Kater explores the unsuccessful Nazi effort to create a new musical culture that would embrace a measure of “modernity” (p. 177). It is this effort that helps to explain why composers with certain modernist tendencies, such as Carl Orff, Werner Egk, and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, managed to endure and, in some instances, to achieve considerable success.

Several aspects of this book call for more comment. In numerous places, Kater creates categories, or types, based on his understanding of the intentions that characterized a musician’s relationship to National Socialism. He stops short, however, of constructing a systematic typology, and the reasons are understandable. Despite his obvious determination, it is frequently impossible to arrive at indisputable conclusions about a musician’s motivations for relating to the Third Reich in a particular way. With the exception of musicians who enthusiastically declared their allegiance to Nazism, or the few who opposed it, many of them were in some kind of gray area; at one point Kater refers to them as “hybrid types” (p. 154). To be

sure, a formal typology would run the serious danger of minimizing the complexities and of excluding the oddities and ironies. Still, in view of the fact that so many references are made to types, a somewhat more systematic language in describing them would add clarity. This is a book based primarily on biography, as is appropriate, and many of Kater’s sketches are insightful as well as informative (for example, of Arnold Schoenberg, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and Richard Strauss). He does not shy away from drawing up a “balance sheet” (p. 64) on individuals, and, although he can be severe, he attempts to look at all sides, to be judicious and fair. Nonetheless, readers may differ in their reactions. For example, in the case of Hans Pfitzner, if one assesses the evidence that Kater himself presents, the balance sheet seems too generous. Two things are missing that would add to the usefulness of this valuable work. Despite the thorough documentation, a study of such importance in the field would be even more useful if a bibliography had been included. Moreover, this is a book loaded with empirical detail, a considerable portion of which is new, and so a conclusion that consolidates and expands on the interpretive themes would have been especially welcome.

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ISABEL WARNER. *Steel and Sovereignty: The Deconcentration of the West German Steel Industry, 1949–54*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 162.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1996. Pp. ix, 274.

At the end of World War II, the Western Allies—and the United States in particular—were determined not only to demilitarize and denazify defeated Germany but also to restructure its powerful industry. It was not just a matter of dismantling the country’s war-making potential once and for all; German industry was also to be decartelized and deconcentrated. There was little disagreement in Washington over the need to abolish Germany’s peculiar cartel system: that is, the anticompetitive practice of horizontal cooperation between independent firms to fix prices and production quotas. Vigorous debate ensued over just how far German industry should be deconcentrated, even though by 1947, those who had gained the upper hand were opposed to a radical breakup of the larger corporations in steel, chemicals, and electrical engineering. Instead they advocated no more than a dissolution of virtual monopolies like Vereinigte Stahlwerke and IG Farben and some deconcentration of the heavy industrial trusts of the Ruhr region. They also pushed for ending the “vertical integration” of coal and steel; but otherwise their concern was mainly to preserve sufficiently large production units that could act as engines of growth in the proposed economic reconstruction of Western Europe and the reintegration of the western half of Germany into the Atlantic community.

Isabel Warner, in this long-awaited study, is less concerned with early postwar planning; rather she hopes to "provide a better insight into the practice of Allied occupation policy, i.e., how it evolved and how effective it was" (p. 1). Accordingly, Warner examines "the Allied deconcentration programme as applied to the Ruhr industry" during the early 1950s. To this end, she immersed herself in the often highly technical archival materials on the major deconcentration push that occurred in the context of Schuman Plan negotiations between May 1950 and April 1951. Other chapters are devoted to the Allied-German negotiations during the ratification phase of the European Coal and Steel treaty.

The value of this book lies, in the first place, in Warner's painstaking analysis of what happened to individual steel and coal companies and their vertical connections and in the circumspect way in which she includes other players, such as the German trade unions and the Adenauer government. This is all very well done. Given her interest in policy effectiveness, however, Warner has inevitably thrown herself into the middle of a historiographical battle that has been going on for some time. As she demonstrates, the French, Americans, British, and Germans all pursued divergent strategic aims, and, a number of crisis situations notwithstanding, various compromises were struck in the larger interests of creating the European Coal and Steel Community. German industry, not surprisingly perhaps, resisted Allied deconcentration efforts and used the Bonn government to exploit the Federal Republic's increased leverage in international affairs during the Cold War. This leads Warner to the controversial question of whether Allied deconcentration ended in success or failure. As she puts it, was West German heavy industry at the end of the process in 1954 "a new animal or a wolf in sheep's clothing?" (p. 4). Being a product of the Milward School, she seems to veer toward the view that there was little change in German industry ten years after the end of the war.

Warner also concludes, however, that "new beginnings were not necessarily frustrated" since West Germany's heavy industry became "firmly embedded within an emerging European framework designed to check the excesses of the past." This, she adds, "would not have been possible without the Allied deconcentration programme, which therefore played an important role in helping to solve the German problem" (p. 236). I think it is possible to be more precise than this if the deconcentration question is explicitly linked to the Allies' concurrent decartelization effort. To be sure, the latter process took until 1957, when an anti-cartel law, modeled after American antitrust statutes finally reached the German statute book. This law abolished the pre-1945 German tradition of horizontal agreements between independent firms. Overall, German industry had thus been nudged away from its earlier protectionist practices toward oligopolistic competition. As Warner confirms, virtual monopolies

like Vereinigte Stahlwerke disappeared for good, while "two of the largest firms, Thyssen and Krupp, still controlled a quarter and a seventh of steel output, respectively, with the shares of the four middle-sized concerns (Gutehoffnungshütte, Klöckner, Mannesmann, and Hoesch) remaining the same as before the war" (p. 236). Was this not precisely the kind of oligopoly that had emerged in the United States in the wake of the Sherman Anti-trust Act and that "reconstructionists" in Washington had in mind in 1949? In short, the Ruhr region had not just been embedded in the "emerging European framework"; its organizational structures had also been recast sufficiently to fit into an American-dominated Western world economy.

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DAVID CHILDS and RICHARD POPPLEWELL. *The Stasi: The East German Intelligence Security Service*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 253. \$45.00.

David Childs and Richard Popplewell, two British political scientists, provide the first English-language treatment of the history and operations of the East German secret police (Stasi). Their account was built on the secondary literature available by early 1996 and on the revelations of the Gauck-Behörde (Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR), and their summary of and guide to the published sources provides a valuable service. Nevertheless, the serious student of police and security agencies will be disappointed by the results, given the limitations imposed by the published sources. Their analysis is conventionally political-organizational, but it does a thorough job of placing the Stasi in the context of East German and Soviet state organizations and their politics. Accounts of Stasi operations and methods are primarily based on anecdotes. The scattered four-page attempt at describing the general personnel and the mere two-and-one-half pages on its numbers and the nature of its informants show what and how much needs to be explored.

The first chapter provides the historical background to German and international Communist espionage work and relations between the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Soviet Union. The second and seventh chapters cover the origins and development of the Stasi to its role in the collapse of the German Democratic Republic (DDR). Chapters three and four put the Stasi in the political context of the DDR as an internal security organization. Chapters five and six focus on foreign intelligence. Post-*Wende* revelations have shown how much more extensive were the energies devoted to internal security than to foreign espionage, upon which the Stasi's earlier reputation in the West was largely based. So far, little beyond evidence about complicity with terrorist organizations has



emerged to revise assessments of the Stasi's HVA, or foreign wing.

At first, one is reminded of the flavor of early books on the Gestapo and Nazi espionage and of anti-Comintern exposés. Childs and Popplewell sometimes use gratuitously negative physical descriptions of key players to develop their character sketches. For the most part, the motive attributed to these people is dedication to a conspiracy to impose Soviet rule. The best explanation for their convictions emerges late, while there is always a slightly sinister spin on generalizations about the origins, development, and missions of the Stasi. The authors' major thesis—that the Stasi was the primary repressive instrument of the DDR police state and a tool of the Soviet state and its intelligence agencies—is unquestionable. Unfortunately, the Cold War rhetoric and tone of the first two-thirds of this book undermine their credibility.

Childs and Popplewell wrestle mightily with the uneven quality of the published sources. Readers are warned about the limits of reliability, but one still has to be on guard for suspicious inconsistencies. For instance, one is told that the HVA had only 4,000 officers as late as 1989 and that most were focused on and in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Yet the section emphasizing the significance of its operations in Asia and Africa cites "the 300–400 Stasi officers reportedly present in Southern Yemen (alone) in 1978" (p. 137). Granted this was the peak period of Stasi and KGB penetration of that part of the world, but given the number of such countries penetrated, the unquestioned use of such numbers "reported" in the secondary literature also undermines credibility.

As with most literature on totalitarian police state systems, the major problem is a failure to put it in any comparative context. For instance, early analyses of membership include vague references to numbers of SS, Gestapo, SD men, and Nazis recruited into the Stasi. Indications that such "rehabilitation" also occurred in the FRG and Western intelligence agencies appear in an entirely different context. There is only one passing reference to J. Edgar Hoover—as an example of how things can occasionally go wrong in democratic states, despite their checks and balances. Yet one is struck by comparisons between accounts of Erich Mielke, head of the Stasi, and what we now know about Hoover and his operations. Our self-righteous condemnation of authoritarian police systems has been more appropriately deflated by such comparative studies as Mark Mazower's anthology, *The Policing of Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1997), unfortunately not available to Childs and Popplewell in time. The authors' thesis about the role of the Stasi in the *Wende* is, however, consistent with the conclusions of Mazower's contributors and other studies of intelligence agencies. A security service wedded to the worldview of the establishment it serves (whether Communist or anti-Communist) can rarely provide objective, critical intelligence. If it does, it will be ignored.

A helpful chronology, a glossary, separate name and

subject indexes, and a complete bibliography enhance the work, which is also thoroughly endnoted. One sorely misses any organizational charts to keep straight the organizational descriptions.

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DENNIS ROMANO. *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400–1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvi, 333. \$45.00.

Within the confines of Venetian studies, this book makes a worthwhile contribution. Dennis Romano has produced a cautious and exhaustive study of service in the city of Venice, one that, with the exception of a few mild asides about gender inequality and child exploitation, is almost completely free of either the polemics or the fixation on the lurid that typifies so much of early modern social history.

Romano divides his study into three sections, labeled "Norms," "Structures," and "Practice." This vaguely *annaliste* triad seems to have more an administrative than an interpretative logic as a means to organize his archival sources. The sections are respectively dominated by prescriptive literature and criminal records, census data and work contracts, and wills. Of these, "Norms" is probably the most successful, drawing as it does on a rich lode of nearly two centuries worth of treatises on proper household management. From these, Romano is not only able to provide a vivid depiction of Venice's "servant problem" but also to ground two of the study's primary theses: that Venice's increasingly class-bound society was reflected, in miniature, in changing household relations between masters and servants; and that masters availed themselves of the authority of their aristocratic state to insure dominance over their hirelings.

In the final section, "Practices," Romano expands on these themes by surveying the affective ties between masters and servants as reflected in wills. He concludes that the service relationship was permeated with a paternalism in which masters often idealized and (presumably treated) their servants as children. Unfortunately, this section fits poorly with the first, since Romano draws his sample of wills seemingly at random over the two centuries, thereby apparently abandoning his earlier concerns about how relationships changed over the course of his chosen era of study. Nor do we learn much about how servants saw themselves in this paternalistic association. The work as a whole thus remains, despite its subtitle, much less about "domestic service" than about "servant keeping," an expression that Romano uses frequently and throughout. We are left wondering: did service define a class, or was it just a youthful phase that working people went through before marriage? What did it mean, in social terms, that sixty to eighty percent of

servants were foreign to Venice and its mainland dominion?

In "Structures," Romano seeks to build a quantitative bridge to link the prescriptive and legalistic "Norms" with the affective and particularist "Practices." To succeed convincingly, however, he would have needed far more statistical material than early modern Venice is able to supply on this topic; his attempts to stretch what he has to fit are far from convincing. Trends covering one or even two centuries are sustained by minuscule samplings: 160 years of wet nurses' wages supported by twenty-eight examples (table 4.9); a 200-year average of indentured service contracts derived from those of ten boys and eighteen girls (table 4.7); the claim that servants' dowries rose "fairly sharply" in one fifty-year period, based on just four examples (p. 159). Such averages (mean? median? one is never sure), drawn from samplings that can vary enormously, are not made more convincing by Romano's carrying them to two decimal places.

Still more troubling is the discovery that Romano's calculations of the size and nature of Venice's servant population are based only on census figures for live-in servants, even though, as he admits, "many" lived on their own. How many is not clear, although my own brief survey of some of his censuses indicates that Romano's figures could easily be thirty percent too low, even without taking into account (as he does not) nobles' many rural retainers and their tendency to hire servants by the day or the week. The discrepancy is vital: on these data Romano has based his claims about changing gender ratios among servants (pp. 108–10), the distribution of servants by district and master's status (pp. 111–17), and the economics of the employment marketplace (pp. 119–50, 229–30).

Unable to substantiate the low servant population that he claims to have found in the city, Romano's fundamental, exceptionalist argument—that a supposedly "republican" Venice restrained this form of aristocratic display—also crumbles. Nothing is left to support this key point except the decidedly unsystematic musings of a few foreign visitors about small noble retinues. In any case, the dates (1400–1600) that Romano has chosen to frame his survey effectively end this work before serious aristocratization began in the city and also place it outside the time frame of the other studies that he cites as having formed the analytic context in which it was conceived in the first place.

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MARINA CAFFIERO. *La politica della santità: Nascita di un culto nell'età dei Lumi*. (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna, number 1088.) Bari: Laterza. 1996. Pp. 254. L. 45,000.

During Holy Week of the year 1783, a thirty-five-year-old Frenchman named Benoit-Joseph Labre died in Rome. Labre had come to Italy in 1770, and

thereafter he divided his time between pilgrimages to shrines to the Virgin and acts of ostentatious piety and extreme asceticism in Rome. Barely known during his lifetime, his grave soon began to attract large crowds. It was claimed that it was the site of a number of miraculous healings as well. A substantial literature devoted to Labre's life and significance developed during the next decades; the French tended to depict him as the forerunner for a radically reformed and purified church, while in Italy he was seen as a model of baroque piety and of humble submission to the priestly and papal authority that was being increasingly challenged in the last years of the eighteenth century. Labre was proclaimed a saint in 1881, in a similar period of profound tension between the church and the forces of the secular world.

Marina Caffiero is not interested in detailing the life of Labre, which has been recounted many times. Instead, she seeks to understand the religious and political contexts that turned Labre, as she writes, into "the 'sign' of an epoch and of a turning point in the history of the Church and of its connection with society" (p. 9). Caffiero has written copiously on the interrelation of religion (both official and popular), reform, and revolution in late eighteenth-century Italy, and the present book must be seen as a comparatively modest contribution to themes stated more broadly in works such as *La nuova era* (1991) and *La maestà del papa* (1996).

Labre was an unlikely candidate for sainthood, at least in the eighteenth century. As many of his clerical publicists pointed out, his life recalled instead the desert saints of the early church. Labre was also, as Caffiero demonstrates, a mass of paradoxes. He was desperately poor, yet he entirely avoided the clerically sanctioned practice of begging. He made his pilgrimages in silence, with no contact with the other pilgrims, and he lived the life of a solitary ascetic in one of the largest cities in Europe. That Labre left no writings, and that a body of sayings appeared only several years after his death, may have made it easier for those who pressed for sainthood to endow him with their own concerns and preconceptions. While Caffiero carefully rejects contemporary allegations that the campaign for Labre's canonization was a curial or Jesuit plot, it is clear that a number of those who wrote in praise of him were either former Jesuits or belonged to their circles. Labre's piety could be made to serve as a reproach to the Jesuits' Jansenist rivals in Italy, to critics of the curia and papacy (in one of its least admirable periods), and, more broadly, to the movement that some have called the "Catholic Enlightenment."

By itself, Caffiero's book may well seem to some readers to be rather narrowly conceived. Within the context of the broader issues of the interactions of Roman Catholicism and the French Revolution, however, it makes an important contribution.

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PASQUALE BENEDEUCE. *Il corpo eloquente: Identificazione del giurista nell'Italia liberale*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 27.) Bologna: Mulino. 1996. Pp. 404. L. 45,000.

GABRIELLA SANTONCINI. *Sovranità e giustizia nella Restaurazione pontificia: La riforma dell'amministrazione della giustizia criminale nei lavori preparatori del Motu Proprio del 1816*. (Le idee e le istituzioni.) Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore. 1996. Pp. vi, 204. L. 28,000.

Despite the long and venerable tradition of legal history in Italy, little is known about the actual practice of law in the nineteenth century. The two books under review promise to analyze legal reform within the context of the dramatic political changes of that century. Gabriella Santoncini focuses on the reorganization of the criminal courts within the Papal States during the "second restoration" following the Council of Vienna, while Pasquale Beneduce traces developments within the Italian legal profession after the unification of the peninsula in 1861.

To identify the major controversies in criminal justice during the early Restoration, Santoncini turns to the discussions leading to the promulgation of the *Motu Proprio* of 1816, in which Pope Pius VII codified the administrative structure of his kingdom. Central to these discussions was the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, a moderate reformer who wished to preserve aspects of the French system, notably its uniformity and efficiency. Most historians have regarded him as the victor in his struggle against the *zelanti*, the group of reactionary officials who zealously fought to recover their eighteenth-century privileges.

In her examination of the articles of the *Motu Proprio* on the criminal courts, Santoncini found evidence to revise this traditional interpretation. The edict did include a few reforms, such as the organization of a uniform system of courts for the provinces outside of Rome and the abolition of judicial torture. But it perpetuated the "multiform monster of Rome," in which members of the *zelanti* retained control over a mishmash of overlapping courts (p. 128). It also reinstated the unsystematic *bandi*, or edicts, of the old regime rather than creating unified codes of criminal law and procedure. According to Santoncini, little substantive reform was possible, because Consalvi as well as the *zelanti* were primarily dedicated to preserving the absolutist powers of the pope.

Like Santoncini, Beneduce is also sensitive to the political context of legal change, although his focus is on lawyers rather than the criminal justice system itself. Seeking to identify how jurists perceived themselves, he consults memoirs, journals, and manuals of professional conduct. He argues that, after the unification of Italy, lawyers devoted themselves less to private practice and more to service to the state, especially in the role of university professor. Concomitantly, law journals like the *Archivio giuridico* sought to instill a national consciousness in the legal profes-

sion and to promote discussion of legislative issues across regions.

This "intellectual unification of lawyers," dedicated to service to the state, occurred slowly and remained incomplete at the end of the nineteenth century (p. 50). Never abandoning private practice, most lawyers had difficulties balancing this pragmatic activity with the increasingly abstract and encyclopedic knowledge required of university professors. They were also troubled by the issue of remuneration, since traditional rules of conduct allowed lawyers to accept only gifts. How should the value of "immaterial" services such as legal briefs and defense orations be calculated? Should the state take legal steps to protect lawyers' product, that is their "eloquence," from being plagiarized? Consensus emerged only slowly on such questions as Italian jurists struggled to shape a professional identity.

Both books share a strength that ultimately turns into a weakness: a devotion to primary sources. Santoncini is to be thanked for her inclusion of the various drafts of the penal section of the *Motu Proprio* as an appendix. But her text itself reads like the literal transcription of the opinion of each participant on every issue pertinent to the final edict. Beneduce also provides more detail than needed by the reader. Curiously, many of his lengthy quotes come from French treatises; a study of the self-perception of Italian lawyers surely should rest on their own writings, even if inspired by foreign models. More extended analysis would have improved each study.

The paucity of analysis makes these books of only limited use to historians of crime and criminal justice. Santoncini fails to put papal policy in the wider international context, although an outpouring of research on contemporaneous legal debates in the rest of Europe makes this possible. She ignores the historiography of crime completely, including Steven C. Hughes's recent book on policing in Bologna, a province of the Papal States, during the same period (*Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna* [1994]). Unlike Hughes, she makes no attempt to ascertain how the criminal law functioned and whether the *Motu Proprio* effected the everyday lives of the pope's subjects.

Although Beneduce's study has a longer chronological sweep, he similarly fails to document the actual behavior of lawyers in the nineteenth century. Did they live up to the standards of the prescriptive literature that he cites? How many actually held public offices or university positions? It is surprising that he fails to cite the prosopographic work of Pietro Saraceno on the careers of lawyers after unification (*Alta magistratura e classe politica dalla integrazione alla separazione: Linee di una analisi socio-politica del personale dell'alta magistratura italiana dall'unità al fascismo* [1979]). The reader must take on faith that the voices which he cites are representative of a profession that Aldo Mazza-cane has shown to have been riven by cleavages among regions and types of lawyers (for example, prosecutors

and defense attorneys) during the entire period of the liberal monarchy ("A Jurist for United Italy," in Maria Malatesta, ed., *Society and the Professions in Italy, 1860-1914* [1995]). Because of the narrow focus of each of these books, many questions still remain about the everyday application of the law in modern Italy.

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STEFANO CAVAZZA. *Piccole Patrie: Feste popolari tra regione e nazione durante il fascismo*. (Ricerca.) Bologna: Mulino. 1997. Pp. 263. L. 32,000.

It may be unnecessary to remind readers that fascist officials encouraged and manipulated popular celebrations to generate public support for their regime. This monograph by Stefano Cavazza does not belabor that point, using it only to initiate a discussion of how the pursuit of popular consensus involved the fascist regime in issues of nation-building, national identity, and regionalism. The *piccole patrie* (small fatherlands) of the title are the local communities that generate strong feelings of *campanilismo*, a uniquely Italian term denoting the propensity of individuals to identify most readily with the local community. Cavazza also considers other forms of identity, based on Italy's culturally distinct provinces and regions, that mediated between the narrowest forms of collective identity and attachment to the nation.

Fascism came to power as a minority movement that promised to bring the nation together. That promise meant that fascism had to make itself popular, for few fascists believed that violence and intimidation alone could bind Italians together for very long. Appropriating public festivals and other popular traditions was part of the consensus-building process that has been the subject of much debate among scholars. It is also the part of the process that has been least studied. The regime found precedents for the political use of festivals in patriotic currents that originated in the nineteenth-century movement for national unification. What fascism did that was novel was to institutionalize the practice, most notably through the activities of the Fascist Party and the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*, which served as major choreographers of patriotic rituals. Studies by, among others, Victoria de Grazia and Luisa Passerini have dealt with the organization of consent in fascist Italy. Cavazza's study stands out in several respects, the most noteworthy being perhaps its theoretically sophisticated application of the concept of popular culture, its understanding of the significance and uses of local attachments, and sensitivity to changes in official attitudes and policies during the twenty years of fascist government. His discussion shows, among other things, that historians can make good use of anthropological insights without ceasing to be historians.

Avoiding the extremes of treating popular traditions either as genuine expressions of popular culture or as

complete fabrications (constructions) reflecting external interests, Cavazza opts for a middle ground that allows him to see how practices and customs that had a long and autonomous history of their own could be coopted in pursuit of national goals. Such goals were not exclusively political for, as Cavazza points out, the period of fascist rule coincided with a pronounced commercialization of culture. Fascist policy toward public festivals thus pursued both political and economic objectives, aiming on the one hand to foster national sentiments and, on the other, to encourage tourism. The most notable example of such manipulation was the *Palio* of Siena, but Cavazza's documentation, which is particularly rich for the region of Tuscany, shows many other examples of living traditions and of traditions that had fallen into desuetude being revitalized and "hegemonized" by the regime.

Seeking consensus involved much more than the manipulation of symbols. At least in the short term, it was just as important to win over local elites who were slow or hesitant to rally behind the regime. The polemic that developed within fascism in the 1920s, between those who saw local attachments as desirable and even indispensable components of a strong sense of national identity and others who saw all forms of local identity as divisive, was resolved temporarily in favor of the former. The practical consequence of that victory by the fascist current known as *strapaese* was the winning over to the regime of the intelligentsia of the provinces (*intelletuali di provincia*), particularly in those parts of Italy where local elites were most steeped in the patriotic culture of pre-fascist liberalism. That finding leads Cavazza to suggest that fascism essentially continued the liberal practice of shoring up the national state by a process of mediation and negotiation involving local elites and national authorities.

There are perhaps some contradictions or inconsistencies in Cavazza's discussion of these issues. Although in the beginning he accords popular festivals an autonomy and dignity of their own, in the end he seems to conclude that they are all "invented traditions." That claim, however, is followed immediately by the qualification that a "tradition can be said to be invented not only when it comes out of nothing, but also when it elaborates on historical memories and legends, adapting them to some present use" (pp. 247-48). Such a formulation leaves open the question of the role played by those "historical memories and legends" that are presumably part of an authentic popular culture. That fascism may have latched on to something authentically popular is a possibility that few scholars seem willing to entertain. These theoretical considerations aside, Cavazza's book packs enough new information and stimulating insights to deserve a place in any bibliography on Italian fascism.

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ALESSANDRO BROGI. *L'Italia e l'egemonia americana nel mediterraneo*. (Biblioteca di storia, number 60.) Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1996. Pp. xxviii, 425. L. 40,000.

In a letter of June 15, 1956, to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the American ambassador to Italy, Clare Boothe Luce, pointed out "certain stubborn facts of political life" (p. 355) in the country, chiefly its deeply rooted revolutionary culture. Luce's fears about Communism helped to shape the Italian policies of her superiors in Washington, D.C., particularly President Dwight D. Eisenhower, with whom she enjoyed a close personal relationship. Convinced that the internal problems caused by the Italian Communist Party had rendered Italy unfit for a serious international role, the Eisenhower administration expected nothing more than unquestioning support from the Christian Democratic government of its anemic ally on all foreign policy issues. In his carefully documented book, Alessandro Brogi provides a detailed and mainly persuasive analysis of the Italian response to these expectations.

Brogi advances an argument based on Geir Lundestad's postrevisionist ideas in *The American "Empire"* (1990), especially the "empire-by-invitation" thesis and Lundestad's insistence on the importance of European initiatives and policies in the Cold War. In short, if the Europeans had invited the United States to be their hegemonic protector, at no time did they relinquish all or even substantial control of European affairs. Local factors, existing in a complex relationship of tension and compliance with Washington's Cold War agenda, guided the foreign policy decisions of European leaders. Lundestad's postrevisionism holds much closer to the traditionalist America-as-liberator line of analysis than to the revisionist, America-as-exploiter line, but he criticizes both of these standard interpretations of the Cold War for their narrow focus on American policy and their neglect of European sources.

Brogi takes a test case approach in his book, and he finds that Italy perfectly illustrates the empire-by-invitation thesis. Italian leaders certainly did everything they could to secure American economic aid and military protection. Rome's pro-American policies, moreover, enjoyed widespread popular support. Yet, from the beginning, Italian leaders had their own agenda as well, and to reconstruct its actual history along the Rankean lines dear to Lundestad, Brogi has thoroughly mined the appropriate American and Italian archives as well as numerous other sources. He intelligently analyzes the complex political rivalries and party factions that conditioned postwar Italian foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War. By defeating the Communists and the neutralists in their own party, the Christian Democrats gained real leverage with the United States.

Again taking direction from Lundestad, Brogi attempts to show how Italy exercised "the tyranny of the weak" in its dealings with Washington. Anticommunism,

America's transcendent concern in the Cold War, lent itself to just the kind of manipulation in Italy that Lundestad claimed was a distinctive characteristic of diplomacy inside the Atlantic Alliance. Thanks to Brogi, we have a richly detailed example of Lundestad's generalization. The large, powerful, and well-organized Italian Communist Party became an obsession with American leaders, who, despite private misgivings about Italy as an ally, of Cold War necessity granted numerous concessions in order to shore up the strength and prestige of the Christian Democrats.

Brogi describes Italy's transcendent concern in this period as self-definition. Foreign policy, with its inevitable attachment to domestic—particularly economic—issues, took shape in postwar Italy as a manifestation of this concern. At first, Italian leaders could do no more than aspire to genuine acceptance by their allies. Then, with the onset of the economic miracle in the 1950s, Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani presented the doctrine of *neatlantismo* as a means of vigorously advancing Italy's traditional claims to a "Mediterranean vocation" (p. 58), in the context of the Atlantic Alliance. The Suez Crisis of 1956 gave Fanfani his chance to act alongside America against the British, French, and Israelis who had attacked Egypt. Although they received praise from Dulles and Luce for their "maturity" (p. 226) in closely cooperating with Washington, the Italians were not included in subsequent diplomatic conferences on the Suez issue.

Italy's international standing did improve, but by the late 1950s it still enjoyed only "near equality" (p. 346) with the major powers of the Atlantic Alliance. The leftward drift of Italian politics continued to preoccupy Washington, and a Mediterranean vocation for Italy remained substantially unfulfilled. As a test case of how the European allies interacted with the United States, Italy's Cold War history illustrates less the tyranny than the strategic price of weakness.

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GARY B. COHEN. *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 386. \$36.95.

We can devoutly hope that the Austro-Hungarian Empire will one day escape the general charge of backwardness. When that happy day arrives—and writers stop spelling Habsburg with a "p"—our collective memory will thank historians such as Gary B. Cohen for introducing respect where before there was condescension. The rise of nationalism, the compromise of 1867 with the Hungarians, and the weakness of Austrian parliamentary institutions have been catalyzed (by the attitude that the nation-state is the natural political unit) into disdain for the Dual Monarchy. The complexity of dealing with many ethnic groups sprawling in a crescent from Ukraine to Italy confirms the uninitiated in the wisdom of dismissing the whole business as a holdover from the Middle Ages. This

book might prove so thorough that it scares away the ordinary reader. The comfortable inclusion of Croats and Romanians in the same thought, or the puzzle of categorizing Jews who used Hebrew or Polish in their everyday speech, or the omnipresent statistics give frightening depths of analysis to the book. But used simply as a source of information or actually read, Cohen's book will provide leaven to raise the reputation of Austria the more nationalism goes flat. Empires are out, but so are nation-states that insist on their identity to the point of isolation.

The problem of many nationalities and cultures is large indeed, and Cohen chooses to deal in depth only with the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy. Maps at the front of the book containing only the essentials help keep provinces and nationalities from running together.

Austria was a solidly progressive state in most respects, the equal of Western democracies in bureaucratic organization and more progressive than some in education. The rule of law was as firmly rooted there as in the Prussian *Rechtsstaat* to the north, and from it grew an equitable legal system controlling an efficient and generally honest administration. During the Enlightenment, the state had accepted a mandate to become a welfare institution when Joseph II made primary schooling obligatory. The challenge of finding enough money for education, among other things, spurred the economy in the following century as the ideal of an educated citizenry flourished. Cohen restricts his analysis to secondary and higher education, concentrating on middle-class demands for education that encouraged dramatic expansion of the schools. Development reached the point where the government worried that an unemployed or disillusioned academic proletariat might threaten internal security, but attempts to restrict the growth of schools proved unsuccessful. Cohen's choice of parameters precludes detailed discussion of primary education or movements among the workers; the socialist school reformer Otto Glöckl, for example, receives no mention. But Cohen has more than enough material to work with. Prodigious statistics yield considerable insight into the degree of development in Austria at the time. Twenty-one pages of supplementary tables and an appendix on statistical methods lend credence to his argument.

Few features of a national character reveal the degree of development more than the general level of education among the people. Cohen shows that Austrian society readily adapted to modern conditions by recognizing that education provided opportunities for careers beyond public service or small business management. Medicine quickly began to rival law at the university, while technical colleges experienced a boom. Cohen strives for balance throughout, regularly including three or four causes where the reader understands that he does not mean to be exclusive. The valiant effort to avoid reductionism sometimes slows the flow of his prose. Fairness wins in the end, though,

as the numbers are coaxed and cajoled into telling a story about the transformation of Austrian society.

Most of this book deals with social changes revealed by the kinds of schools being opened and the people attending different schools. The traditional *Gymnasium* remained in high demand, although people were beginning to question its emphasis on Greek. A response to the rise of technology in the *Realschule* evolved into the *Realgymnasium*. Jews and Protestants were overrepresented in proportion to their share of the population. Although most students entering secondary schools had no intention of completing the course of studies, a breakthrough occurred when legislation entitled graduates of the *Gymnasium* and later the *Realgymnasium* to enter the universities without other credentials. Institutions of higher learning suddenly found themselves with a stake in secondary education. Subsequent developments kept the quality of Austrian higher education intact without excluding students who could not afford living expenses. Cohen's last chapter deals with the fascinating stuff of the *Bildungsroman* and dueling when he discusses the socialization process of students. The state stood by all the while, benevolently clucking warnings but always willing to respond to demands for education. Democratic institutions might have been weak, but the country was otherwise remarkably advanced. Just ask the learned Viennese doctor you happen to know.

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PADRAIC KENNEY. *Rebuilding Poland: Workers and Communists, 1945–1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 360. \$39.95.

Padraic Kenney's book has much to recommend it. It represents the first attempt of a social historian to explore the Stalinist experience in Poland and is one of the few serious works of Polish social history generally. The author is not content to confront just the social history of the early postwar period, however. As Kenney rightly asserts, social history, properly executed, can and should transform political narratives as well. Based largely on archival materials only recently made available for research, Kenney's book challenges a historiography that has denied the Polish people a role in determining their future under communism.

In documenting the reception and reinterpretation of communism by Polish workers, Kenney relates a tale of two revolutions in two cities. Łódź and Wrocław are well chosen for Kenney's backdrop because of their contrasting experiences. Łódź, with its established textile industry and settled factory population, both relatively intact at war's end, is placed at one pole. At the other is Wrocław, formerly Breslau, a devastated regional economic and administrative center whose rough-and-tumble postwar environment is welcome to neither returning German or migrant Pole. For Kenney, the key difference as far as the working class is concerned is one of "moral community," a variation on

E. P. Thompson's concept of "moral economy." The ability of the Łódź working class to assert itself as a moral community during what Kenney terms "the revolution in the factories" (1945–1947) affected the ultimate outcome of "the party's revolution" (1948–1950). The absence of moral community in deeply fragmented Wrocław, due to the "underdevelopment" of the proletariat, helped to create an environment more hospitable to communism, if not to labor discipline and productivity.

Both experiences and both types of social relations, according to Kenney, call into question the "totalitarian" state's ability to dictate their terms. Particularly in Łódź, where the party wrested control of factory councils, trade unions, and eventually the factories themselves, the strength of the workers' moral community, even if confined to the private sphere, enabled the retention of a class identity that "was the Polish communists' greatest failure" (p. 290). Kenney proceeds to argue that the economic outlines of Stalinism were as much negotiated as imposed. In the newly emerging worker culture of low discipline and high turnover typified by Wrocław, the state's employment of propaganda and social engineering devices such as labor competition had unanticipated results. Productivity was not thereby increased. Instead, Polish workers learned to manipulate labor competition to their own advantage, extracting concessions that, forty years later, would bleed the regime to death.

Kenney's basic argument that "the shape of Polish stalinism was determined by negotiation based on positions that workers, both in Wrocław and Łódź, had staked out" (p. 190) is convincing only in part. One could argue that the "moral communities" of the Polish countryside were much stronger than that of Łódź. Given the complete failure of collectivization, the Polish peasant's "negotiation" of social and economic relations with the state had an equal, if not more important, role in shaping Poland's peculiar postwar system of compromise and tactical repression. It is this larger social context that is sometimes missing from Kenney's work. Its inclusion, moreover, would support rather than detract from his main thesis. So, too, would greater reference to popular religious consciousness and the role of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in the formation of the worker culture of the future. Despite the official aloofness of the church from social issues and labor conflict during this period, the Polish worker who will stand "at the center of [the] story" (p. 340) of the downfall of communism would do so with cross in hand.

Finally, although Kenney quite capably demonstrates how the seeds of communism's collapse were sown in the years 1945–1950, he is unable "to chart the continuities linking that era to the prerevolutionary world" (p. 4). To do so would require a more developed literature on Polish social history. Instead, Kenney is forced to resort to cross-cultural comparisons to help define the contours of his study. The Soviet experience provides an obvious frame of reference and

has been extensively researched. Equally promising, if perhaps too speculative, is Kenney's suggestion that the experience of communism in Poland be compared with the populist dictatorships of mid-twentieth-century Latin America.

In the Polish context, however, the important story that Kenney relates is uncharted and complex. The author's careful attention to questions of gender, craft, generation, skill, and nation—each worthy of separate comment—provide an indication of the sophistication of his approach to the history of this period. Kenney's insightful interpretation of the communist experience in Poland demonstrates once again the shortcomings of models defined over forty years ago that now better describe the surface than the substance.

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DAVID H. WEINBERG, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Haim Zhitlowski, Simon Dubnow, Ahad Ha-Am, and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity*. (New Perspectives, Jewish Life and Thought.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1996. Pp. x, 385. \$40.00.

David H. Weinberg's book contains fascinating portraits of three Russian-Jewish nationalist ideologues. Born between the mid-1850s and mid-1860s, they belonged to a "transitional generation," reared in a still organic and integral traditional Jewish culture that was eroding in the face of secularism and science (p. 1). All three sought to create a secular version of "eternal" Jewish ideals and values: a modern, integral Jewish culture for an ancient people. In contrast to Western and Central European Jews "who lived with a variety of personal and collective identities," this generation of Russian Jews framed Jewish identity "in absolutist terms" (p. 15).

This is not a work of original research. Weinberg has critically reassessed the published works of Haim Zhitlowski, Simon Dubnow, and Ahad Ha-Am in the light of the current secondary literature on them and their times and has provided superb overviews of their lives and thoughts. His preface and conclusion make a case for the contemporary relevance of these thinkers and the insights they offer "into strategies for the survival of Jewish communal life in the future" (pp. 28, vii). Injecting this popular Jewish agenda of the 1990s detracts from an authoritative and credible work of scholarship. Moreover, Weinberg's claim is in utter contradiction to his critical and historical overviews, which pin these thinkers firmly to their time and place.

Chapter one establishes the milieu of the three thinkers in nineteenth-century Russian-Jewish history. While providing valuable context from the recent scholarship, this chapter would have benefitted from rigorous editing; it too often loses focus on the men in question.

In Weinberg's portrait of the first of these men, Zhitlowski was shaped by Russian populism's cult of the peasant and by the Slavophile idealization of folk

culture and language. He combined agrarian socialism with a Yiddish-based Jewish nationalism. Since Jews lacked sovereignty or even a territorial base, Zhitlowski grounded Jewish national distinctiveness in linguistic, spiritual, and ethical constructs: a national language and a socialist rereading of Judaism. Developments under the Tsarist and then Bolshevik regimes, and in the United States, rendered his agenda quixotic. Jews persisted in remaining, in Zhitlowski's terms, capitalist parasites; if socialists, they were urban ones, geared to industrialization. Stuck fast in his nineteenth-century ideology, in the 1920s and 1930s Zhitlowski was able to persuade himself that Stalinist Russia was realizing his program of Jewish nationalism and agrarian socialism.

Weinberg provides a masterly analysis of how Dubnow used history to construct a Jewish national identity. Employing biological analogies from nineteenth-century positivism, Dubnow depicted the Jewish nation as a unified whole, a living organism. He then glossed over internal social and economic divisions in Jewish communal life. History became largely a narrative of ideas, an internal history displaying continuities amid change. The external world was an "alien surrounding" to be resisted, not a source of influence; thus Dubnow ignored the parallels between Jewish and surrounding cultures (p. 187). Finally, and to our eyes supremely ahistorically, Dubnow read recurring parallels into Jewish history: the Chmielnitski massacres and the pogroms of 1881–1882, Herzl's "false messianism" and earlier messianic fiascoes (p. 154). Dubnow produced historical classics, unrivaled in their evocative power, narrative sweep, and mastery of detail. But his "unilinear and insular analysis" of Jewish history very much a product of the nineteenth century (p. 182).

The last in Weinberg's triptych is Ahad Ha-Am, the founder of "cultural Zionism." He, too, wished to create a secular, integral Jewish national culture, which, he believed, could only be nurtured by a sovereign Jewish state in Zion. Weinberg emphasizes the elements of traditional Judaism in Ahad Ha-Am's thought: the theme of periphery and center in the relationship between diaspora Jews and the land of Israel; the vision of Israel as a modern-day *Yavneh* (the Palestinian center of Jewish learning after the Roman conquest); Ahad Ha-Am's own austere, aloof, "rabbinical" leadership style, no match for Herzl's mastery of the techniques of mass leadership. Ahad Ha-Am's modern national Jewish culture was to be based upon a unitary Jewish "national ethic" that would borrow from European culture only what complemented Jewish "values and ideals" (pp. 260, 273). This notion of a unitary culture too, was more in keeping with the "primacy of the community over the individual" in traditional Judaism than with modern principles of individualism and cultural pluralism (p. 272).

Weinberg insists that the writings of these men are still relevant, because the issue of Jewish continuity in the modern age is still not resolved (p. 298). I would

argue that this issue will never be "resolved," but that we can contend about it best once these three thinkers are respectfully laid to rest.

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CATHERINE EVTUHOV, *The Cross and the Sick: Sergei Bulgakov and the Fate of Russian Religious Philosophy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 278. \$42.50.

In absolute terms, Sergei Bulgakov (1871–1944) has never been a forgotten figure. His evolution from Marxism to idealism, followed by his return to the Orthodox Church and his intensive work for the renewal of the Orthodox theology, is known to be of central importance to the religio-philosophic renaissance that took place during the so-called Silver Age of Russian culture. It is true, however, that several decades of deliberate Soviet efforts to marginalize this great cultural tradition proved quite successful, even in the West. Hence Catherine Evtuhov is right in claiming that Bulgakov, as well as the entire legacy of Russian religious thought of the Silver Age, needs to be rescued from a relative oblivion. But she should have added, perhaps, that this is no longer true in Russia, where this legacy is now widely celebrated as the most precious part of Russia's philosophical tradition.

A peculiar feature of the book, markedly different from conventional interpretations, is the author's attempt to see the religio-philosophic renaissance not as a radical break with traditions of the progressive Russian intelligentsia but, rather, as an inner transformation of these traditions, deepening their spiritual content but preserving, often unconsciously, a strong element of continuity. Evtuhov stresses that Bulgakov, having completed his evolution toward philosophical idealism, fully retained his youthful admiration for the materialist Nikolai Chernyshevsky and saw the neo-idealists as the true heirs of the radicals of the 1860s (p. 67). She convincingly demonstrates a close, meaningful relationship, as well as direct personal connection, between the religio-philosophic renaissance inspired by Vladimir Solov'ev and political liberalism, represented by Petr Struve's Union of Liberation (of which Bulgakov was a founding member). Evtuhov indicates that Struve himself was fully aware of these links, attached great importance to them, and looked for allies not only among neo-idealist philosophers but also among the propagators of the "new religious consciousness" (pp. 88–89). Thus she sheds a new light on the ideological genesis of the Kadet Party.

Bulgakov's version of the "new religious consciousness" (opposed to Dimitri Merezhkovsky's mystical anarchism) was the idea of a reformation within the Orthodox Church, drawing on the Slavophile conception of *sobornost'* and Solov'ev's "Sophiology." Its political expression was Bulgakov's Christian Socialist Union, which emerged in the fall of 1905 as a splinter



group of the liberation movement. Its program was a literal interpretation of Solov'ev's view that Christian ideals should guide not only individual conduct but social and political life as well; hence its religious justification was a sort of theology of liberation. As a political movement, it proved to be a failure, but it nevertheless exercised a lasting influence on the progressive part of the Orthodox clergy.

The culmination of Bulgakov's efforts to modernize the church and, at the same time, to strengthen its position in the state, was his central role at the Church Council of 1917–1918. The three chapters devoted to this are very informative and thought-provoking. Evtuhov demonstrates that the Council's official acceptance of the idea of *sobornost'* had a double significance: on the one hand, it was a long step toward ecclesiastical democracy, but, on the other, it was also an attempt to create a confessional state, unacceptable to the victorious Bolshevik Party and, of course, to the religious minorities in Russia.

Evtuhov's analysis of Bulgakov's philosophy concentrates mostly on his *Philosophy of Economy* (*Filosofia Khoziaistva* [1912]). It views Bulgakov's "sophic economy" as an interesting variant of "epistemological collectivism," trying to overcome the antinomies of the "epistemological individualism" of Immanuel Kant; as an activist philosophy of labor, parallel in certain respects to the neo-Marxist philosophies of praxis; and, finally, as a religious philosophy, developing the conception of the Divine Wisdom (Sophia), of its immanent presence in the world, and of its progressive revelation in human creativity.

The book is not flawless. It does not offer a systematic analysis of different stages of Bulgakov's philosophical and political evolution. It occasionally indulges in controversial interpretations (for example, interpreting Bulgakov's "sophic" economy as a response to P. A. Stolypin's agrarian reform). Its subtitle is somewhat misleading, because the book deals, in fact, with the fate of an individual thinker only. Nevertheless, Evtuhov has made a valuable and rewarding contribution to the important and neglected field of Russian studies. She avoids the pitfalls of an exaggerated Russian "exceptionalism" by pointing out that Russian philosophy of the Silver Age was a part of an all-European revolt against positivism. Her book compares favorably with the chapters on Bulgakov in George F. Putnam's *Russian Alternatives to Marxism* (1977). And, be it added, a comparable monograph on Bulgakov has not yet appeared in Russia.

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DAVID R. SHEARER. *Industry, State, and Society in Stalin's Russia, 1926–1934*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 263. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

For scholars of Soviet history, no question has loomed larger than that of Stalinism. How was it that the

October Revolution, which seemed to promise equality and liberty, resulted not in a Communist utopia but instead in a Stalinist dictatorship? Why did the Communist Party abandon a gradualist approach to building socialism and embark on a highly coercive industrialization drive in the late 1920s? And what was the nature of the Stalinist system that resulted? Historians have sought the origins of Stalinism in a number of sources; some have focused on the role of Marxist ideology, others have blamed Stalin personally, and still others have emphasized the backwardness of Russian society or the hostile international environment. David R. Shearer has chosen to concentrate on bureaucratic politics within the state economic administration in his attempt to understand the genesis of the Stalinist system.

Shearer points out that the key question facing Soviet leaders, once they resolved to industrialize the country quickly, was how to generate enough capital for investment. The method they ultimately chose was that of capital extraction through high taxation, coercion, and a hypercentralized state bureaucracy. But Shearer sees another possibility: a state-run economy based on commercial relations between state production cartels that would have constituted "a new kind of market socialist economy" (p. 240). In particular, Shearer champions the syndicates (sale and supply offices of state producers) as trade organizations that, had they not been abolished in 1929, would have promoted the commercial exchange of goods and materials within state industry.

Shearer's argument owes something to previous attempts to find a non-capitalist alternative to Stalinism. Some historians have contended that the New Economic Policy (NEP), the mixed economy of the 1920s that permitted limited private enterprise, offered a market road to socialism. But the NEP had many detractors, both within the Communist Party and in Soviet society as a whole, and it did not promise the rapid industrialization deemed necessary to defend the country. Shearer proposes a different alternative to Stalinism, in this case a system that would have incorporated some market mechanisms, but within the rubric of a fully state-run economy that allegedly would still have accomplished rapid industrialization.

Why then was this nascent market socialist economy "scrapped in favor of a hypercentralized command economy? According to Shearer, the leaders of one branch of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, were bent not only on the industrialization of Russia but on the creation of an administrative dictatorship as well. In a welcome departure from much scholarship on this period, Shearer does not fixate on Stalin himself as the sole creator of the command economy, and instead describes the attitudes of several other high Soviet officials such as Sergo Ordzhonikidze and Georgii Piatakov. But in the end, his explanation is only marginally more sophisticated than accounts that attribute everything to Stalin personally, because he repeatedly invokes this handful

of "Stalinists" to explain the creation of the Stalinist system.

It is unfortunate that Shearer did not place more emphasis on his point that certain technical elites (not to mention military officers, industrial workers, and Soviet youth) also favored the state mobilization of resources for economic modernization. Indeed, the idea of the command economy reflected much deeper sentiments in Soviet society and in Europe as a whole concerning the transformative power of technocratic state management of people and resources. From the late nineteenth century, and especially during and after World War I, governments throughout Europe began to intervene in their economies and societies to augment economic and military power. It was the German wartime economy that provided the initial model for the Stalinist command economy.

In the last third of the book, Shearer describes the operation of the Soviet economy in the early 1930s. As other scholars have also pointed out, the rush to industrialize resulted in enormous chaos and waste. The Communist Party had to dispatch high-level plenipotentiaries to key industrial regions to combat widespread supply bottlenecks and production crises. The so-called planned economy was, as Shearer states, "more spontaneous than planned" (p. 205).

This book is recommended for specialists only. Shearer's relatively narrow focus on state economic administration renders it largely inaccessible to general readers. His intricate descriptions of the Soviet bureaucracy and his painstaking recounting of managerial conferences would prove too dry for either an undergraduate survey course or a graduate seminar. For scholars of Soviet bureaucratic politics, however, Shearer has done very valuable research.

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LYNNE VIOLA. *Peasant Rebels under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 312. \$49.95.

Scholars have long maintained that peasants opposed but did not actively resist the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR. Lynne Viola questions this conventional wisdom in a pioneering but convincing study based on recently declassified Soviet archives. Viola demonstrates that collectivization was not passively accepted but instigated widespread agrarian unrest of a magnitude comparable to the great peasant revolts of the Russian past.

Viola argues that these protests, disorders, insurrections, acts of terrorism, and other types of rural resistance to collectivization were rooted in the same "culture of peasant resistance" that gave rise to earlier revolts in Russia. She views collectivization as not merely an economically motivated "struggle for grain" but as the clash of two very different and essentially alien cultures that unleashed an often violent civil war between state and peasants, town and countryside. The

front lines of this struggle ran down the main street of every village. Viola attempts to study this unknown civil war by analyzing the aims and activities of the many peasants who revolted against state-imposed collectivization and dekulakization in defense of their culture and way of life. Much of the text focuses on the opening months of 1930, when forced collectivization, peasant resistance, and agrarian disorders peaked, and the state, shaken by revolts, beat a hasty retreat in the form of Joseph Stalin's well-known article, "Dizzy from Success." A significant drop in the collectivization rate ensued. In the end, however, the peasant revolt (or civil war) of the collectivization period ended, as peasant rebellions normally have throughout history, in a defeat that enhanced the power of the state and increased the level of repression. Yet, according to Viola, the victory of the state did not endure. Subsequent passive, "everyday" peasant resistance undermined the economic viability of the collective farm system and contributed ultimately to the demise of communism, since collective farming remained the Achilles heel of the Soviet system.

Viola analyzes the various forms that peasant unrest took at the time of collectivization. She begins with a discussion of apocalyptic rumors, efforts by peasants to write and petition the authorities, peasant protests against state policies in public meetings, attempts by peasants to escape kulak status through various strategies (such as self-dekulakization, family divisions, flight to the cities, and the selling off or destruction of peasant property), denials by fellow villagers that local kulaks existed, and defense of kulaks by their neighbors. The book goes on to explore the more active and radical forms of unrest, such as brigandage and the murders, beatings, threats, and arson directed against peasant activists and officials who broke ranks with their communities and sided with the state. This study pays considerable attention to the most radical forms of peasant protest, which proved the most threatening to the state. These were mass disorders in the form of protests, demonstrations, and occasionally outright insurrections in which Soviet power was temporarily overthrown in particular localities and replaced by new representative bodies selected by the rebels. A chapter is devoted to "women's riots" (i.e., agrarian disorders led by or comprised predominantly of women), which composed a significant proportion of the rebellions in 1929 and 1930. Throughout this work, Viola frequently points out gender-related differences in peasant political behavior and seeks to account for the prominent role played by women in the collectivization protests. Indeed, the author's handling of gender differences in the peasant protests during collectivization is one of the most interesting aspects of this valuable, pioneering study.

Viola maintains, on the basis of police statistics, that the peasant unrest of this time was only rarely put down by armed force. Rather, repression in the form of repeated waves of dekulakization that deprived the village of leadership and "the economy of scarcity,"

created by the collective farm system and the 1932–1933 famine, eroded the peasants' ability to continue active resistance and to maintain village unity against the state, especially after outsiders, dispatched to the village to carry out various state campaigns, were withdrawn from the countryside.

This is revisionist scholarship at its very best. Viola reveals an entirely new dimension to important historical phenomena such as collectivization and state-society relations under Stalin. Her work offers much to those interested in Russian-Soviet history, peasant studies, revolution, gender differences in political behavior, and the origins of Stalinist totalitarianism.

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### MIDDLE EAST

STEVEN M. WASSERSTROM. *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 300. \$45.00.

Steven M. Wasserstrom's book offers a new slant on the fractious and productive encounter between Judaism and Islam. It is the perspective of a learned, original, and ambitious thinker who is a historian of religion. Wasserstrom's disciplinary approach is not meant to revise or replace the socio-historically minded studies of S. D. Goitein and Bernard Lewis, among others, but rather to complement them by examining critical points of the encounter between the two religious civilizations as manifested in parallel sectarian conflicts, shared idioms of mystical piety, common methods of esoteric exegesis, reciprocal historical sensibilities, and mutual allegiances to philosophical schools in the orbit of Islam. Although Wasserstrom makes ample reference to the geographic, temporal, and socio-political contexts within which religious ideas, idioms, and modes of thought are shared by Muslims and Jews, contested by them, or appropriated one from the other and reshaped, his work is not immediately or always likely to engage the historian because of its fundamentally synchronic methods of analysis. Nevertheless, this is an essential work for anyone interested in the history as well as the intellectual and spiritual life separating and connecting Muslims and Jews during the eighth through the tenth centuries in the Muslim East.

One of Wasserstrom's most valuable contributions is his critical examination of the idea of "creative symbiosis." This notion, which Goitein coined to describe the "Mediterranean society" of the Jews under Islam, has dominated the way in which scholars conceptualize the interaction of the two religions during the classical age of Islam (*A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*; Volume V: *The Individual* [1988]). Wasserstrom applies a philosopher's keen sensibility to question this conventional paradigm in general and the very limited valence of

notions of cultural "borrowing" or "influence" in particular. What emerges is a more sophisticated conceptualization of the complex operations by which Muslims, including highly visible "professional Jewish converts," "islamized" cultural and intellectual artifacts seeming to originate in Jewish tradition and, conversely, the processes by which Jews "judaized" institutions, materials, idioms, and discursive methods emanating from within Islam. For Wasserstrom, "*Jew* served as a . . . catalyst in the self-definition of Islam; and *Muslim* likewise operated in synergy with a Jewish effort at self-legitimation" (p. 11).

How does the religionist differ from the social historian with regard to such transactions, and how do the two interpret the significance of religion in individual and communal life? Goitein summed up his life's work by painting a captivating but somewhat impressionistic portrait of the Jews of Islam, in whose world religious concerns are ever-present but not always central to social experience. By contrast, Wasserstrom traces details of the spiritual orientation Jews shared with Muslims, and he analyzes the defining ways in which the inner life of the individual and the spiritual concerns of the community inform the very behaviors and social institutions historians study.

The book is divided into three principal sections, each devoted to a different "dimension of symbiosis" between Islam and Judaism. In "Trajectories," Wasserstrom traces, among other things, the interpenetration of ideas about religious authority, messianic typologies, and apocalyptic activity among proto-Shi'ite groups in early Islam and the *'Isawiyya*, a shadowy Jewish movement based on the Iranian plateau. The persistence and appeal of this messianic movement (as described by later Muslim heresiographers) as well as the endurance of other "sectarian" Jewish groups emerging from the social, economic, and religious upheavals of early Islam are critical for Wasserstrom. The rabbinic Judaism of the Babylonian *ge'onim* is accordingly viewed as only one of several contending Judaisms, even before one can speak of a mature Karaism in the tenth century. "Constructions" then proceeds to examine possible and perceived (by Sunni Muslims) affinities between Judaism and Shi'i Islam, especially in the form of Jewish messianism and the Isma'ili imamate. Wasserstrom acknowledges that the significance of the apparent correspondence in the Jews' and Shi'i's respective structures of (a)historical thinking remains a matter for speculation. He convincingly demonstrates, however, the centrality of *ta'wil* (esoteric hermeneutics) as an indispensable exegetical method common to Judaism, Shi'i Islam, and other minority and sectarian circles in an age marked by both polemics and interconfessionalism in religious thought. In "Intimacies," Wasserstrom returns to various narrative and phenomenological manifestations of the symbiosis such as *Isra'iliyyat* traditions and mystical and magical tradition and praxis.

Wasserstrom has provided us with a dense, challenging, and insightful work that establishes the fundamen-

tal religious inflection of the discursive practices and social history of Judaism and Islam in the latter's classical age. This book has the potential to recenter research on Judeo-Islamic "symbiosis" in the history of religion to the benefit of social and literary historians.

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BESHARA DOUMANI. *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 340. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

The need to rediscover Palestine arises, Beshara Doumani believes, from the hitherto prevailing vision of the Ottoman period as one of oppression-produced stagnation until economic, political, and cultural interventions of European origin initiated modernization. The Palestinians, it has been believed, "played little or no role in the shaping of their history" (p. 7), so Doumani seeks "to write the inhabitants of Palestine into history" (p. xi). For this purpose, he has chosen to investigate one of the scores of regions that made up the hinterland of the Ottoman Empire, Jabal Nablus, the economic and sometimes political center of Palestine during much of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. The region consisted of a central city tied to surrounding villages by economic networks between merchants and peasants whose "social and political dynamics" (p. 21) gave the region a sense of identity. Merchant-peasant relations are evidenced in the records of the Islamic court and the Advisory Council and in family papers and the memoirs of some of the inhabitants. Doumani begins with an overview that sketches an ideal Jabal Nablus and relates the political and economic developments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which produced basic changes. He then proceeds to examine, in turn, the "social lives" of the commodities that were crucial to the livelihoods of the Jabal's people: textiles, cotton, olive oil, and soap. Each chapter provides valuable information that is usually new and always clear. The organization of the book, however, results in repeated statements of some general ideas in varying formulations, so that their precise meaning is sometimes ambiguous.

Doumani, like other recent investigators, finds that the people of the Jabal adjusted to integration into a Europe-based international economy so as to escape the disastrous effects that have, until recently, been ascribed to it. These economic developments, he believes, generated radical changes. The thrust of Doumani's argument is that the growth of merchant wealth enabled the merchants to gain control of the rural surplus, hitherto the monopoly of the urban ruling families and the rural subdistrict chiefs (a purely military-political class whose members survived only if they adjusted to the new economic realities). The result was a new, merchant-dominated class of urban notables. At the same time, well-to-do peasants be-

came merchants and moved to town to join the new class of notables. The previous autonomy of the peasantry was destroyed as class divisions appeared in the villages and the peasants were exposed to market forces. The central government and the new urban notables, despite conflicts of their own, joined in opposition to peasant resistance.

Actually, the new elite was not quite so new. As Doumani notes, there was never a sharp line between the merchants, religious leaders, and landowners who were members of this notable class. Scattered through the book are examples of the old ruling families engaging in religious study and commerce soon after they settled in the Jabal. The lists of soap factory owners given as evidence (pp. 210–213) comprise members of the old elite and merchants who were connected to each other and to the old elite by marriage or political and commercial ties. On one occasion, Doumani corrects himself: "By the 1850s a new merchant-dominated elite—or, more accurately, a fluid alliance between influential members of the merchant community, key ruling families (both urban and rural), and the top religious leaders—had emerged" (p. 135). The loss of military and administrative status by the old ruling families was the result more of the creation of a modern army by the Ottomans than of the economic forces favored by the author.

Doumani has made a major advance in the study of social class and relations in modern Arab history. He has deepened our understanding of the effect on Palestine of economic relations with Europe. Most importantly, he provides a new and much better informed account of the meaning and significance of the family. Entirely new to this reviewer is Doumani's convincing portrayal of the human networks engendered by commodity production and trade, networks that bound various occupational and socio-economic elements of the city to each other and the peasantry to urban elements.

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JEHOASH HIRSHBERG. *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880–1948: A Social History*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 297. \$55.00.

Jehoash Hirshberg's book is misnamed: it is primarily an institutional history of classical music from the beginning of Zionist settlement in Palestine to the establishment of Israel. Other musical forms—folk, liturgical, cantorial, popular, "oriental"—enter the discussion by virtue of their connection with Hirshberg's main concern, the social and economic background to the structure of performance, teaching, composition, and criticism of classical music in the *Yishuv* (Jewish Palestine). Based on archival sources, newspaper files, and interviews with participants, Hirshberg's account



evokes both the tremendous elation and great difficulties that accompanied self-conscious efforts to forge musical forms appropriate to the revolutionary project of Jewish revival in Palestine.

The *Yishuv* was primarily a community of immigrants, and the story Hirshberg tells is one of immigrant writers, teachers, performers, and composers. But it is also a story of immigrant audiences, students, producers, and impresarios, and Hirshberg makes clear that the successes and failures of attempts to root classical music in the cultural life of the community were intimately connected with the ability of participants in those efforts to make a living from them. Composers needed commissions, performances required appropriate spaces, musicians who were paid very little to play had to find time to practice and a way of supporting themselves. All were in short supply. Even the availability of musical instruments depended on the broader social and political context: Hirshberg describes the spurt in the number of pianos in Palestine that resulted from German government regulations allowing German Jews immigrating to Palestine during the 1930s to export capital in the form of goods.

It was clear to all those creating a classical musical culture in the *Yishuv* that their actions had symbolic as well as practical meaning. What part had music to play in the Zionist project? Should the emphasis be placed on transplanting the European classical tradition to Palestine; or on developing new forms rooted in new experiences; or in creating a new, "Jewish" music; and in what combination? What was the proper relation between "art music" and traditional forms, and what obligations had composers and performers to the creation of an indigenous "folk" music expressing the Jewish revival, given that the very idea of a "folk" music as created spontaneously over many generations was inappropriate to the ideological needs of the *Yishuv*? Seventy years later, it is clear that those who wanted to create a "folk" tradition succeeded. One only has to listen to the government radio's standard programming response to national tragedy—an uninterrupted flow of *shirei moledet* (literally, "homeland songs"), the folk tunes composed during the period Hirshberg writes about, and their descendents.

During the early years of the *Yishuv*, individual music lovers sponsored performance evenings, often in private homes, in an effort to recreate cultural amenities left behind in Europe. Many of those who participated in these evenings made efforts to establish formal organizations such as schools and performing ensembles. Hirshberg gradually shifts his attention to the formal organizations, but it would have been interesting to know how informal musical activity continued and developed.

Cafe jobs not only provided some musicians with an opportunity for steady income; Hirshberg tells us that the music played there was seen by purists (not his word) as a threat to the development of musical taste. Similar dangers were posed by the phonograph, by films after the introduction of sound, and by the

popular musical programs of the Palestine Broadcasting Service after its inauguration in 1936. Initially, phonographs and, to a lesser degree, radios were rare, but improved economic conditions resulted in their wider availability. Hirshberg mentions the support for classical music provided by the higher echelons of the British Mandatory Administration and the officer corps. The tastes of enlisted men were different; Hirshberg only hints at the musical consequences of Palestine's transformation into a supply base for British forces in the Middle East during World War II.

Israel today is an integral part of the world music market in all its variations. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra recently held a "jeans concert" in an attempt to attract younger subscribers to fill the empty places of its aging season-ticket holders. The music critic of *HaAretz*, Israel's quality daily newspaper, was skeptical: "The jeans concert is basically an admission of defeat" (October 30, 1997). It would be fascinating to read a book that describes how we got from then to now.

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#### AFRICA

CAROLYN HAMILTON, editor. *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press. University of Natal Press; distributed by Indiana University Press, Bloomington. 1996. Pp. xvi, 493. \$35.00.

South African historiography is infamous, at least to foreign neophyte academics giving their first seminar at a South African university, for the vociferous nature of debates about the past. This stems, in part, from the ways in which apartheid apologists invoked the past and indeed often rewrote it; doing history in South Africa is a particularly political act. This collection of essays stands firmly in the raucous and lively tradition of South African historiography. It is also part of a recent move to revisit the early nineteenth century as a major moment in the making of South African identities.

As early as the acknowledgments, the reader gets a hint of the tenor of the collection: editor Carolyn Hamilton thanks her publisher for rescuing the book from "the nightmare of its own internal controversies" (p. xi). One of the ingredients of this ordeal was that the editor felt unable to include a contribution by Julian Cobbing, who initiated the debate about the *mfecane* in the first place. The omission haunts this worthwhile book and is its most telling weakness.

For at least a hundred years, the *mfecane* was an orthodoxy of South African history: historians accepted that, from the late eighteenth century, the area around present-day Kwazulu Natal underwent political consolidation, culminating in the militarized Zulu state led by Shaka from 1818 to 1828. Furthermore,

this predatory state led to the subjugation of numerous African neighbors and, ultimately, to the great "crushing" of African societies throughout the interior. This story, with various permutations, was reproduced in sources as diverse as novels such as Sol Plaatje's *Mhudi* (1930) and histories published in the era of decolonization such as J.D. Omer-Cooper's influential *The Zulu Aftermath* (1966).

As Christopher Saunders shows in his chapter in the volume under review, the key elements of a critique of the mfecane were mentioned as early as 1929 in W. M. MacMillan's *Bantu Boer and Briton*. And in 1952 and later in the 1980s, Hosea Jaffee developed a critique of the notion of the mfecane. However, it was the publication of Cobbing's "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo" (*The Journal of African History* 29 [1988]: 487–519) that threw the historical profession into a spin.

Cobbing argues that the mfecane is a myth. He disagrees with longstanding arguments that the Zulu developed revolutionary military tactics that led to the rise of a Zulu state. He argues rather that the Zulu and other Nguni polities in the Kwazulu Natal region of South Africa were caught in a vise of European slave raiding from the Cape Colony and similar slaving interests of the Portuguese and their allies at Delagoa Bay to the north. Furthermore, Cobbing asserts that contemporary accounts of the Zulu state spreading war and violence into the interior were developed in order to camouflage the role of European slaving and the disruptive consequences of this trade in African people. In addition, Cobbing argues that liberal historians as well as apartheid apologists have used the mfecane as an alibi to justify European colonialism and, later, apartheid.

This collection of essays is a response to and examination of those charges and arises from a conference held at the University of Witwatersrand in 1991. The book is divided into three parts, each with an introductory essay. The first, entitled "Historiography and Methodology," is launched by an incisive synthetic analysis of the chapters by Norman Etherington. Four chapters, three framed as a response to Cobbing's arguments, examine the different ways that the mfecane has been treated in South African historiography. Part two concentrates on "The South-Eastern Coastal Region" and, like part one, provides much empirical evidence challenging Cobbing's assertions. This section in particular provides detailed and sometimes conflicting evidence regarding the extent of the penetration of the transatlantic slave trade into the interior of South Africa by the 1820s.

Part three focuses on "The Interior." Chapters by Neil Parsons, Guy Hartley, and Margaret Kinsman focus on the difaqane, the scattering of people on the highveld in the 1820s and 1830s. But others move away from a concern with the particulars of Cobbing's arguments to concentrate on indigenous political developments in the interior up to the mid-nineteenth century. The individual chapters provide often inter-

esting information about settlement patterns and violence, but they dilute the attention of the rest of the book to the implications of the Cobbing thesis.

To the extent that one can talk of a consensual reaction to Cobbing's argument, it appears that historians generally feel he has done a major service to South African history in opening up one of its most hallowed "facts" for reexamination. Many of the contributors, however, while praising Cobbing for reinvigorating South African history, remain troubled by his rather cavalier use of sources. There also seems to be some reservation, most clearly expressed by Elizabeth Eldredge, as to whether the slave trade at Delagoa Bay could have had any great impact on the Zululand region prior to the mid-1820s (pp. 136–37). A few contributors, such as Hamilton and Eldredge, also lament Cobbing's embrace of a Eurocentric focus that leaves Africans bereft of agency. For the reader in search of an accessible and elegant rebuttal of Cobbing's arguments, I recommend Omer-Cooper's chapter in part two.

Some chapters particularly stand out. Cobbing's assertion that all liberal historians viewed the rise of the Zulu state as the motor force behind the mfecane is rather convincingly trounced by Etherington and Christopher Saunders. Etherington lampoons Cobbing's argument that, in Etherington's words, "everyone who ever told the story of the mfecane was writing settler history" (p. 16). In his elegant essay on the historiography of the mfecane ante-Cobbing, Saunders similarly shows that the "liberal" historians whom Cobbing takes to task were far from united in their views of Zulu predations and that some, like MacMillan, long predated Cobbing in pointing to the slave trade and the moving European frontier as sources of conflict.

Cobbing's charge that sources portraying Shaka as a tyrant and expansionist were only of European origin is also called into question. Neil Parsons states that oral traditions of the interior tell of incursions coming west from across the Drakensberg, and he gives credence to the notion of intensified conflict from the mid-1820s. Hamilton shows that the negative images of Shaka, far from being spun by Europeans, were first articulated by Africans and later adopted by colonists only from 1829, after Shaka's death. Jeffrey Peires charges Cobbing with ignoring a whole host of oral traditions and oral histories that support the interpretation that sees Zulu predations as the reason Matiwane moved south from the Caledon valley. Peires also shows that the word "mfecane"—a term which Cobbing says has no African origin—is, in fact, derived from the Xhosa verb "-feca" which means "'to crack . . . sweetcorn stalks'" (p. 236).

Both Eldredge and Hartley, writing in parts two and three respectively, challenge Cobbing's assertions that the battle of Dithakong in June 1823 was a slave raid by missionaries. Eldredge shows that Melvill, one of the missionaries Cobbing accuses of being a slave raider, had himself exposed an illegal slave trade on

the northern frontier. Hartley, like Eldredge, argues that the fact that women and children were captured in the aftermath of the battle is not evidence that the battle was in fact planned as a slave raid.

Eldredge does support Cobbing's attention to the existence of a slave-raiding frontier in the northern Cape. In this respect, one is again reminded of how Cobbing's work has called new attention to older questions about the relationship between the rule of law, the era of free wage labor ideology, and the continued existence of slave raiding in the Cape and on its borders.

John Wright is perhaps the most sympathetic of the authors to Cobbing's thesis. In his introduction to part two, Wright argues that few can refute Cobbing's point that the period before the Great Trek has to be understood with reference to the expansion of the European frontier that accompanied slave raiding and dispossession, a point to which this reviewer is most sympathetic. In his own chapter, Wright suggests that the expansion of the Zulu state into the lower Thukela region was a defensive rather than aggressive move in order to preempt the greater power of the Ndwandwe confederacy. This chapter provides an excellent road map to the kind of careful research that Cobbing might be well advised to undertake.

Owing to the disparate interests of the contributors, as well as the ways in which Cobbing is center stage in many articles yet hovers about a bit like Hamlet's ghost in the book as a whole, one is not quite sure what the final verdict is on the mfecane. Perhaps Wright is correct in observing that the difficulty in the debate is the willingness of historians to change what they mean by mfecane. For example, Wright argues that Omer-Cooper first seemed to use the term mfecane with reference to the Zulu kingdom being at the center of various political developments. But Omer-Cooper's contribution to this volume uses the term in a much more expansive way, in which the central role of the Zulu kingdom is downplayed (p. 119). There is some virtue to this lack of consensus or indeed coherence about the mfecane. The volume certainly demonstrates that South African historiography, and historians, are alive and kicking. But for this reader, the debate would have been better served if Cobbing had been allowed to contribute both his original article and indeed a rebuttal of the rebuttals. That would have been in the spirit of this vibrant, entertaining, and challenging book.

PAMELA SCULLY  
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JUDITH OLMSTEAD. *Woman between Two Worlds: Portrait of an Ethiopian Rural Leader*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 248. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

This is a book about a female village leader in southwest Ethiopia, as observed in the early 1970s by Judith Olmstead. The book fits neither the category of eth-

nography nor that of African women's lifestories comfortably, as it is too fragmentary; it is organized as a series of vignettes (each constituting a short chapter) centering on an oral account by Chimate Chambulo about her village and her life. Olmstead has strung these accounts into a chronological sequence covering the period 1897–1985, including the area's forceful incorporation into the Ethiopian empire (1897), the Italian invasion (1935–1941), the Ethiopian Revolution (1977), and Chimate's death in 1985. Each oral account is woven into a detailed description of Olmstead's field experiences, which are represented out of chronological order and jerk us back and forth between 1977, the last time Olmstead saw Chimate, and January 1970, when she first met her.

In the seven chapters of part one, Olmstead uses Chimate's accounts to tell the story of her area from 1897 to the death of her husband, heir to the local "kingship," at the hands of the Italians. With Haile Selassie's restoration in 1942, Chimate reclaimed her husband's title for her son and took on the work associated with it. The twelve chapters making up part two are vignettes of Chimate in action. They illuminate widely diverging themes: Chimate's actions as a mediator in her village, her (and Olmstead's) brief encounters with spirit possession, and her interest in Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513). The two short chapters of part three recount the reports Olmstead received in the U.S. about Chimate's imprisonment and loss of power after the revolution in 1977 and her reconciliation with the villagers before her death in 1985.

For historians, the disadvantages of Olmstead's unconventional approach are brought out most clearly in part one. There is no serious attempt to locate southwest Ethiopia in its pre-1900 historical regional context; for example, while local informants referred to slavery, Olmstead gives no information about the slave trade that used to link this area to the coast. Parts two and three are more successful. Although it is obvious that Olmstead gained only partial insight into the themes central to each vignette, her experiences were significant and are recorded here in a way accessible to non-Africanists.

The most interesting information in the book concerns Chimate's role as a community mediator. Olmstead suggests that Chimate was able to become powerful as a result of her structural vulnerability. In trying to balance the interests of the central government and the local community, her vulnerability as a woman made her less threatening to either party; as a married woman who had to leave her community of birth to join that of her husband and sons, she had been able (and compelled) to develop special skills of mediation and manipulation.

In spite of occasional purple prose, Olmstead succeeds in letting the reader experience a small area and

brief era of contemporary Ethiopia as she lived and observed it twenty-eight years ago.

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### ASIA

RICHARD L. DAVIS. *Wind Against the Mountain: The Crisis of Politics and Culture in Thirteenth-Century China*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 42.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 283. \$40.00.

In 1273–1279, China arrived at the crossroads of political and cultural transformation during a period of unprecedented crisis. The economic prosperity, sophisticated material culture, and advanced technology of the Song dynasty (960–1276) succumbed to the Mongols on the battlefield, and when Yaishan, the last bastion of Song resistance, was defeated, all of China came under the rule of Qubilai Khagan's Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). The story of the dynastic collapse and loyalist resistance in 1276–1279 has been told in Chinese and Western historiography, but no one has done it as imaginatively and eloquently as Richard L. Davis.

Davis applies six hexagrams and their images from the *Yijing* (Book of Change) to weave the tale of heroes and heroines, men and women, elites and masses caught in this "crisis of politics and culture" from 1273 to 1279. In the first chapter, the hexagram of *shi*—army surrounded by water—refers to the final Song-Mongol confrontation at Yaishan, off the coast of south China. The book's title is taken from the hexagram of *gu* and its image of the wind blowing low against the mountain, interpreted as "spoiled country" or "decay," signifying a volatile and vulnerable state. Chapter three is introduced by the image of *gou*—coming to meet or encounter—that brings into focus the contemporary and "in-waiting" political personalities, including the newly recruited men and armies that responded to the court's request for military assistance. In the fourth chapter, the image of *kun*—desperate deeds or exhaustion—blends into the tale events such as the flight of the alternative Song court, the killing of Mongol envoys, mass suicides, and the failed rescue of the imperial entourage making its way to Beijing to surrender to Qubilai. The fifth hexagram of *zhen*—arousal and thunder—examines loyalism as an embedded feature of the material and moral culture of thirteenth-century China, embraced especially by men and in the south. In the last chapter, the image of *gui mei*—the marrying maiden—is adopted to symbolize the end of a stage in life and the beginning of a new era. This creative, imaginative presentation is a riveting story of the rise of superior men and, as Davis would have it, superior women, who came to the defense of the Song dynasty to the point of martyrdom and mass suicide.

Unique to this powerful narrative is the introduction of a gender component in the analysis of loyalism in the Song to explain what seems to us the "insanity" or irrationalism of voluntary martyrdom and absolute commitment to the point of total family annihilation and mass suicide during the dynastic crisis. Literary and cultural references support Davis's argument that loyalty and loyalism, like diplomacy and public service, were masculine attributes that were perceived by the contemporary society to prevail in the "real man" in men, particularly those from the elite but also men of the lower classes. The eagerness to manifest this masculine sentiment was especially evident in southern men, among whom Wen Tianxiang was the most famous martyr, whose family, colleagues, and friends also perished in the resistance.

Davis continues the gender analysis by pointing out that, although the symbolism of loyalist martyrdom was male-oriented, a large number of women carved out a significant presence during the dynastic collapse. For example, Empress Dowager Xie, regent to the infant Song emperor, took a decisive leadership role over a spineless bureaucracy and successfully negotiated the surrender of the Song without incurring a massacre in the capital. In Davis's account, women such as Empress Dowager Xie and Wen Tianxiang's wife are presented with personal names, birth and death dates, and family background—information indicating that women played an important part in heroic loyalism during the Song dynastic crisis.

Davis exercises a firm grasp of the voluminous primary and secondary sources on the topic but is too uncritical of the laudatory and exaggerated portrayals of Song men and women from which he constructs his account. Authors of Song, Ming, and Qing loyalism have instead demonstrated more caution in assessing loyalist hagiographies. Although this point has implications for the association of heroism with loyalism, it does not interfere with the significant breakthrough Davis has achieved in writing the social and cultural history of the Song dynasty with a gender sensitivity and an innovative elegance rarely seen in sinology.

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JOSEPH NEEDHAM, CHRISTIAN DANIELS, and NICHOLAS K. MENZIES. *Science and Civilisation in China*; Volume 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, part 3: *Agro-Industries and Forestry*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 740. \$150.00.

This work, really two distinct monographs under one cover, represents yet another installment of the late Joseph Needham's great history of Chinese science and technology. It follows part two of volume six (1986), which synthesized, for the first time in a Western language, the history of Chinese agriculture. In this volume, Christian Daniels discusses "agro-industries," represented by sugar, and Nicholas K. Menzies takes up forestry.



Daniels's term "agro-industries" refers to systems that process crops for food, condiments, medicines, dyes, lubricants, ritual materials, writing materials, coatings, and building materials. He briefly discusses oil, paper, indigo, lacquer, and tea. He argues that a general "tool kit" emerged in traditional China from which different agro-industries could draw. The important "tools" included the moldboard plow, ridge and furrow cultivation, the edge-runner mill, steaming, and the use of reagents such as lime.

Lacking sufficient space to treat all agro-industries, Daniels concentrated on sugar as representative. The story turns out to be surprisingly "ecumenical." Sugarcane probably originated in New Guinea, whence it dispersed to India and China. In the Buddhist era, monks brought sugar products and processes from India to China. The roller mill, derived from the early cotton gin, spread from India to China. Later, Chinese cultivation techniques, vertical rollers, and ganged boiling pans were transferred as a system to other places in China and to East and Southeast Asia. Portuguese or Spanish intermediaries carried Chinese technology to the New World.

Daniels's comparison of Chinese and Western sugarcane economies emphasizes that, instead of slaves and plantations, producers in China and Chinese migrants in the Philippines, Vietnam, and elsewhere worked as small holders and tenants, integrated by merchants.

In south China, early use of sugarcane as a minor crop for chewing and juice gave way, in the Song and Yuan periods (tenth through thirteenth centuries), to processed and marketed forms of sugar. In the Ming and Qing periods (sixteenth to nineteenth century), a mature sugar agro-industry prevailed, centered on Fujian province. It spread to other provinces and abroad to East and Southeast Asia.

Daniels's discussion is broadly inclusive, deeply informed, and rich in references to the literature. In the tradition of the Science and Civilisation Series, he appends an extensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature in Asian and Western languages. The illustrations are excellent. (Cambridge University Press's usual high standards of proofreading slipped a notch on this one, however.)

Menzies's monograph is more narrowly focused. He treats Chinese silviculture mainly from the perspective of trees (and bamboo grasses) as sources of timber and fuel, although he notes in passing their many other uses. Forestry, in the modern sense of managing extensive stands, does not emerge in the Chinese record. Silviculture was more like intensive agriculture. The Chinese practiced localized cultivation of fuel and timber trees, using techniques of coppicing and pollarding, rather than extensive management of natural forests. The major exception to this was the extensive cultivation of the "Chinese fir," which Menzies more properly calls "cunninghamia," in the South. Much of this was carried on by ethnic minorities.

Regarding deforestation, Menzies paints a picture

that is more complex than the stereotype of a treeless landscape. North China in the Yellow River drainage area experienced the earliest forest destruction, but even there, some places remained unscathed for centuries or recovered periodically. The extent of original northern forest cover is not certain; Menzies proposes a mix of dense forests, sparse woodland, and savannah. Later, China's southern tier was exposed to the axe. The Northeast and the Southwest were regions not intensively exploited until recent times. Menzies's argument (p. 655 ff.) that deforestation is not simply a function of population pressure seems technically correct but unhelpful. True, one can point to Japan, where heavy populations preserved forests. Still, the causes of deforestation that he details (clearance for agriculture, harvesting of timber and fuel) resulted from increasingly dense settlement.

Menzies describes major tree species (as well as bamboo, a grass), but excludes categories such as mulberry and lac, which may be considered more like agricultural crops and are treated elsewhere in the history. (It is interesting to note that oaks were sometimes used in sericulture.)

The thesis in the section called "Premonitions of Ecology" is alluring but not convincing. Menzies argues that certain "strains of thought in Chinese cosmology" are "premonitions" of modern ecological thought (p. 644), specifically ideas anticipating adaptation, interdependence in ecosystems, and forest influences on soil, water, and climate. To be sure, yin-yang and five element ideas emphasized harmony and interdependence (more usually sequence). The notion of *qi* (also spelled *ch'i*) sometimes meant the pneuma of a certain place, to which species would be attuned. The siting science of *fengshui* sponsored the preservation of environmental stability; areas of forested hilltops found in the South may well have been the result of *fengshui*. Also, some Chinese recognized a connection between deforestation, erosion, and water supply, while others found that flora and fauna were specific to places. Notions like these make us think of ecology. But to consider them anything more than distant hints of modern ecosystem thinking risks attributing perspectives to traditional Chinese that they did not possess. This evidence might more persuasively be used to demonstrate the profound difference between modern ecology and traditional ideas.

Despite these criticisms, Menzies provides an important, well illustrated survey of forestry in China. His bibliographies give access to the wider literature. No serious library can be without its Needham, and the tome reviewed here is no exception.

Non-Sinologists should note that, in conformity with the Science and Civilisation format, both authors use Needham's idiosyncratic romanization. For those unfamiliar with Chinese, this complicates comparison with other literature that uses the standard Wade-Giles or pinyin spellings. Conversion tables are appended to help address this problem, but one wishes

that Cambridge had not indulged Needham in this respect.

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CRAIG CLUNAS. *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. 240. \$19.95.

What could be more representatively "Chinese" than the Chinese garden? Edified in China as a tourist site and collected as a cultural object in parks and museums outside China, the Chinese garden seems to bear its burden of cultural representation effortlessly. But as the current generation of historical scholarship is showing, cultural work is rarely effortless: it involves setting up structures of representation within which multiple, even contradictory, meanings coexist, while nonetheless allowing certain meanings to dominate others and certain power relations to strengthen. This is the methodology that art historian Craig Clunas mobilizes in this book, the most extraordinary and original study of Chinese gardens in any language. Clunas's starting point is a distrust that such a thing as "the Chinese garden" exists. What exists is a cultural representation on which particular discursive practices have collaborated and which they have sustained over time. His concern is to understand how the garden—as distinct from other sites of agricultural production (such as the rice bed) or social interaction (such as the library)—emerged as a discursive object that was deemed to express China's cultural essence, and how this process of selection came about.

The Chinese garden as now known took its particular form in the middle of the Ming dynasty (mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century). In the records of this period, therefore, Clunas searches for the economic and aesthetic practices that made the garden, as now conceived, conceivable. He also searches more contemporary records to understand how this particular notion of the garden as a retreat into pure aesthetic experience became established through the efforts of avid consumers of the Chinese garden, both Chinese and foreign, in the twentieth century. After all, none of the great gardens of Suzhou survive intact from the Ming. They have been reconstituted physically and heritably, often several times differently over the centuries. Accordingly, it is we, as much as Ming garden builders, who have constituted the Chinese garden as a category of knowledge. Indeed, Ming gentry might not recognize these gardens as theirs, and in a purely historical sense they are not. Clunas thus sets himself the double task of deconstructing the concept of the Chinese garden in relation to elite discursive and class practices of the Ming and of our own, and he succeeds brilliantly.

Armed with both a method and a witty sensibility, Clunas proceeds in a carefully materialist manner to figure out how "the paradigm of the garden as essentially the object of pure aesthetic significance" (p. 38)

came about in the mid-Ming period. He looks first to economic factors. Gardens were used in the first instance to produce food and medicinal herbs for private consumption and commercial sale, but they were also a means whereby wealth could be converted into a form that was difficult to steal or sell, "a site of accumulation in a society that was poorly served by alternative methods of accumulation" (p. 107). Elite discursive practices in the mid-Ming period polarized aesthetics and accumulation, screening the elite from the charges of being interested in financial gain by declaring that gardens were for the cultivation of the spirit, not of economic crops. Clunas dates the onset of the enthusiasm for aesthetic horticulture to about 1520, coinciding with the rapid growth of the commercial economy and the extensive reconstruction of elite life in non-economic terms. This discovery grounds Clunas's argument that the Chinese garden did not develop in relation to the particular taste of certain aesthetically inclined individuals but took form in the context of the peculiar tension that mid-Ming commercialization provoked between commercial wealth and gentlemanly culture.

Clunas also examines the paintings and texts through which Ming people rendered gardens as representational sites, and by which we know them. He concentrates on paintings and essays by the Wen family of Suzhou, from the famous artist Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) down to his anxious great-grandson, the cultural arbiter Wen Zhenheng (1585–1645), on whom Clunas has already written extensively. He places their work within a larger elite project to represent certain elements on the local landscape as sites not just of property but of social power. In another chapter, he considers the ways in which gardens could be set to numbers, whether through geomancy or tax surveys, and finds that measurement was important for evaluating and controlling what was measured. Not surprisingly for expensive real estate, gardens tended to change hands more often than they passed down through the generations of one family. In an economy with such a volatile market in land, elite families had great difficulty resisting change in their economic fortunes.

This book is unique in the Western literature on Chinese gardens, nor is there anything like it in the Chinese literature. The closest Chinese companion to Clunas's study is Wang Yi's *Yuanlin yu Zhongguo wenhua* [Gardens and Chinese Culture] (1990), published in Shanghai in the groundbreaking series on Chinese culture edited by cultural historian Zhu Weizheng. Although not a deconstructionist in the Western sense, Wang Yi engages in a cultural critique of his own. He does not see the garden as an artifact of knowledge and is content to genealogize it as a natural cultural entity going back three millennia. Yet he does inquire into its representational role in Chinese culture and queries the elite practices that fashioned it. Like Clunas, Wang sees the Ming garden as a site through which the gentry consolidated their superior

but assailable cultural position. His broader survey of literary sources lets him assemble a more thorough account of that process, devoting the last 100 pages of his book to issues of identity formation, cultural commodification, and vulgarization that expose the contradictions and conflicts internal to the garden project of the late imperial elite. Clunas and Wang thus deserve to be read together to appreciate the historical complexity lurking behind the particular, and anxiety-laden, historical artifact we call the Chinese garden.

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S. C. M. PAINE. *Imperial Rivals: China, Russia, and Their Disputed Frontier*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1996. Pp. xxi, 417.

This is diplomatic history done at a very high skill level and, by and large, in the new history mode. S. C. M. Paine focuses primarily on the common borders and frontiers of the greater Russian and Chinese empires, which were the subject of four sets of negotiations over territories between 1858 and 1924. Paine judges that the diplomatic instruments written between these years fundamentally altered the earlier borders and international patterns that had lasted since the famed Treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kiakhtha (1727) and thereby set the locales and defined the problems of more recent disputes.

The Treaties of Tientsin and Aigun in 1858 and of Peking in 1860, delimiting the boundary on the Amur and Ussuri rivers, resulted in an immense Russian imperial land grab. The Ili and Sinkiang disputes of 1871–1881 ended in the Treaties of Livadia and St. Petersburg and marked the first successful resistance by China of a European power, but Russia nonetheless gained further territory in western Ili and other privileges. Railway politics dominated a third encounter, from the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–1895 through the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905, in which Russia acquired a railroad empire in spite of setbacks at the hands of an emergent Japan. A fourth and final segment focuses on Mongolia, Inner and Outer, between 1907 and 1924, by which latter date the Soviets succeeded in establishing exclusive Russian control of Outer Mongolia.

What emerges from meticulously close study is a curious and unusual history of two behemoth empires lurching and clashing one against the other, both somewhat out of control and both startlingly poor in assessing their own best interests and strengths and their rival's interests and sensibilities. Paine argues that this was due in part to myths each nurtured of itself and the other. Russian leaders believed that Russia was (or could soon be) a modern industrial power like its European models and that the empire had always had a special and respectful relationship with China, causing the Chinese to treat Russia differently from other foreign powers. China, on the other

hand, long preferred to believe that Russians were another overland tributary people, fundamentally different from sea-going Europeans, and thus could be handled in traditional ways. In the end, both Russia and China wanted tranquil and productive empire on the cheap, and both failed to acquire and keep it.

To ferret out and recount these episodes in admirable and rich detail, down to the level of eyeball-to-eyeball negotiations, Paine mastered Chinese and Russian and worked in Moscow, Beijing, Taipei, and Tokyo archives (finding, unfortunately, the former two not entirely satisfactory because of political sensitivities and archival shortcomings). The result is the fullest account yet of highly complex and at times baffling negotiations, an account that attempts to reach beyond the diplomats themselves to crucial habits and motivations of both sides: the Chinese/Manchu tribute-trade system and customs of personal relations (*kuan-hsi*) and the Russian sense of inferiority, cloaked in particularly assertive and "flamboyant" imperial policies. Yet large-scale war for empire was avoided repeatedly, because both empires were beset much of the time by internal tumult or external threat. Perhaps the Russians could preserve for so long their "myth" of kinship with the Chinese because, until the 1960s, they never fought vicious wars.

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WEN-HSIN YEH. *Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. x, 403. \$50.00.

In this study of Shi Cuntong (1899–1970), Wen-hsin Yeh has made an important contribution to the literature on the early history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Focused not only on the man but also on the localities that shaped his life, it is essentially a biography embedded within the spatial, cultural, and political geography of various sites in the province of Zhejiang and the nearby city of Shanghai (in Jiangsu). Yeh's expertly drawn portrait of the alienated academy of Republican China (1911–1949) as well as the intricately drawn cultural settings provide a multidimensional and finely articulated backdrop to her principal preoccupation, an argument that Shi be given what is his due in party history. Especially memorable portions of the contextual pieces include an analysis of the politics of the Provincial Educational Association in Hangzhou and a revealing depiction of Shanghai University (and especially its funding).

Yeh criticizes the party's official versions of its early history, pointing out that Shi and a number of other people are missing from them only because they became disillusioned with the CCP and left it. Indeed, the contributions that Shi made prior to his 1927 departure have been discussed openly in the People's Republic only since 1992. Yeh argues convincingly that

he was nevertheless an important and visible party member in the 1920s.

Tokyo (where Shi studied from June 1920 to December 1921) does not enjoy the same illuminating treatment that sites in Zhejiang and Shanghai do. The seven pages devoted to his stay there appear in a section entitled "On the Margins" (p. 218), wherein Yeh reveals that it was while Shi was studying with Japanese leftists that he embarked on the intellectual passage that led him into the CCP. While organizing the Tokyo branch of the Chinese Communist Party, he began publishing Chinese translations of Japanese tomes on Marxian economics, thereby developing an expertise on the subject that he would maintain throughout his life. Yeh suggests that it was these translations and his commentaries on them, apparently disseminated in China while Shi was still in Japan, that quickly propelled him into the top rank of the CCP's ideological trendsetters.

At the end of 1921, the Japanese police accused Shi of being a Comintern agent and arrested, incarcerated, and deported him back to Shanghai. Soon thereafter, he was named secretary-general of the party's Socialist Youth Corps, a position he held until 1923 when he became a professor of sociology at the newly founded Shanghai University. In 1924, he also worked for the Shanghai office of the United Front, an alliance of the Nationalist and Communist parties. (Since both Shi and Mao Zedong worked in this office under Hu Hanmin, they must have known each other.)

In the summer of 1926, Shi felt moved to go to Guangzhou (Canton), an urge that saved his life. He wanted to accompany the Northern Expedition, a military campaign carried out by the United Front in order to defeat the warlords who contended for the various pieces of China, preventing the establishment of a strong, anti-imperialist central government. Because Shi accompanied the expedition (as did Mao), he was not in Shanghai in the spring of 1927 when almost every one of his friends from Zhejiang, a substantial group among his colleagues and comrades in Shanghai, was killed in the purge of Communists that marked the end of the First United Front.

After this tragedy, Shi became disillusioned first with the Communists and then with the Nationalists. Although he remained a Marxist intellectual, he stayed away from any political parties or activism until 1940. By that time, the Nationalists and the Communists were allied again in a Second United Front to resist the Japanese invasion that had begun in July 1937. Shi then became one of the principal organizers of a Third Force, those patriots who felt compelled to act in such a crisis, but who did not want to be a part of either party.

After the Communist victory in 1949, Shi met Mao again, not as a former party member who had worked with him in the 1920s but as a representative of those in the Third Force who were willing to serve China by working for the new government. Until his health failed him in 1954, he served as a deputy minister of

labor. And, although he was criticized in various campaigns, including the Cultural Revolution, he nevertheless lived out his life in the People's Republic and died of natural causes in 1970. In the end, one is struck by the disparity between the rather generous way he was treated as a member of the Third Force and, at one and the same time, the dismal way he was treated as a CCP apostate, anathematized and omitted from its histories.

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MITZIKO SAWADA. *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams: Urban Japanese Visions of America, 1890–1924*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 268. \$40.00.

Mitziko Sawada presents the views of Japanese urbanites on America during the Meiji and Taishō periods. She uses concepts of modernity, nation status, individual goals, human relations, and femininity to place the perceptions into a sociocultural context. The topics provide a serendipitous cohesion to this free-ranging, fascinating book.

Sawada's inspirational discourse on the urbanites' view of women in part exemplifies her approach. In this case, the exposition rests on a close reading of Japanese novelists like Nagai Kafū, and their experiences abroad. Literary criticism and studies of customs and policies affecting women and arranged marriages in Japan delineate her argument. It suggests that the appealing notion of American marriages as a relationship of equals resting on mutual love might have evoked in the mind of the urbanite Japanese ideas of true-love marriages. These dreams may in turn have created faint hopes in emigrants' minds about life in New York; however, as the author emphasizes, these were far too faint to be a major reason for going abroad.

A quite different range of motives brought Japanese urbanites to New York. To illustrate those motives, the study relies on and quotes freely from official documents, emigration tracts, reminiscences, travelogues, autobiographies, stories and novels, as well as insights from the secondary literature. Two appendixes provide data on the Japanese in New York, their geographic origins, passport classifications, numbers and ages.

A review of the Japanese immigrants in New York City and a summary of the distinctions between them and the Japanese on the West Coast set the stage for the subsequent discussion. It assesses sociocultural changes in Japan and an emigration policy designed to placate the United States as well as to support Japan's national purposes. These developments were shaped by a Japanese rapprochement with the United States, arranged to expedite Japan's obtaining its place among the world powers and to strengthen domestic stability at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Stressing the role of domestic concerns in Japanese foreign policy, Sawada argues that the policy was



intended to minimize the controversy over the immigration of Japanese laborers, without acquiescing to American demands, by forging a *modus vivendi* between the countries. The Japanese solution also created two groups of emigrants, just as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had. Despite the ensuing confusion, the two Japanese categories of emigrants, *imin* (laborers) and *hi-imin* (merchants, students), proved useful for domestic policies in Japan. They effectively reinforced the class divisions of Meiji society and influenced the city plan and lifestyle of Tokyo.

The pressure of intensified urbanization and modernization on the Tokugawa city culture forged a new city with laws which produced new ways of living in it. These laws produced vast changes by structuring behavior and opportunities. They were reinforced by economic pressures stemming from spreading Western capitalist practices. In that context, a large labor class and a growing middle class of professionals, intellectuals, and students, with divisions codified by the Japanese emigration laws, provided a measure of continuity and social stability. These adjustments brought forth a distinctly urban, *hi-imin* mentality. Its embodiment, the *Tōkyōjin*, resident of Tokyo, shared many of the internal and external yearnings of modern Japan.

This Tokyo resident saw the United States and particularly New York as the land of opportunity. At home, education laws and entrepreneurial capitalism had narrowed the road of advance and deprived him of a job with a status requisite for his self-esteem. His sense of obligation called him to serve the cause of national expansion, but offered no vehicle for his ambition. Instead the call placed another obstacle in the path of a self-fulfilling life. Motivated by conflicting ambitions, ranging from patriotism and internationalism to gaining financial security and personal confidence, he emigrated to New York, hoping that his experience would provide the success and the recognition that he craved and his patriotism demanded.

The captivating study significantly enlarges the perspective on Japanese emigration. Among the extensive arguments presented, however, the spirit of adventure in emigration is not dealt with, despite the elaborate discourse. It spills over into the notes. In general, greater care extended to the apparatus of the book might have prevented such lapses as "Emperor Meiji" (p. 221, n. 87), which ought to read in English either Emperor Mutsuhito or, using his reign name, the Meiji Emperor. These strictures should not detract from an appreciation of the book's contribution.

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LINCOLN LI. *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought: The Case of Tachibana Shiraki, 1881–1945*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. x, 171. \$21.95.

Historians—indeed, all social scientists—ought to be held to a labeling standard. In this instance the subtitle more accurately reflects the book's content than its title. Lincoln Li's study is really a chronicle of the vicissitudes of one Tachibana Shiraki in developing his ideas and attempting to influence the behavior toward China of important Japanese decision makers during the period from Sun Yat-sen's Double Ten Revolution to the outbreak of the Pacific war.

Tachibana, a Japanese expatriate in Manchuria and North China for most of his career, was a self-made journalist. Eschewing such titles as "scholar" and "intellectual," which some had applied to him, he considered himself a political commentator and educator. He was also "socially marginalized and temperamentally assertive"; however, his "independence of mind [was] . . . not a recommendation in a society where conformity and group loyalty were considered higher social virtues" (p. 7). In the final analysis, his "educational commentaries" on China, apparently widely read, nevertheless had "little chance of being heard by the official world which he aspired to influence" (p. 7). In this sense, Tachibana is not unlike an intellectual Don Quixote.

Tachibana was enamored with China's rural culture: its history, traditions, folklore and religious practices. He was especially interested in popular Daoism and saw in it the seed that would bear his ideas to fruition. His studies led him to conclude that in those resilient, if downtrodden, villages with their *kyodotai* (gemeinschaft) community customs, a latent Chinese national consciousness could be fostered. Promoted by whom and for what grand purpose? For the short term, he advocated a new agrarianism to break "the stranglehold of landlords and collecting agents . . . by nurturing the economic autonomy of individual village units" (p. 74). Tachibana would have such powerful groups as the Kwantung Army, the South Manchurian Railway, Japanese business groups in Manchuria and North China, and even the Ministries in Tokyo become centrally involved in this endeavor. The eventual goal, which these Japanese power groups were not known to oppose, was an amalgam of eastern peoples with Japan, China, and India as the core. Led by Japan, owing to its greater modernity and a belief in the unifying force of the Japanese imperial system, the group would evolve into a New Asia capable of withstanding the advances of the West.

Unfolding events in China and the less-than-enthusiastic attitude of the Japanese power structure foiled Tachibana's call for a decentralized rural economy in China; one that could serve to overthrow the vested reactionary interests and ally with Japan in a unified Asia. Time and time again he miscalculated the march of China's history and was forced to realign his thinking. Li views these "strategic reinterpretations" as evidence of Tachibana's flexibility. One could equally conclude that these were evidence of his failure to understand reality. Although Tachibana gained mid-level support from some fringe elements, the Japanese

power holders in China, Manchuria, and Japan itself favored a "central industrialized economy" as the best route to a Japanese "national defense state" capable of providing tutelage for the realization of a united Asia.

Li asks us to accept certain premises without always providing us with adequate reason for doing so. On the one hand, we are told that Tachibana's "mind was problem-centered rather than politics-centered" (p. 13), just after Li informs us that his "ideas were influential amongst right-wing, left-wing, and moderate political circles" (p. 12). Perhaps it was this diffusion of support—or lack of support—that saved Tachibana from the 1930s persecutions of his social reform allies.

Writing intellectual history is no mean task. Writing the history of an intellectual's failed attempt to convince military, economic and bureaucratic power brokers is an even more complex undertaking. Li has provided us with a fascinating study of a man who posed as a Japanese loyalist as an alternative strategy for thinking about China (p. 73). In this regard, it would have been interesting to learn more about Tachibana's participation in the *Showa Kenkyukai*—Konoe Fumimaro's "brain trust"—once he had returned from China in 1939. Before reading this book, I asked myself "Tachibana Who?" Admittedly there were times when I also asked "Tachibana? Why?" My response to these queries is that, in the case of Li's study, the whole is better than its parts.

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DAVID M. O'BRIEN. *To Dream of Dreams: Religious Freedom and Constitutional Politics in Postwar Japan*. Assisted by YASUO OHKOSHI. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 271. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$29.95.

David M. O'Brien is a much-published scholar of American law and politics who spent six months in Japan studying the legal history of post-World War II relations between church and state. In the acknowledgements for this book, O'Brien thanks Yasuo Ohkoshi for "encouragement and assistance," for "narrowing the project to religious freedom litigation," for "provid[ing] translations of crucial materials and arrang[ing] some interviews," and for help on many drafts (p. xiii). In fact, Ohkoshi was apparently indispensable to the project: "Unless otherwise noted, all translations are those of Professor Yasuo Ohkoshi" (p. 87, n. 64).

Given his own dependence on a translator's assistance, it seems surprising that O'Brien lectures his readers on the Japanese language that he does not know. He makes several errors. For example, he states that "Whereas English speakers generally regard their spoken and written language as two alternative ways of expression, the Japanese are more apt to regard their spoken and written language as two different kinds of

communication." What is the significance of the distinction he implies? Japanese, says O'Brien, is "also highly complex and inflected, with multiple verb endings and adjectives" (pp. 27–28). Is this not also true of English?

The inaccuracies in this book do not stop with language. For example, the Sun Goddess would be surprised to learn that "The war dead . . . are the only national *kami* [gods] worshipped by the emperor" (p. 6). State Shinto did not last "only 15 years" (p. 45). And what are we to make of statements like this? "Postwar education changed and yet remained the same, only different" (p. 47). What does O'Brien mean when he says that "graduates of the leading law schools . . . tend to be favored" in the national bar exam? (p. 72). And what does the book's title mean? The only echo in the text comes at the end of chapter one, where O'Brien writes of the "continuing controversy . . . between those who dream of religious freedom . . . and those who dream of reinvigorating the myths and symbols of emperor worship" (p. 31). Is there no middle ground?

The focus of O'Brien's book is three intertwined lawsuits filed in 1976 and thereafter. These suits were against Minoo city officials relating to a war memorial and to a war veterans' association that attempted to bar taxpayer financial and moral support on the ground of the constitutional separation of church and state. O'Brien also discusses at length the Tsu City Ground-Purification Ceremony case and the suit of Nakaya Yasuko appealing the enshrinement of her husband in Yasukuni Shrine. Nakaya's case is one focus of Norma Field's fine book, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor* (1991), but the nuance that makes Field's account valuable finds little echo in O'Brien's. For example, O'Brien speaks of "Japan's tactical pragmatism and almost bewildering capacity for seemingly self-contradictory engagements" (p. 163). Such statements are doubly unfortunate, for the cases that O'Brien attempts to deal with are worth knowing about.

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DAWN MAY. *Aboriginal Labour and the Cattle Industry: Queensland from White Settlement to the Present*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 242. \$59.95.

In much of colonial Australia, unlike many comparable settler societies, European invaders wanted the land but not the labor of the indigenes. Yet, in remote areas of the continent such as the Northern Territory, the Kimberleys in Western Australia, and North Queensland, the cattle industry, a major contributor to the Australian economy, depended on a large pool of Aboriginal labor. The ready availability and cheapness of Aboriginal stockworkers, and their knowledge of the land and traditional skills, were crucial if cattlemen

were to overcome the disadvantages of marginal land, distance from markets, and lack of white labor.

Much scholarship has been devoted to this subject. On the one hand, historians influenced by Marxism and using written sources have emphasized how cattlemen depended on a precapitalist Aboriginal mode of production and grossly exploited their Aboriginal workers. Remuneration was poor (many got no wages at all), housing and food were substandard, white overseers were brutal, and sexual abuse of Aboriginal women was rife (all of which led to allegations of slavery). On the other hand, more recent studies that draw on oral sources and are more intent on representing the perspectives of Aboriginal workers have argued that the nature of the cattle industry—its need for a casual, seasonal workforce to do work that was nomadic and closely attuned to the land—suited Aborigines and that they forged reciprocal kinship relationships with their employers, and were able to maintain their association with sacred sites and continue traditional ritual practices.

Dawn May, well aware of this debate, not only provides us with the most comprehensive study of Aboriginal labor to date but also presents a judicious account that eschews the overemphasis on either the structures of colonial oppression or the agency of the colonized that has marred earlier interpretations. Particularly valuable is her consideration of the role of the state. She convincingly shows how government, ostensibly committed to Aboriginal protection, propped up the cattle industry in Queensland for almost a century by ensuring the availability and low cost of Aboriginal labor and by removing surplus and “troublesome” Aborigines to reserves, and how a labor movement committed to “White Australia” supported these arrangements. May also reveals that the state controlled the earnings of Aboriginal stockworkers and appropriated these savings by using them, without the workers’ knowledge, to provide for the welfare of their impoverished brothers and sisters, thus considerably reducing the cost of government expenditure.

Something more could have been said about the tensions that existed between the state and capitalism. May fails both to take sufficient note of the abundance of Aboriginal labor and to spell out the implications for this for Aborigines’ bargaining power. Her book is particularly valuable for the study of the broader process of reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, however, documenting as it does the continuing Aboriginal relationships to land and suggesting possibilities for the coexistence of pastoral leaseholders, mining companies, and Aboriginal communities.

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ZAHEER BABER. *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India.* (SUNY Series in Science, Technology, and Society.)

Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 298. \$23.95.

The prospectus for this book is in many ways superior to its execution. Zaheer Baber set himself the task of surveying the precolonial science, technology, and medicine of India in order to assess the impact of British imperial science on the subcontinent. Opening with a valuable introductory chapter that discusses the theoretical perspectives into which sociologists and historians of science have placed their work, he comes to the judicious conclusion that he prefers a combination of “critical realism” and “moderate constructionism” to some of the more reductionist and nihilistic approaches to the history of science pursued in some recent scholarship. Baber then devotes half of the book to a valuable, although unoriginal, synthesis of the science, technology, and medicine of both ancient and medieval India, the former inevitably concentrated on the achievements of the civilizations of the Indus Valley. This is done in a realistic and critical way, avoiding some of the excesses of a nationalistic approach, which Baber decries. It is interesting, too, that many of his descriptions of precolonial science are derived from admiring British reports: the knowledge of those on the ground entirely undermines the culturally arrogant dismissals of Indian science by James Mill or Thomas Babington Macaulay.

After a brief linking passage in which he summarizes the historiography of the start of colonial rule, Baber proceeds to examine the scientific policies of both the East India Company and of direct imperial rule. It is at this point that the book fails to satisfy. The origins of British rule are dealt with in some detail in order to set the political and social scene, but subsequent administrative changes are barely noticed. Although prominent intellectual debates like that of the Orientalists and Anglicists are analyzed, others later in the century are ignored. Generally, the discussion seems highly truncated. There is an extensive passage on the British surveys of India, but Baber has little understanding of the technical, ethnographic, or archaeological dimensions of the surveying programs. In this respect, he had the misfortune to publish before C. A. Bayly’s *Empire and Information* (1996) and Matthew H. Edney’s *Mapping an Empire* (1997) appeared. A few subsequent scientific developments are singled out for treatment, and there are some interesting passages on Indian scientists and mathematicians working within a Western or transcultural mode, but many others are ignored. Technology is treated only cursorily and medicine, much emphasized in the precolonial sections, is almost entirely omitted from the colonial section. Hence whole swathes of the scientific, technical, and medical literature disappear from the record.

We hear nothing of the work of Richard Grove on forestry, desiccation theory, and climatic and hydrological ideas; very little on the now extensive medical studies of British India, including the work of army surgeons, vaccination programs, mental health poli-

cies, or approaches to military and civilian aspects of European and Indian health and hygiene; and nothing about the magisterial work of Elizabeth Whitcombe on British irrigation projects, waterlogging, desalination, and the spread of malaria. Nor is there anything on British ideas about ethnography, racial concepts, or the categorizations, formal and informal, of "indigenous" and "criminal" tribal peoples and martial races, all of which the British certainly regarded as "scientific." A short section on reindustrialization is entirely inadequate, taking some British propaganda at its face value and failing to understand the emergence of the jute industry and its associated technology in Calcutta (which had surpassed that of Dundee by 1914) and the cotton, iron, and steel industries of the Bombay Presidency.

Thus, a valuable summary of the evidence for the scientific, technical, and medical aspects of precolonial culture is never matched by an adequate understanding of the British period, nor is the professed "moderate constructionism" ever fully worked out in terms of the science, technology, and medicine of British rule. The reader looks in vain for a conclusion that connects back to the introduction in illuminating ways. Sadly, although Baber's intentions were excellent, the book is not as notable an advertisement for historical sociology as he would have liked.

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LAKSHMI SUBRAMANIAN. *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 368. \$29.95.

During the Indian rebellion of 1857–1858, members of commercial castes were some of the most explicit protectors of British officials and civilian residents. Unlike many other groups in Indian society, most commercial castes had prospered during British rule. Lakshmi Subramanian makes it easy to understand why this was the case. In her lucid, well-written, and carefully researched monograph, she describes the process by which British East India Company officials in western India allied themselves with Hindu and Jain commercial castes. They offered protection to these castes during the chaotic post-Mughal years of the eighteenth century, and in exchange the merchants, bankers, and moneylenders helped to finance British trade and underwrote British military expansion in the hinterlands of Gujarat and Bombay. This was a genuine symbiosis, which Subramanian refers to in its mature phase as the "Anglo-Bania Order."

Subramanian, the author of several important articles on the role of the western Indian commercial castes known generally as Banias, has written this book to illuminate the financial reasons for British expansion in western India. As she points out, this was a region where British merchants and officials enjoyed only modest commercial and military success prior to

the late eighteenth century. Indeed, during this period, British officials in Calcutta considered abandoning their interest in the Bombay Presidency because it was a drain on their overall resources and had to be financed from Bengal. Subramanian's narrative focuses on the changing, interrelated fortunes of two cities: the Mughal port of Surat and the British port of Bombay. She demonstrates that, as Mughal power and authority waned, commercial castes gradually shifted their allegiance—and credit—to other competitors for power in the region. The East India Company gradually, if at first very uncertainly, offered them greater protection than impotent Mughal officials or warring indigenous powers. The shift occurred first within Surat, but subsequently many Bania and other commercial groups such as Parsis and Muslims shifted the focus of their operations to Bombay. Not only did these castes help to sustain British commercial fortunes, but certain commercial houses loaned British authorities large sums of money to pay troops campaigning against Maratha forces, their principal foes in the region. In December 1804, one firm agreed to loan 600,000 rupees a month to pay for Bombay army troops operating in central India.

The basic argument of this book is thus nicely captured by its title. Subramanian places her work within the contemporary context of Indian historiography, which has moved beyond the work of colonial historians and their preoccupations with military and political events. In retrospect, it seems ironic at the very least that many historians of a commercial enterprise, the British East India Company, should have neglected the commercial and financial dimensions of British expansion in India. Since the 1970s, however, both Indian and Western scholars have published studies that focus on the connection between commercial interests and imperial expansion, as well as on the nature and significance of Indian trade and financial institutions. As Subramanian points out, Pamela Nightingale's *Trade and Empire in Western India* (1976) clearly demonstrated the connection between British commercial interests and their expansion in western India. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, C. A. Bayly, Karen Leonard, Sushil Chaudhuri, and many other scholars have revealed the importance of the great indigenous Indian banking firms during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Utilizing these earlier works, Subramanian has produced a work of great dexterity and clarity. She is perhaps too polite when challenging interpretations of contemporary scholars, for most of her critiques are relegated to footnotes, particularly in the introductory chapter.

In a larger context, Subramanian's book makes important contributions to debates about colonial/imperial history and the strength and influence of non-Western commercial groups and institutions in early modern and colonial times. She does not explicitly place her work in a comparative colonial or world historical framework, but it certainly ought to be utilized in these debates. It would have been helpful if



Subramanian had included more discussion of commercial castes and their political relations in other regions of India. The style of the book would have been improved if she had not always adhered so closely to the spellings and language of her largely English sources. The "Fatty" Masjid or mosque in Surat is an example of these quaint renderings. Finally, a more complete index and a glossary would have enhanced the book's value. These suggestions are made to emphasize the book's potential to appeal beyond specialists in South Asian studies. A few modifications would make this important and impeccably printed volume more accessible to a broader range of scholars.

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DAGMAR ENGELS. *Beyond Purdah? Women in Bengal 1890–1939*. (SOAS Studies on South Asia.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 282. \$24.95.

Although there are already several general histories of women in late nineteenth-century Bengal, to date there has been no study that provides a historical overview of Bengali women in the early twentieth century. Using *purdah* as her shorthand for the wide range of customary rules and restrictions applying to Bengali women between 1890 and 1939, Dagmar Engels attempts to fill this gap. If Bengali women were more visible in public and in politics in the 1930s than in the late nineteenth century, she asks, does that mean that they had been freed from the gender restrictions characteristic of the earlier period? Her answer is a qualified no: although Bengali women "conquered social space which hitherto had been the prerogative of men" in the early twentieth century, the degree to which this led to "greater or lesser opportunities for self-realization, economic power and social and political representation" depended on class rather than gender or culture (p. 246).

The book's strength, as well as its weakness, is the author's broadly defined project. Her book's six chapters attempt to cover most aspects of contemporary "discourse" on women in this period. Engels is committed to including all classes of Bengali women in her study, working women as well as the relatively more accessible upper-class and Westernized women. She makes little effort to limit either the range of sources she will cover or the aspects of women's lives she will address. The result is a laudable but sometimes incoherent study whose author's efforts to elaborate on many different discursive levels frequently impede her ability to speak clearly and definitely on any one.

Chapter one, "Purdah and Politics," reviews customary late nineteenth-century Hindu revivalist, "essentialist" reinterpretations of older feminine ideals and includes a brief discussion of Bengali women's participation in early twentieth-century nationalist politics. Chapter two, "Brides and Widows," focuses on customs and experiences associated with these life stages and a review of reform efforts in the period. Chapter

three, "Sexuality," includes a review of the Bengali Hindu construction of sexuality in contemporary "marriage manuals" (p. 73) as well as a discussion of prostitution and adultery and a comparison of Bengali and Victorian ideas on female sexuality. Here Engels makes the linked points that "female sexuality was the means to an end, namely male superiority" (p. 114) and that "the construction of female sexuality depended as much on class and culture as on race and political power" (p. 115). Chapter four, "The Politics of Childbirth," reviews childbirth customs, women doctors, mortality rates, and reform efforts and reform discourses for the period. Chapter five, "Women's Education," reviews customary women's education through *bratas*, the growth of schools associated with Hindu Revivalism and the nationalist movement, the training of women teachers, and village and industrial education. Chapter six, "Women's Work in the Bengal Economy," is the most ambitious and in many ways the most interesting of the book's chapters. Engels culls the period's fragmentary sources to assess the extent of women's participation in the Bengali labor force and the impact of early twentieth-century economic changes on women's work. "While socio-economic change allowed the gradual modification of *purdah* in the case of middle-class women," she concludes, "for working-class women the meaning of *purdah* was intensified with the effect that men's position in the job market improved at the cost of women's opportunities for employment" (p. 236).

In this final chapter on women in the workforce (and in the author's referencing of her own interviews with Bengali women throughout her study), Engels comes close to achieving the ambitious project she has set herself. This book is a pioneering study into a subject area whose sources have received little prior discussion or analysis, and Engels has consulted an impressive array of materials in both English and Bengali. But her topic is so broadly defined that, particularly in regard to the Bengali materials, the author has little time for the detailed analysis these previously unstudied materials warrant. Readers may conclude that an analysis of multiple discursive levels would work better with a more limited set of sources or within a research field whose historical sources have already been well studied and documented.

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#### UNITED STATES

PAUL K. CONKIN. *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 336. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Paul K. Conkin, a prolific historian by anyone's standards, has long been interested in American religion. The latest product of that interest is aimed not at the

specialist (it has no notes and only brief bibliographic references) but at people in search of a clear-headed guide to the teachings and organizational development of some of America's most confusing religious groups. Conkin locates America's "homemade varieties" of Christianity within six "clusters or groupings": Restoration, Humanistic, Apocalyptic, Mormon, Spiritual, and Ecstatic. The American religions within each cluster, Conkin believes, represent original forms of Christianity that in one way or another challenge an orthodoxy that is common to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed denominations. Conkin is aware of the problems in his premises, especially the interpretive weight he places on the terms "originality" and "orthodoxy." Conceptual difficulties are only intermittently at the center of Conkin's attention, however. His chief energies are turned toward explaining doctrine and how the promulgation of doctrine led to infighting and splintering.

Anyone who has tried to make sense of the documents attendant to American religious inventiveness in the nineteenth century will appreciate the difficulty of Conkin's work. It requires a patience for detail, a tolerance for vagueness, and a willingness to see creativity where many others have seen only second-rate hucksterism. Conkin leaves many warts on his cast of characters. The secret initiations of Mormons seem "as childish as Masonic or other fraternal initiations" (p. 195). Mary Baker Eddy "always seemed to need a man in her life" (p. 235). Joseph Rutherford, who led the Jehovah's Witnesses between the wars, had a drinking problem and "an almost pathological animus toward any leadership role by women" (p. 195). Even so, Conkin's project is to understand the intricacies of belief that fueled American sectarianism. Among other things, he has made his way through the staggering transformations of the Pentecostal movements, the splits in Mormonism, the leadership struggles among Disciples and Churches of Christ, the efforts of Unitarians and Universalists to rethink the Christian tradition, and the complicated millennial calculations of Seventh-Day Adventists. Conkin keeps his presentation interesting, balanced, and meticulously attentive to detail.

With due respect for what the book accomplishes, however, many readers will wish that Conkin had wrestled more with the conceptual issues. Conkin speaks of "American originals" without really trying to locate a thread of "Americanness" or a condition of "Americanness" that links the groups he has examined. Conkin may thereby have saved himself from the robust errors that informed Harold Bloom's *American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (1992), but when he asks us to imagine a common bond between Unitarians and Jehovah's Witnesses because each "repudiated crucial doctrines that remained normative in Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, and Reformed traditions" (p. 316), he loses any trace of a precise or persuasive argument. One recurring emphasis in Conkin's analysis of "American originals" is that

they all rejected Calvinism. So they did, but along with Catholics, Lutherans, Methodists, and a host of other Christians not labeled "original."

America is not the only country that has produced peculiar varieties of Christianity. Nor is it the most religiously plural country in the world. Originality of the sort that interests Conkin is no big deal in the world history of Christianity and does not in doctrinal terms contribute to or reflect a national ethos. In one important sense, all American religions are original, since the Christian traditions imported from Europe underwent transformation and reinvention on this side of the Atlantic, just as they have undergone further transformation and reinvention when re-exported from the United States to Latin America and Asia. It is to this reviewer a curious argument that turns Unitarianism into an "American original" but not American Methodism or Polish-American Catholicism.

Conkin announces early that he does not find much sustenance for his analysis in "race or ethnicity." He mentions them along with gender and class, but only as narrative observations. Others might want to argue that it is precisely these things, given the importance of slavery and immigration in America's past, that have determined what is most original or at least different about American religious practice. African-American Christianity may be faithful to the "scriptures, doctrines, politics, and moral standards" (p. ix) of "orthodox" Christianity (although that point is worth more debate than Conkin accords it), but the differences that mark it are more than questions of "flavor." Conkin's book tells us much about what people are supposed to believe but much less about the everyday practice of their religion. An opportunity is thereby missed. The pluralism of everyday practices may not add up to a generic Americanness; it does reflect many things that one does not commonly encounter elsewhere in the world.

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TERRY L. GIVENS. *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 205. \$35.00.

In an attempt to explain the puzzling intensity of anti-Mormonism in American society, Terry L. Givens has written a well-researched and insightful book. The problem, as he describes it, resides in reconciling the nation's commitment to religious pluralism with its hostility toward the Saints throughout the nineteenth century. Devoting most of his study to a historical recounting of anti-Mormon activity, Givens is especially concerned with literary representation and finds in fictional works illustrations of how caricature was cultivated to justify persecution. Specifically, he contends that it was by profanation—by recasting Mormonism in non-religious ways—that its enemies were

able to engage in activities that otherwise would have been considered a violation of the American code of approved religious diversity.

It is important to recognize, Givens argues, that there was a congruence between the Saints and their critics, one that, ironically, contributed to their problems and one that bears on the oft-debated issue of whether Mormons were or were not ethnically distinct. Mormons, no less than their detractors, saw themselves outside the community of other Christian denominations. Both looked on Mormon teachings as absolutist. Both found a confirming separatism in Mormon clannishness and geographical retreat. Yet, if all this arose from their belief system, why was so little accommodation found within the boasted tradition of American religious toleration—especially since, as Givens shows, there were many core issues on which Latter-Day Saints agreed with their Christian foes?

In one of the book's most insightful chapters, Givens says that the reaction to Mormonism arose in part because the Saints eschewed the canon of distance, not only materializing but "rehistoricizing Christianity as well" (p. 85). Mormons insisted that theirs was the very gospel of antiquity. But so radical a primitivism robbed their claims of ineffability. The plates from which the Book of Mormon were supposed to be translated were dug from the ground, and witnesses were called to look at and handle them. Deity was described as an exalted man. Communications from heaven were adduced in the most trifling circumstances. Even the church's founder had an embarrassingly ordinary and unprophectic-sounding name: Joe Smith. Again and again, the sublime was made common and the mystic rational. Mormons seemed entirely unconcerned that religious transcendence was most easily achieved when origins and causation were left obscure. By naturalizing religion, Mormons invited disbelief and disgust.

It is also significant that heated debate about the Mormons coincided with the emergence of print technology, making mass consumption of newspapers, journals, and books possible on an unprecedented scale. More than fifty novels were written about the Mormons between the early 1850s and the turn of the century. But much that was written in the name of reform simply exploited the public's appetite for sensational entertainment. Because narrative authority was sometimes purposely confused, fictional accounts were often accepted as factual relations. Some anti-Mormon novels fabricated documentary appendixes to augment their credibility, adapted "Oriental" images (especially dealing with polygamy), and exploited literary themes of captivity, coercion, and bondage, themes already familiar to American readers. By these devices, Givens demonstrates, the printed word acquired such persuasion with the public that even congressmen quoted from novels as if they were accurate reports.

The specific way that these literary assaults escaped the curbing temper of a tradition of free religious experiment was by representing the Saints as alien.

Mormonism's peculiarities were set forth as antithetical to the *secular* ideals of American society. Not only were they "Oriental" in their marriage practices, but the temporal authority of a hierarchical priesthood threatened the country's republican ways. Women converts were described as coerced victims of white slavery. Those who appeared to join the church willingly were really mesmerized or otherwise inveigled by Mormon deceit. Freedom of choice, it was said, had no place among the Saints. Whether proselytizing on behalf of their religion or practicing it, they were more than impostors: they were un-American.

Historical accounts of the Latter-Day Saints have always given attention to Mormon-American disagreement. There have also been explorations of fictional and graphic treatments of the conflict. But Givens does more than recapitulate the story of Mormon vilification. By exploring the specific ways in which caricature was manipulated (especially by transforming Mormonism into a secular threat), he illuminates the phenomena of religious heresy and persecution generally. The book is thoroughly documented, and Givens writes with a graceful style. This is an excellent example of both historical and literary scholarship.

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DANA L. ROBERT. *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice. The Modern Mission Era, 1792–1992: An Appraisal*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 444. \$30.00.

Despite spirited efforts by women, in past as well as in recent years, to record women's contribution to the foreign mission activities of the American churches, their place within mainstream mission historiography remains marginal. The stories of Christian outreach beyond the shores of the United States, whether recounted by those within the academy or without, more readily capture the experiences of male missionaries, either affirmatively as frontier pioneers and charismatic leaders or negatively as purveyors of commercial expansion and cultural hegemony. Dana L. Robert sets out to reverse this gender bias. In an extensive undertaking, she has drawn together her own work and that of others to develop a dense narrative of women's engagement in foreign missions from the early 1800s to post-World War II. She covers both Protestant and Catholic women's mission endeavors, attending to the activism of the women at home, organized in separate female support organizations, as well as of those actively serving abroad. Given that American missionaries occupied amazingly diverse fields in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, the Pacific, and South America, this has been a challenging task.

Robert bases her study principally on the wide array of mission literature compiled over time by the faithful—journals, memoirs, papers, and early mission

chronicles—but admits that coverage of certain areas is difficult when few recent histories exist. This undoubtedly accounts for a certain chronological imbalance, with the book's initial extensive account of the few women in antebellum missions contrasting sharply with the decidedly slimmer handling of the later period from the 1950s to the present. Yet the material on the commencement of women's mission activities is fascinating, linked as it was to the Second Great Awakening and antebellum reform, and enlivened by accounts of women convinced of their call to missions who sought appropriate spouses (single women were seldom accepted).

It is in the central section of the book, however, that Robert makes her most substantial contribution to mission history. From the 1880s to the 1930s, Protestant American women's involvement in missions emerges as truly astonishing in extent and character. These were, of course, the peak years of the women's movement, and while many of her evangelical women would not have identified themselves as feminists, their insistence on pushing the boundaries of their vocational undertakings echoed aspects of their more radical sisters' demands. Single women offered and were accepted for foreign work in this period; it was the one area of professional fulfillment open to them in the church, given current ecclesiastical coolness toward their parochial or ministerial ambitions. Women's boards emerged in most denominations to oversee the choice of female candidates and to undertake the fundraising to support women in the field. Robert traces conflict in the field, however, as women sought from male colleagues recognition concomitant with their hard work and capabilities. Eventually the male hierarchies back home sought to amalgamate separate women's activities into the general mission agencies.

Given the absence of sources comparable to those for the earlier periods, it is understandable, if regrettable, that Robert concludes the Protestant narrative with World War II. Her outline of Catholic nuns' missions, however, extends through the twentieth century. It therefore traces the marked changes in the orientation of women religious in the 1960s and 1970s, when in Central and South America, they aligned their practices with liberation theology. Robert, who throughout the book explicitly positions herself within the ranks of evangelical Protestantism, admits to a sketchier hold on Catholic archives. Most readers, however, will find these chapters among the most interesting.

The intellectual context within which Robert situates her narrative avoids the question of the politics of mission by containing her evaluations within a gender framework. Mission women, she argues, married and single, constituted the mainstay of missionary enterprise as teachers and catechists and as providers of material and emotional support to men and the religious community. Moreover, women developed important but hitherto unacknowledged gender-specific practices and theories of mission in a context where

male hierarchies in the field and in the churches strove to contain rather than to encourage women's exercise of their skills and energies.

At this juncture in religious history, scholars might have been interested in the wider question of how a study of these women contributes to our understanding of American missions as a whole and, in particular, of the racial thinking that underlay mission activities. Something could have been gained by attention to recent analyses of historians of the British empire. Women missionaries may well have been driven by altruistic motives. They were at the same time almost entirely white women, whose ideas and behavior were shaped by their membership in the white race. Women missionaries may have eschewed authoritarian practices and promoted fellowship among Christian women of different nationalities; their very dedication, however, suggests that, like the men, they subscribed to notions of cultural hierarchy that most certainly placed white Christian Americans at the apex.

Those seeking to learn of American women's participation in foreign missions will find Robert's book an invaluable starting point. We need other scholars to take the research further, interrogating in more depth the discourses of race, ethnicity, and nation within which these women shaped their religious understandings of others.

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GERALD SORIN. *Tradition Transformed: The Jewish Experience in America*. (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 294. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.95.

It is always challenging to take a frequently told story and recast it with a different perspective. Gerald Sorin has attempted to do just that in tracing the history of Jewish settlement and accomplishment in America from the colonial era until recent times. After two chapters dealing with the early Sephardic and mid-nineteenth century German immigrants, Sorin settles down to his main purpose of exploring how the much larger influx of East European Jews interacted with both mainstream Americans and also their German predecessors to create a strong, acculturated modern Jewish identity. The book covers a lot of ground. It discusses the ambivalent relationship between the German and East European Jews, including the tentative cooperation of agencies formed by both groups to deal with the disruptions of each world war. Finally, the book follows Jewish social, religious, and political activity through the postwar period up to the ultimate question of what the future might hold.

Sorin believes that there has been a renewal of interest in Judaism since World War II, largely as a result of suburbanization, the effects of the Holocaust, and later, the Yom Kippur War of 1973. He suggests that, in the modern United States, there are numerous ways to be a Jew, and that a religious connection is



only one of them. Another is the practice of a kind of civil religion—the performance of good works—which Sorin believes can include such means as political activism, philanthropy, support for Israel, or helping recent Russian immigrants learn more about Judaism. He notes that, even as Jews became more affluent, they continued to vote for liberal political candidates. He discusses the important role that they played in the civil rights movement and their ongoing commitment to equality as well as the strain in relations between African-American and Jewish leaders, beginning in the late 1960s.

Sorin's book has benefited from scholarship on Jews in small-town and city environments. He devotes a chapter to Jews who settled in these outlying areas because they viewed them as offering better opportunities to enter small businesses than did cities such as New York. It would have been useful to learn, as we do in Ewa Morawska's *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890–1940* (1996), whether small-town Jews also followed different patterns of education and acculturation than those in large cities. Interestingly, Jews in the West seem to have avoided anti-Semitism generally because the Americans among whom they lived were more concerned with maintaining white supremacy in the face of large Indian, Mexican, and Asian populations. In the South, on the other hand, eastern Europeans faced deep prejudice from German Jews who feared that the newcomers would endanger their own hard-won acceptance. Last year's Pulitzer Prize-winning play by Alfred Uhry, "The Last Night of Ballyhoo," deals with such attitudes on the part of Atlanta's German Jews.

Particularly noteworthy is Sorin's inclusion of women in discussions of every area. This is perhaps the first general survey of Jewish immigration to emphasize the roles played by women in different aspects of life. Drawing on work in Jewish women's history, Sorin traces the influence of women not only in the home or as working members of the family economy but also in the public arena. They served the community by creating their own version of *tsedakah*, or charitable good works; by activities in the settlement house movement and the National Council of Jewish Women; or by joining the new profession of social work. Some contributed to the momentum of Zionism by creating and working for Hadassah. Although women were not a part of doctrinal disputes between the three major branches of Judaism, Sorin traces the way women were attracted to the Reform movement, which practiced a kind of religious egalitarianism unmatched until recent times by the Conservative movement and still seen as opposed to Jewish law by the Orthodox. Paradoxically, despite this limitation on women's role, Orthodoxy today numbers more women than men among its adherents.

Sorin also lays to rest some of the romanticized myths about family life in the ghettos of New York and other cities. He enumerates the nervous breakdowns, criminality, delinquency, and prostitution that

took root as they will among any ethnic group mired in poverty. He reminds readers that the so-called close-knit Jewish families also had, for a time, one of the highest divorce rates in the city.

Sorin's occasional comparison of the experiences of Jews with those of other immigrant groups is helpful in showing that much of what the Jews faced was not exceptional. For example, the attitudes of German Jews toward the East Europeans, patronizing yet helpful at the same time, reflected those of the first major Catholic group, the Irish, as Catholics from Poland and Italy came streaming in at the end of the century. In both cases, he observes, the firstcomers believed that, although they had gained some acceptance, their religion would once again be stigmatized because of American attitudes towards the newcomers.

Sorin concludes by suggesting the Jewish experience as the model for a flexible concept of cultural pluralism—what Ronald Takaki called ethnic-Americanization—as opposed to what he sees as an overreliance by some groups on the primacy of group ethnic identity alone. Although I sympathize with Sorin's objective, his own work, which emphasizes how Jews built on cultural characteristics they had brought with them, hardly seems to lay the groundwork for proposing the experience of one ethnic group as a transformative model for others.

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STEPHEN M. FELDMAN. *Please Don't Wish Me a Merry Christmas: A Critical History of the Separation of Church and State*. (Critical America.) New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 395. \$29.95.

Good revisionist history makes one sit up and take notice. It says, in effect, "Let's look at some very familiar narrative through a new lens and see if it makes more sense this way." If it does, it opens up new vistas through which we can better understand the past. Bad revisionist history, however, merely distorts, and I am afraid that Stephen M. Feldman's work falls into the latter category. He might well have made his subtitle "A Critical History of the Separation of Church and State as Examined on my Postmodern Bed of Procrustes." There is a wealth of interesting material in this book, but it is constantly flogged to fit Feldman's thesis, no matter what the costs in terms of objectivity and critical evaluation.

Feldman wants to attack what he terms the "dominant story" of church-state separation in the United States and its alleged fostering of religious freedom for what he terms "outgroups": Jews and other non-Christians. His argument is that church-state separation goes well back into antiquity and is based in large measure on the anti-Semitic theology of the New Testament. As for religious freedom in the United States, one might as well forget it if one is not a Christian, because, according to Feldman, this is a

Christian country, and that perspective runs through all of our politics and especially our law.

According to Feldman, the separation of church and state relies on the New Testament admonition to "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and unto God that which is God's." The Christian worldview is thus based on the idea of two realms, the realm of the spirit, which belongs to God and to the church, and the realm of worldly Jewish carnality (the phrase is Feldman's), which encompasses things of the flesh and the material world, including the secular government. This, he argues in several chapters, is the real source of church-state separation.

There are two problems here. One is that the church-state relationship he describes is not the type we refer to in the United States as prohibited by the Establishment Clause, and second, the older separation was not, in fact, a separation. It is true that the church (referring to the unitary church of the first fifteen centuries) did not "claim" temporal power and denied to kings and emperors power over religious matters. In fact, however, the two were always tripping over each other, with kings meddling in church affairs, claiming the right to name local bishops, and from time to time locking up popes. The pontiffs, in turn, ran a secular state, marshaled armies, declared war (real war—the Crusades—not spiritual battles), and, along with cardinals, constantly played politics (does the name Richelieu sound familiar?). Ideally the two were not so much separated but, as Thomas Aquinas described them, they were the two swords of God, each working to help and support the other. An established church endorsed the temporal ruler, while the king made sure no competing churches arose.

It is the establishment of a church as the official religion, supported by tax dollars, with a compelled membership, that was the rule prior to the Enlightenment, and it was this marriage of secular and spiritual, with all the coercive power of the state behind it, that the framers rejected. Feldman just has it wrong. The separation of church and state as we know it in America is, indeed, a unique historical development.

As for the United States being a Christian nation, everyone knows that, including all the outgroups. Feldman, who starts his book with the sentence "I am Jewish," constantly complains that he is faced every day with evidence of the nation's Christianity. What does he expect? That the Free Exercise Clause would dampen the cultural aspects of ninety-seven percent of the nation in order that the outgroups will feel fully equal? Jews came to the United States, to what they called the "goldenah medinah," not expecting that they would in every way be equal. Rather, they expected and were rewarded in their hopes that there would be no legal constraints imposed, that they would not have to live in a ghetto or wear a yellow star, that they would be able to compete economically and that their children would be able to go to college and become doctors and lawyers. Immigrants knew in their hearts that no matter how Christian a land the United States

might be, they would be freer here than any place in Europe.

Feldman gives us a long list of anti-Semitic incidents in the United States, but he fails to put them in a proper context. How do these episodes compare to the pogroms of Russia, the killing fields of Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, the Holocaust? The United States is not perfect. Everybody knows that, and Jews especially are aware that we are a minority. Feldman tells us nothing new here, and in his effort at revision provides no new insights into the problem.

Feldman is most interesting when he tackles the Supreme Court, in which, as Mark V. Tushnet has noted, no Jew has ever won a free exercise claim. Here I think Feldman makes a good point in his argument that a Christian mentality is so pervasive that the justices are handing down Christian decisions even when they do not realize it. His understanding of First Amendment jurisprudence, however, again undercuts his analysis, as he tries to fit his cases into a rather strained framework.

A complete list of problems I have with this book would take far more space than I have been allotted. Suffice it to say that Feldman does not convince me; perhaps others will find his narrative more appealing.

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RICHARD BRENT TURNER. *Islam in the African-American Experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 300. \$18.95.

Historians of African-American religion have traditionally concentrated their efforts on discovering black Christian experiences from slavery to the present day. Richard Brent Turner turns his considerable research skills toward offering a more comprehensive rendition of African-American religion by presenting a parallel history of Islam that moves from the bodies of slaves, through the Christian missionaries who met them, on to the tumultuous history of African Americans in this country—adding diversity and depth to the intertwining of their experiences.

Turner asserts three basic themes for our consideration, all revolving around the theme of signification (the issue of naming and identity): that the kind of signification that has always preoccupied African Americans has in part a West African heritage; that the Arabic word *jihad* can be reinterpreted to mean "struggle of words" (again, naming issues); and that Islam's history of signification and racial separation plays a major role in the separation of African-American Muslims and other Muslims.

The book is divided into two major sections: "Root Sources" and "Prophets of the City." In the section on "Root Sources," Turner observes that in the bringing of Islam to West Africa, Arabs also brought an ethnic pattern that placed Africans at the bottom of the hierarchy. Africans, in their resistance to this pattern, developed their own blend of Islam and African

traditional worldviews. It is this blend that came to America in the body and conceptions of Arabic literate slaves.

Documenting white and black Christian missionary and scholarly contact with Muslim slaves, Turner opens doors that allow the reader to explore the absence of discourse on the (clearly evident) racial patterns. Here readers can also challenge what Turner refers to as the "myth of a race-blind Islam" (p. 55) and perhaps conclude that Islam itself is race-blind, but Muslims are not.

Turning his attention to concrete Islamic expressions in the twentieth-century black community, Turner reexamines the Moorish Science Temple's assertions regarding its heritage. Additional connections are made between the principles of the Moorish Science Temple, the Ahmadiyyah Mission to America, and the Nation of Islam. In "The Name Means Everything," Turner explores the significance of naming from Booker T. Washington through the Garvey Movement to the Nation of Islam. What he finds is that the global connections of both the Garvey Movement and Islam find commonality in the issue of rights for black people. All of this is focused on in the Ahmadiyyah Mission, one of whose central aims is the promotion of a multi-racial model for Islam. The same set of concerns forms the nucleus of the Nation of Islam. Identity is and remains the issue.

Identity and its problems in the African-American community in general and the African-American Muslim community in particular are what Turner sees as the dividing line between Louis Farrakhan and Warith Deen Muhammad. By reviewing Malcolm X's life as a *jihad* of words and "the politics of religious identity," Turner asks us to rethink our conclusions concerning Malcolm X's meaning in the history of African and Islamic America. "Religion is the starting point for understanding the political significance of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam" (p. 190). The persistent issue of identity has never left the Muslim community, and even Warith Deen Muhammad has pulled away from the "complete capitulation of his movement to a version of orthodox Islam (heavily influenced by Saudi Arabia) that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s" (p. 226).

Islamicists might feel the need to broaden Turner's knowledge of cosmopolitan Islam in order to facilitate his research in the Muslim world. But expounding on the details of Islam was not Turner's intention. Rather, he set out to offer a thorough examination of Islam in the African-American experience from slavery until the present in communities that are connected both locally and globally. He has clearly done an exceptional job. This text has no shortcomings.

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GREGORY H. NOBLES. *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1997. Pp. xvi, 286. \$25.00.

Reading this well-written and thoughtful general work, one can almost feel the shade of Frederick Jackson Turner striding back toward respectability. The narrative, while not particularly Turnerian, refocuses attention on American national expansion and on internal political, social, and economic issues. Gregory H. Nobles offers a refined and reinvigorated paradigm as he considers these. (The book indicates that he thinks that most American historians have moved beyond the silliness of a decade ago when some avoided even using the term frontier in their writing or speech.)

Rather than rejecting the term or its implications, Nobles uses it as the centerpiece for his survey of American national expansion. For him, the frontier was a region and a process. Together the two provide a basis for analysis of what was involved in the occupation and settlement of much of the present United States. At the widest focus, American expansion involved several groups. First, Noble examines state-sponsored or government activity. Linked clearly to such activity—at times proceeding it and at others moving hand-in-hand with or resulting from it—was the migration of tens of thousands of pioneers into newly opened regions. Reevaluating Turner's date of 1890 for the ending of the nineteenth-century frontier, Nobles suggests that the year is defensible. Still, he admits that there was no particular end to the frontier process but rather a shifting of emphasis to different issues that moved historians' attention in other directions.

Nobles's purpose is to summarize and synthesize much of recent scholarship and, in doing so, to connect the frontier histories of both the East and the West. His reach is continental, and his narrative succeeds in bringing local and regional actions into a coherent and easily accessible account. To Nobles, the frontier stood as a region—or series of regions—where no group, culture, or government could claim control or clear dominance. Rather, within such areas there were multiple frontiers with many and varied relationships between cooperating, competing and conflicting groups. The frontier appears as a culturally neutral designation, but the author does not avoid or excuse the conquest involved in American expansionism.

Beginning with the Pequot War of the 1630s, the narrative sketches the shaky diplomatic balance among the New England tribes that worked to the advantage of the aggressive English. From the start, Nobles shows, frequently used terms such as Indian, European, or white did not denote monolithic groups. Instead these peoples played complex and changing roles in the contested regions. When discussing the colonial-era wars, Nobles claims that they occurred on two frontiers: north and south. Although true, this overlooks the evidence that the pre-1763 wars in North America often pitted Indians against each other and against colonists as well as Europeans against Europeans.

The narrative also shows that, after American independence, contending groups of Anglo-Americans

struggled against each other. Laying the foundation for themes that are developed later in the book, Nobles contrasts the goals of the wealthy and influential with those of the poor and weak on early frontiers. He suggests that, on the frontier, an equality of poverty prevailed among most white pioneers. Nevertheless, these poor served as agents of government-sponsored expansion as often as did the wealthy through their demands that Indian lands be made available or calls for improved transportation or defense. Nobles traces the idea that there was no place for "uncivilized people" in the developing American society. Aimed at unruly pioneers, Indians, blacks, Mexicans, and other minorities, this idea served to justify federal efforts to dispossess such groups.

In following national expansion to the Pacific, the narrative examines popular literature and art while showing that each new region or community included bitterly contested terrain. Issues of race, class, and gender appear throughout, whether on the plains, in mining camps, or in the new cities of the West. As he brings the narrative to the end of the nineteenth century, Nobles suggests that the frontier faded because Indians and other local minorities had been pushed aside and because the government had ceased to promote internal expansion. With no other place to go, pioneers no longer served as agents of imperial action. Yet the conflicts between and among ethnic, racial, and class groups continued to mold American society long after expansion ended.

Although the author's use of the term frontier may well bother a few of the terminally politically correct, this book incorporates much scholarship about the processes of American national settlement. In a thoughtful and wide-ranging discussion, Nobles brings recent ideas on gender, as well as racial and ethnic groups, into the central narrative. Going far beyond Turnerian efforts, his book presents a multilayered yet clear, interesting, and solidly analytical account of significant issues in American history.

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DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT, *Violent Land: Single Men and Social Disorder from the Frontier to the Inner City*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996. Pp. xiii, 357. \$29.95.

David T. Courtwright has written a lucid, cogently argued history of violence in the United States from the early nineteenth-century frontier to the present. His book is a model of social science history, with carefully explicated hypotheses and clearly presented evidence and arguments. It should find a place on any graduate or undergraduate seminar table, where it is guaranteed to spark debate.

Courtwright argues that bachelor societies engender violence. He links violence and disorder to the disproportionate number of young, single men deposited on American shores by immigration and then distributed

unevenly across the landscape, especially to the western frontier, through migration. Racism worsened the resort to violence, as Caucasian males treated other peoples with cavalier disregard and declined to intermarry with subjugated populations, thus perpetuating a bachelor society. A relatively unformed social order, especially in the South and in newly settled areas, proved unwilling or unable to assert social control and thus reinforced the use of extra-legal violence. The ready availability of firearms, alcohol, and a prickly sense of honor made for violent personal confrontations. Chapters on the South, cattletowns, Chinatowns, migrant labor, and miners' settlements support these contentions.

Pacification occurred, in Mark Twain's words, with soap and civilization. Courtwright examines the influence of cultural factors, such as church attendance and the impact of Prohibition, on the decline in violence, but he places changing demography at the heart of his explanation. Settlement brought family formation, the creation of institutions, and the gradual reversal of gender imbalances in frontier areas. Eastern cities, which had surplus female populations in the nineteenth century, already had lowered levels of violence. Immigration restriction in the twentieth century halted the flow of male immigrants but allowed for family reunification, so that female immigrants and children made up the majority of new arrivals. By the middle of the twentieth century, the traditional surplus of males in the national population had been erased. The 1950s, according to Courtwright, were the acme of American civilization, as young men married, joined churches, and bought homes instead of committing acts of murder and mayhem.

When turning to the world of the contemporary urban ghetto, Courtwright shifts ground. The ghetto is not characterized by a bachelor society caused by demographic imbalance but rather by a collapsed marriage market. Courtwright locates the decline of marriage and family formation in the departure of blue-collar jobs, the hypersegregation of the urban poor, and increased levels of alcoholism and drug abuse. Many males are neither sons nor fathers in the traditional sense, and, unrestrained by parental discipline or familial responsibility, he argues, they act in ways that unattached men have always acted: belligerently and recklessly.

Courtwright rests his cultural and demographic arguments on a foundation of sociobiology. In order to explain the disproportionately male nature of violence, he uses the work of Richard J. Herrnstein and James Q. Wilson to argue that violence is embedded in male nature. Competition for access to fertile females and risk-taking in hunting were rewarded with genetic immortality, as the most aggressive males succeeded in siring offspring and, over millennia, bred a bellicose masculinity. When unchecked by spouse and offspring, untamed by church, and unharnessed by alcohol or drugs, this primordial masculinity still rears its bestial head.



In Courtwright's presentation, sociobiology is not a controversial hypothesis but an established doctrine. He argues that "for political and ideological reasons, large and important elements of the [historical] profession have ignored or declared anathema the Darwinian renaissance taking place in the rest of the social scientific world" (p. 7). Darwinianism is not as universally accepted among social scientists as Courtwright would have us believe, however, and historians' rejection of it is not merely a matter of political correctness. Many social scientists argue that gender, like race, is socially and not biologically constructed. In this view, "masculinity" is not procrustean and immutable but formed in a complicated interplay of environmental, social, and cultural forces that overlay biological and evolutionary factors.

Courtwright veers away from linking genetic endowment and membership in the ghetto poor. Although he discusses Herrnstein's argument that the lower class propagates itself and cites Herrnstein and Charles J. Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994) in his notes, he concludes judiciously that the question of genetic determinism may become "one of the outstandingly controversial questions in the social sciences for the next generation" (p. 234). Having reached the edge of a sociobiological cliff, Courtwright declines to jump. Instead, he resurrects Oscar Lewis's "culture of poverty" to argue that some African Americans have formed a counter-culture based on hustling, immediate gratification, and the rejection of striving that is transmitted across generations. The culture of the streets encourages young black males to engage in competitive displays of masculinity that lead inevitably to violence. Courtwright concludes that any reversal of the plague of inner city violence will require more stable family life, although it is not clear how that will occur.

Most readers will find Courtwright's demographic and cultural arguments convincing without the resort to sociobiology. If aggression is such a fundamental part of a masculinity that evolved over millennia, then one wonders how the significant reversals of violent behavior were achieved so readily over decades—a millisecond in evolutionary history. Still, Courtwright is to be commended for raising important issues about the nature of violence in American society, and his book deserves to be widely read and debated.

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JAMES T. LEMON. *Liberal Dreams and Nature's Limits: Great Cities of North America since 1600*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 341. \$39.95.

James T. Lemon has three purposes in this densely packed book on the evolution of urban communities in the United States and Canada. The first is to provide a framework for understanding patterns of urban growth and change from the mid-eighteenth century to the present. The second is to identify ways in which

cultural and political differences between the two nations have been manifested in their cities. The third is to argue that the late twentieth century marks the effective end of three centuries of North American city-making, requiring us to rethink forms and goals of governance for a new era of limited growth and modest expectations.

Lemon is a distinguished historical geographer from the University of Toronto. He builds his historical framework with a keen eye for the social and economic structuring of space. He presents that framework through four city profiles—Philadelphia in 1760, New York in 1860, Chicago in 1910, and Los Angeles in 1950. Each represents the urban manifestation of one of the long waves of economic growth and technological change that have marked the world of Atlantic capitalism. The implied stages fit the transportation technology periodization that John Borchert offered in 1972 that still structures the common understanding of urban development.

Each profile moves through the same subsections. First comes a description of the spatial organization of the continental economy and the specific roles played by the featured city. Next come discussions of class structure, governmental institutions, and the range of social and physical services necessary to keep the city functioning. The concluding topics offer loving and fascinating detail about the spatial organization of the city: the character of its land development industry, the emergence of commercial and industrial districts, the spread of residential areas and their patterning by race and class. The portraits are clearly outlined and painlessly packed with data that reflect Lemon's mastery of the secondary literature.

These are pictures of "great cities," as the book's subtitle indicates. Colonial Philadelphia was much like colonial New York and Boston in size and function, but twentieth-century Chicago and Los Angeles are fascinating because they were *not* like most other cities. The book would function well in advanced urban history classes, but instructors will want to make it clear that all the world was not New York.

In pursuit of his second goal, Lemon offers a theoretical chapter on the persistent forces that have shaped North American cities: space, people, business organization, technologies, government, and culture. The latter two factors allow him to point up differences between the United States and Canada. A chapter on Toronto in 1975 as a contrast to Los Angeles serves the same function. Toronto represents the other road, the city that American urbanists love to cite when arguing for more compact growth or regional governance. At its best, Lemon suggests, Toronto shows some possibilities for incremental amelioration of the excesses of liberal individualism.

Lemon's third goal is to use history to draw lessons for the future. The nexus of free enterprise and economic expansion, he argues, has run its course. The passion for individual success and continuous growth that fueled the American urban enterprise has now

reached "nature's limits." The twentieth century overcame the problems of a closed frontier with organizational innovation, but such institutional changes only postponed the inevitable. Lemon now sees a continental economy that has been unraveling since the 1970s with the changing international division of labor, the collapse of manufacturing, endemic financial instability, and high unemployment. Nature's limits are both the exhaustion of cheap natural resources, a variation on the "limits to growth" thesis, and the unavoidable friction of distance. The latter, he believes, is too powerful to be overcome by the ephemera of electronic interaction.

The solution that he offers is hardly new, but it is passionately argued: sustainable production for a steady state economy guided and distributed by governments devoted to the principles of social democracy.

Lemon's pessimism is understandable. He is writing at the end of a two-decade downturn in the long-wave economy, in a nation hit especially hard by global restructuring. His analysis would be more persuasive, however, if it were supported by fuller discussion of the limits that the natural environment places on particular cities and on the urbanized economy. Lemon also depends on readers who share his belief that few of the products of the information economy are "real" contributors to individual well-being.

This is a valuable book. Its repeated comparison of U.S. and Canadian patterns is a strong corrective to the American narrative of urbanization. Its chapter on "Urban Influences" updates standard models of social ecology by adding culture and ideology to the variables of population, environment, organization, and technology. And its strong and concise profiles are among the best introductions to the changing social and spatial structure of North American cities.

CARL ABBOTT  
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WALTER A. McDougall. *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1997. Pp. xiii, 286. \$26.00.

With this slim but shrewdly provocative volume, Walter A. McDougall thrusts himself headlong into contemporary debates about the appropriate course for United States foreign policy in the uncertain waters of the post-Cold War world. Seeking both to historicize and to influence those debates, McDougall offers a critical overview of eight distinctive, and occasionally contradictory, foreign policy doctrines that he believes have shaped American diplomacy over the past two centuries. He is quite straightforward about the book's presentist agenda. The "prophetic assignment today," McDougall contends, remains no less daunting than that of the 1940s: namely, "to decide which American traditions we ought to reaffirm and apply to diplomacy

today, and which traditions we would do well to discard as irrelevant or even repugnant" (p. 3).

The Pulitzer Prize-winning author of . . . *the Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age* (1985), among other works, McDougall proves himself an adept, witty, and irreverent guide to two hundred years of American diplomatic history. Deploping the realist-idealist dichotomy that still captivates too many students of American foreign relations, he argues persuasively that the greater tension has been between competing conceptions of what is both moral and realistic (p. 9). In that regard, McDougall wryly observes that American foreign policy has typically mixed impulses that he labels, with a bow to Italian director Sergio Leone, as the good, the bad, and the ugly. Or, to be more precise, the United States has amply exhibited behaviors that at times have been "wise and decent beyond hope," on other occasions "foolish or brutal," but more frequently just self-interested and "realistic" (p. 2).

This book stands, in fact, as a paean to the latter impulse. An unapologetic defender of realpolitik in the fashion of George F. Kennan, Walter Lippmann, and Henry Kissinger, McDougall applauds those doctrines that have advanced the material well-being and physical security of the United States and condemns those that have not. He reserves much of his venom for the twentieth-century doctrines of "Wilsonianism" and what he calls "global meliorism." Each led, in turn—at least in McDougall's interpretive skein—to the most unrealistic and counterproductive of policies, producing national overextension, military interventions in peripheral areas, doomed crusades aimed at altering foreign societies, and various misguided, if well-intentioned, efforts at humanitarian assistance and uplift.

The book neatly divides into three parts: an exposition of the four principal "Old Testament" doctrines of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; an examination of the four "New Testament" doctrines of the twentieth; and a concluding chapter that makes a strong case for the contemporary relevance of the foregoing. The first section is likely to raise the fewest hackles among specialists, although McDougall displays little patience with some old shibboleths. In a brisk summary of the first hundred years of United States diplomacy, he deftly traces the development of what he praises as "the logical, consistent, and well-proportioned set of traditions that guided early American statecraft" (p. 74). These included a commitment to the safeguarding of liberty at home, a determination to pursue a unilateralist foreign policy that shunned entangling alliances, the development of a vital interest in preserving a Western Hemisphere free from European intervention, and an irresistible drive to expand the nation's territorial boundaries. Those traditions, according to McDougall, not only complemented and reinforced each other but well served the national interest.

His treatment of the past hundred years proves far less positive—and considerably more iconoclastic. Mc-

Dougall decries the metamorphosis, after 1898, of the "promised land" into a "crusader state." The former contributed to the world through the force of its example; the latter, frequently animated by a militant righteousness, sought to change that world less by example and more by power. McDougall finds serious fault with three of the four new traditions of this era, directing fire at turn-of-the-century "progressive imperialism" as well as at the liberal internationalism associated with Woodrow Wilson and the inclination, so pronounced during the Cold War, to transplant American institutions to foreign soil ("global meliorism"). Only "containment," among the post-1898 diplomatic doctrines, wins McDougall's favor; its emphasis on preserving a favorable balance of power in the Eurasian heartland serves for him as the very quintessence of a realistic strategy, one rooted in a clear-headed assessment of genuine national interests. The other three doctrines represent, according to this perspective, wildly unrealistic efforts to remake the world in America's image.

There is much to admire about this engaging book, even if its boldness and sweep invite quibbles. The doctrines that drive the narrative are too often disembodied from the interests, and interest groups, that brought them forth. Material interests are given especially short shrift, and McDougall's savage depiction of Wilson borders on caricature. The author's haste to condemn the presumed fuzzy-mindedness of certain policies, furthermore—development assistance, foreign aid, the promotion of democracy and human rights, among others—leads him to minimize the extent to which those policies often served as the handmaiden of eminently "realistic" objectives. His consigning of the Marshall Plan and America's push for German and Japanese democratization after World War II to the category of idealistic, meliorist ventures certainly oversimplifies. Those initiatives, after all, formed part of a broader vision about the type of international environment most conducive to the geopolitical and material well-being of the United States. Was that not a brand of realism? Tony Smith's *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (1994) offers a fascinating counterpoint on this and other crucial points in McDougall's analysis.

But interpretive disagreements aside, McDougall can only be commended for a study that crackles with wit, insight, and fresh ideas. This challenging book should serve as an excellent vehicle for discussion in many an undergraduate and graduate classroom. And one can only hope that a work of such intelligence will inform public debates about America's role in the world.

ROBERT J. McMAHON  
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JACKSON LEARS. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books. 1994. Pp. xiv, 492. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$18.00.

This book by Jackson Lears argues that, over the past 200 years, advertisements "have acquired a powerful iconic significance" and have thus transcended most of the obvious categories into which analysts might place them. More than "static symbols," they have become "fables of abundance," perhaps "the most dynamic and sensuous representations of cultural values in the world" (p. 2). The work intends to be a chronicle, evaluation, and critique, while retaining a definable political edge. "This is the story of how advertising collaborated with other institutions in promoting what became the dominant aspirations, anxieties, even notions of personal identity, in the modern United States" (p. 2).

Expectations are thus high, for an interdisciplinary work covering this subject would belong on the shelf of any serious analyst of American culture. To bring into a coherent form not only the business data but also the rhetorical strategies, the relationships between "high" and "low" culture, the roles of film and fiction, of political propaganda, and of foreign as well as domestic consumers: here surely is a project of merit.

The result will be a disappointment to all but the most indulgent social analysts: four fragments in search of a coherent overview. The introduction criticizes past scholars for being too Protestant in their implicit values (Thorstein Veblen? John Kenneth Galbraith?), makes the obligatory references to Karl Marx and the Frankfurt School, and comes down hard for Georges Bataille, Jean Baudrillard, and their rather odd companion in this context, Hannah Arendt. Such a list hardly prepares the reader for a text where the deepest influences seem to be Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner, and Mikhail Bakhtin. The total effect is one of conceptual muddle, with too many thinkers voicing contradictory ideas; the author himself disappears in the babble of tongues.

The rest of the book consists of three much longer, ill-matched parts. The first is a leisurely journey through the words and images that the idea of America excited, especially that of a Land of Cockaigne, where eating, sexual activity, and role reversals stimulated the imaginations of those who might feel deprived. But quotation after quotation portrays not so much the history of advertising as an academic's understanding of the uses of propaganda. Such a treatment reinterprets fables but says little about how early citizens created abundance day by day.

The second section, easily the best, focuses on advertising practice for about a century of American history, ending roughly with the 1930s. Here Lears has at his disposal the archives of the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian, especially the Warsaw Collection of Business Americana and the N. W. Ayer Collection. Much of this material is new, and many readers of this journal will enjoy dipping into his examples of how American enterprise found its public voice and how the advertising industry provided many bases for the study of what today we would call mass communication.

Ever conscious of Sigmund Freud, subsequent Neo-Freudians, and those who currently stress gender roles, Lears is at pains as well to explore the upper-middle-class, white, male nature of the industry and the effect of this skewed sample on business practice; he neglects to examine at any length the consumers' responses, however, regardless of class or gender. The entire discussion has an eerily familiar undertone, as if Christopher Lasch had passed his baton to a successor. Sexuality, economics, and family values come along in ways that many historians will recognize, not always happily, as basic elements of the American national heritage. Unfortunately, the scope of the archives apparently prevents Lears from writing contemporary history, so the story seems oddly anachronistic, his 1990s tone describing dated activities and never dealing with more recent and perhaps more important issues, such as the ubiquity of television and its impact.

Part three should have been cut. Historians deserve commendation for reading widely in imaginative literature and assimilating works of visual art, but they should proceed with extreme caution in laying their methods and conclusions before the profession. A superficial reading of a handful of tendentious critics has given Lears the idea that modernist artists were tied by umbilical cords of gold (p. 301) to the forces of modernization in capitalism; his whole discussion—Ezra Pound is the artist he mentions next, of all ludicrous examples of an artist seeking wealth!—is so ill-informed about actual artistic behavior as to be comical. A semester spent in the Beinecke Library would supply Lears with bundles of letters that recreate a world of poverty, selflessness, and devotion to nonmaterial ideals among individuals more acutely critical of capitalism than he is. In its stead, we get jargon: "Yet along with exalting technique, a formalist aesthetic also undermined referentiality, and this was problematic for agency executives!" (p. 301). I will always cherish the notion of ad agency flacks fretting about formalism in, say, the works of Pound, James Joyce, or Gertrude Stein.

As for the other half of this supposed relationship, the section diffuses into incoherence and irrelevance. Let two sentences stand lonely and unrhethorized: "The poet Rainer Maria Rilke thought about things a lot. There were times when he fell into the Jamesian and Whartonian opposition between Europe, the home of memorable artifacts, and America, the home of forgettable commodities" (p. 398).

For those seeking better books to open up this promising field, see William Leach's *Land of Desire* (1993), Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream* (1985), and Kathleen Hall Jamieson's *Packaging the Presidency* (1984).

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JOHN LANKFORD. *American Astronomy: Community, Careers, and Power, 1859–1940*. Assisted by RICKY L.

SLAVINGS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 447. \$65.00.

John Lankford has undertaken a quantitative analysis of the American astronomical community from 1859 to 1940, a time when, he observes, "American astronomy had attained first class status" (p.1). This claim might puzzle historians of science familiar with the international role played by the Yerkes, Lick, and Mount Wilson observatories in the decades before World War II, not to mention the discoveries of such luminaries as Harlow Shapley, Edwin Hubble, Walter Sidney Adams, Heber Curtis, Vesto Melvin Slipher, and Henry Norris Russell.

More sociological than historical, Lankford's monograph is eerily reminiscent of the early days of cliometrics, when those entranced by the new computer technology tallied numbers with a passion in their search for the scholarly equivalent of the philosopher's stone. Lankford's aim is to reconstruct the lives and careers of three cohorts of astronomers (some 1200 in all) by time period: those who entered astronomy in 1859 or before, those whose careers began between 1860 and 1899, and those who found their calling between 1900 and 1940. This trilogy is in turn subdivided into three more categories: the elite, the rank and file (read also-rans), and women (who never had a fighting chance). Lankford sets out to quantify everything possible relating to his subjects' professional lives, including socioeconomic background, education, place of residence and work, research grants, longevity in the field, professional memberships, and honors (and, one is inclined to add, a partridge in a pear tree). The one thing intentionally omitted is "the production of knowledge" (p.11), which, logic would seem to dictate, has a very great deal to do with one's ultimate place in the pecking order. It is like writing a life of Galileo or Isaac Newton without including their work in astronomy or physics.

Absent the major discoveries, what is left? Well, to quote Lankford, "This book contains no grand theory or powerful interpretative thesis . . . A grand theory would destroy myriad subtle connections between various components of the American astronomical community and wash out highly nuanced but extremely significant interactions between the community and American culture and society (p. xviii). The truth of the matter is that this work tells us little that we do not already know from the study of other elites or, for that matter, from the application of old-fashioned common sense. The better educated got the better jobs; the professional longevity of elites far exceeded that of women, whose careers were blighted by a lack of opportunity; most research money awarded by private foundations flowed into California, where the world's largest telescopes were revolutionizing humanity's vision of the cosmos; friends nominated friends for membership in professional societies; and so forth. I give Lankford credit for dotting some i's and crossing some t's, but the historical text is scarcely altered. Nor



do the long and often tedious discussions of the conflict between the old astronomy and the new (astrophysics) bring anything original to the table, whereas other scholars have previously analyzed gender and its impact.

Somewhat puzzling are Lankford's top-heavy reliance on certain archives and his under-utilization of others. The Mary Lea Shane Archives of the Lick Observatory tell much of the story; a better utilization of the Mount Wilson Observatory Archives at the Huntington Library could have added much more regarding elites, the exercise of power, rivalries, salaries, promotions, publication, visiting scientists (foreigners included), gender discrimination, and honors. Indeed, the prodigious energy expended on the amorphous macrocosm might have been better concentrated on two or three galaxies whose story could have been told with more allure and greater narrative impact.

Few will have the perseverance to read this dense work from cover to cover. Its most likely use will be as a reference book for scholars interested in specific questions relating to career and culture. Thus, a first-rate index is essential. How this one made it past the publisher is a major mystery. In ten minutes of random searching, I found dozens of omissions, which also tends to undermine the reader's confidence in the statistical data, as do errors of the kind found in the very first table (p. 19), where  $32 + 33 + 1$  should total 66, not 6. The astronomer William Wallace Campbell appears frequently (pp. 163, 179, 202–3, 208–13, and 259), but none of the references are indexed. Edwin Hubble (p. 76) has no entry; Donald Menzel (p. 163), Andrew Carnegie, Charles D. Walcott, and George Ellery Hale (p. 210) draw a blank. Page 163 must set some sort of record, for in addition to Campbell and Menzel, Joel Stebbins (also pp. 112–14, 170), Shapley, and Hale are left out. The list seems endless, and the curious scholar will have, literally, no idea what he or she is missing.

GALE E. CHRISTIANSON  
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RICHARD HANDLER and ERIC GABLE. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 260. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

Both useful and provocative, this study subjects America's largest and most celebrated history museum to the sometimes disquieting scrutiny of two professional ethnographers. Richard Handler and Eric Gable use their 1990–1991 field research to argue that the much-vaunted introduction of social history has had little effect on either the metanarratives or what one might call the micronarratives, those that visitors receive from interpreters of Colonial Williamsburg. They attribute this failure, for so they regard it, to the pervasiveness of a corporate culture that places visitor satisfaction above everything else. Although the Wil-

liamsburg Foundation claims that challenging visitors' views and assumptions about the past constitutes its highest educational purpose, it trains "frontline" (p. 171) interpreters to avoid the kinds of hard-edged questions and exchanges with visitors that such a challenge entails.

But the authors' critique goes deeper. The new social history, they argue, emerged from historians' desires to insert the elements of racial and class domination, economic self-interest, and marginality into their narratives. Yet the historians in charge of the didactic program proved unable to dislodge a different, progressive metanarrative that pervades Colonial Williamsburg, in which only the discovery of new "facts," the result of ongoing, unbiased research, changes its historical narratives. This "mimetic" claim has not only obscured the "constructionist" (p. 60) epistemology of the new social history but dulled its radical and contestatory force. Among the numerous examples, the authors cite a story of miscegenation (in their view plausible) related by black guides outside the Wythe House but dismissed by white interpreters inside as undocumented.

Handler and Gable examine the museum's treatment of race and slavery sensitively and astutely, as they do the themes Williamsburg has embraced since its founding in the 1930s, the training of interpreters, and employees' attitudes toward their work. The book also includes a long chapter on the corporate culture of Colonial Williamsburg and a short one on a job action by hotel and restaurant workers in the winter of 1991; despite their undoubted interest, these are perhaps its weakest sections. Readers will hardly be surprised to learn that the implementation of "quality teams" (p. 146) did not empower employees to challenge management priorities, or that a marketing executive made no independent effort to verify the authenticity of the product he was marketing. It also seems somewhat excessive to claim that historians occupying management positions, in failing to support hotel workers' claims, were ignoring the lessons of the new social history. Despite its origins on the left, social history has never been monolithic, and it would be an extraordinary discourse indeed if it proved impervious to all external appropriation.

At times, Handler and Gable express frustration at the limits of their research. Managers refuse to buck the corporate line that education is primary at Colonial Williamsburg and that business operations are entirely in its service. Frontline interpreters balk at admitting that their cordiality, far from being spontaneous, was produced according to management guidelines. The "ethnographic evidence" (p. 227) alone cannot refute assertions by Williamsburg staff that their friendly, non-confrontational version of the past simply responds to what most visitors want. Here as elsewhere, the authors depend more heavily on cultural theory, especially on critical museum studies, than their introduction suggests: the observation that a museum "does more than simply respond to a public"

but also creates it (p. 228) is hardly a new one. A more thorough engagement with this theoretical apparatus would have sharpened the book's analysis. Handler and Gable several times dismiss accusations from within Colonial Williamsburg that their argument amounts to a conspiracy theory in which corporate interests coopt educational goals, but not until the conclusion do they offer an alternative definition of cultural hegemony, and then in only the narrowest terms.

How far can one generalize from Colonial Williamsburg? True, all museums today compete for market share with both similar and dissimilar institutions, notably theme parks, and to do so they often place a misleading emphasis on their possession of the "really real" (p. 222), thus naturalizing their discursive and exhibitionary practices. But most historical museums do not operate on the scale of Colonial Williamsburg, do not run their own hotels and resorts, and do not compete directly with a theme park on their very doorstep. Conversely, many history museums, especially those in urban areas, do have diverse and specific constituencies who constitute a public in terms that go beyond tourism or consumption. It would be illuminating to compare Colonial Williamsburg not only with such museums, many of which have successfully introduced innovative presentations, but also with the way critical historical narratives operate in film, television, and indeed the classroom. Critical ethnography has its uses, but it is unlikely entirely to supplant historical and contextual approaches to museum studies.

DANIEL J. SHERMAN  
Rice University

CHRISTOPHER VECSEY. *On the Padres' Trail*. (American Indian Catholics, number 1.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 440. \$50.00.

Catholicism and the history of the indigenous peoples of the southwestern United States are inextricably linked. Catholic missionaries constituted the advance agents of the Spanish empire in the vast northern reaches of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The missions established during the colonial period, despite often vigorous resistance by the Indians, transformed the native peoples in profound ways. Nevertheless, many indigenous groups were able to maintain non-Catholic elements within their religious practice. Christopher Vecsey, in what promises to be the first of three volumes on Indian Catholics within the United States, tackles the issue of the perseverance of Catholicism and the variety of its expression among the Indians of the Southwest from the colonial period to the present.

The book is divided into four sections. The first three sections deal with different regional groupings and their reaction to Catholicism: first the Yaqui and O'odham (Papago) of the Sonora desert, second the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, and third the Indians of southern California. The fourth section is

dedicated to the dispute over the effects of the mission system in California and how this has influenced the drive to canonize Junipero Serra, the controversial eighteenth-century Franciscan missionary. In the first three sections, Vecsey summarizes the history of each mission system during the colonial period and the nineteenth century based on published materials. For each group, however, his main effort, based on primary written sources and interviews of clerics and laymen, is to understand the manifestations of indigenous religiosity over the past century.

The results are quite intriguing. Vecsey shows that the mission experience by no means created a uniform religious orthodoxy among indigenous peoples. Each people absorbed Catholicism but integrated it into the indigenous cultural complex in different ways. To summarize briefly, the Sonoran peoples created a syncretic religion that is only partially Christian. The incomplete absorption of Catholicism in the initial missionary period and the long absence of effective clerical presence in the Sonoran communities during the nineteenth century made possible the evolution of unorthodox practices and a core belief structure that is more aboriginal than European. In the case of the Pueblos, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 ended attempts of the Franciscans to abolish indigenous forms of religiosity even after the reconquest of the region. Instead, the friars tolerated parallel religious systems, one Catholic and the other Pueblo, a combination that persists to this day. In southern California, little has remained of aboriginal religious expressions. The mission system and the subsequent occupation by the United States led to the virtual disappearance of indigenous peoples, except for some remnants in the south. Southern California Indians express their Catholicism in only slightly different ways than the mainstream, such as participating more in funerals than Sunday masses.

Vecsey's study shows beautifully the importance of the history of the Indians for understanding contemporary religious expressions. In particular, his careful research into conditions after the abolition of the mission systems leads to a sophisticated understanding of spiritual expression, or what might be called "mission culture," as a residue of those systems. The book advances our knowledge in this area, for most scholars have not explored systematically the effects of the mission systems on the indigenous peoples after their abolition. One of the most important insights is that "mission culture" varies significantly from ethnic group to ethnic group, forged in the complex interplay among indigenous culture, missionary perseverance, and historical circumstance.

In this sense, the book is stimulating. There are, however, certain problems with the work that attenuate somewhat its value. Vecsey relies very heavily, and relatively uncritically, on the apologetic missionary historians in the historical sections, largely ignoring the new, more ethnohistorical scholarship that has emerged over the last decade or so. In the last section,

the author deals with the new scholarship, but only within the context of disputes on the meaning of the missionary enterprise. Thus, for example, Vecsey does not take into account the fact that high mortality rates and the continual need to bring in fresh recruits to the California missions made conversion difficult. Many Indians died before they could be truly converted. The ethnic diversity that resulted from the recruitment policy also had an effect on patterns of resistance to the friars and absorption of Catholicism. This is not to say that the book is an apologetic work; we hear present-day Indian voices criticizing the mission, and the position of scholars who are not missionaries is presented, to a certain degree, in the last section.

It is also unfortunate that Vecsey does not explicitly compare the three cases. The reader must make his or her own comparisons (as well as measure the validity of the relative merits of the missions for the Indians). The book would have gained in value had the author dedicated a chapter to such comparison. One hopes that Vecsey will do so in future volumes. All in all, this is a valuable effort and an intellectually stimulating work. It constitutes a breakthrough for evaluating the historical significance of missions for the Indians of the southwestern United States and is valuable for scholars interested in understanding the effects of missions on indigenous spirituality elsewhere.

ERICK D. LANGER  
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ALFRED A. CAVE. *The Pequot War*. (Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 219. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$14.95.

When news reached Boston in 1633 that an English captain, John Stone, had been killed by Indians, few Bay colonists called for retaliation. Indeed, some believed that the notorious drunk and troublemaker had met a well-deserved end. Yet just one year later, Massachusetts officials made the avenging of Stone's death the centerpiece of negotiations with Connecticut's Pequot Indians. By 1637, the Pequots' refusal to surrender Stone's killers had sparked New England's first major Anglo-Indian war.

Alfred A. Cave's book is the first detailed narrative of that conflict to appear in nearly a century. The author combines meticulous research with interpretive insights gleaned from recent ethnohistorical scholarship to craft an elegant story that explains why Stone's death became the Puritan *cause célèbre* that incited an unspeakably brutal war. It is a story with no heroes.

The origins of the conflict, Cave argues, stemmed from competition among Pequots, Mohegans, Narragansetts, Niantics, Dutch traders, and English colonists for trade and land in southern Connecticut. The arrival of the Dutch in the Connecticut Valley coincided with the expansion of Pequot hegemony into the area. Foiled in their attempt to arrange an exclusive trading agreement with the Dutch, the Pequots killed a group

of rival Indians—most likely Narragansetts—heading to the Dutch trading post near what is now Hartford. When the Dutch responded by seizing and killing the Pequot sachem, Tatobem, the Pequots retaliated by murdering the captain and crew of a European ship anchored in the lower Connecticut River. The captain was not a Dutchman, however, but the Englishman John Stone.

From this point, the crisis accelerated as the Pequots sought English allies to help them fight off Dutch and Narragansett enemies. But Pequot desires to defend their territorial and commercial interests in the Connecticut Valley ran counter to an English intent to expand into the very same region. When the English set too high a price for an alliance—including payment of an exorbitant tribute, acknowledgement of English dominion, and, now that it seemed advantageous to do so, the surrender of Stone's killers—the beleaguered Pequots girded for war.

Cave's analysis offers definitive proof that Pequot aggression was not the root cause of the conflict. The Pequots were in fact weakened by trade competition, defection of allies (including the Mohegans, who cast their lot with the English), and the first outbreaks of epidemic disease in the New England interior. But unlike Francis Jennings, the first to dispute the colonists' insistence that they fought defensively, Cave rejects Puritan greed for land and trade as the primary cause of the war. Instead, he argues that ideology, specifically a Puritan predilection to view Indians as the Devil's servants deserving of destruction, set the stage for conflict. Puritan religious views encouraged "misreadings of the meaning of events, misreadings that . . . tragically cast the Pequots in an unwarranted role of aggressor" (p. 11). Cave's attempt to balance his account of Pequot motives and behavior with an equally sensitive exploration of Puritan ideas does not, however, absolve the English of blame for atrocities committed in the name of God. In describing the colonists' infamous attack on Fort Mystic—an orgy of shooting and burning that left hundreds of Pequot men, women, and children dead—Cave can only conclude that it was nothing short of "an act of terrorism" (p. 151).

Although Puritanism undoubtedly shaped contemporary interpretations of the war's meaning, Cave's insistence on its causative role partakes of the teleological reasoning embedded in providentialist thinking. The writers of the providentialist histories, from which Cave derives his evidence, generally argued from effects (victory) back to causes (Indian diabolism) in order to justify English behavior. The fact that Puritans managed to trade and otherwise interact peacefully with Indians before the war—and would do so again after 1637—suggests a more ambivalent stance. Similarly, since Anglo-Indian relations in early Virginia often resembled New England's experience, attitudes and behaviors that Cave identifies as "Puritan" may in fact have been more broadly "English" in origin.

These caveats, however, do not diminish Cave's achievement. He has produced an admirably brief, clearly written case study of one of early New England's defining events. It deserves a wide readership, both among specialists and in the classroom.

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JOSEPH R. FISCHER. *A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign Against the Iroquois, July-September 1779*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. x, 265. \$29.95.

Joseph R. Fischer fills a gap in the military history of the American Revolution with this tight and clear book. Until now, no military historian has examined the Continental Army's major campaign of 1779. Fischer organizes the book around key issues of both traditional military history (strategy and operations, tactics, logistics, leadership) and new military history (civil-military relations). Each of these is treated to its own chapter. This is not a chronological narrative: it is rather a collection of focused essays on various aspects of the campaign.

For Fischer, John Sullivan's campaign proved that the Continental Army was a professional fighting force increasing in sophistication and skill in all areas, with the possible exception of logistics (the army never worked out the problem of supplies and had to rely on raiding and foraging to meet its basic needs as the campaign progressed). Despite Sullivan's success in most of these areas, the campaign failed to accomplish its major object. It did not pacify the Indian enemy. Aptly, it was a "well-executed failure."

Fischer demonstrates the importance attached to the campaign in its day by emphasizing George Washington's deep and accomplished involvement. Washington's aim was to detach the Iroquois from the British, or at the very least to put an end to raids that threatened to demoralize civilians in the agricultural regions of New York and Pennsylvania. Washington's army depended on those regions for its sustenance, so the raid was central to his strategy in 1779. Washington devoted the army to, in his words, "the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible" (p. 41).

Curiously, despite an interesting discussion of ethics that reveals that some soldiers in the army had scruples about destroying food supplies on which, they knew, women and children depended, Fischer does not comment on Washington's later orders that women and children were to be seized for ransom. Nor does he inform us of what was to happen, indeed what did happen, to male Indian prisoners of fighting age. The army took two prisoners at the battle of Newtown, but we learn nothing of what happened to them. Of women prisoners, we learn of one old woman allowed to live and to remain in a hut near her destroyed village and

of another shot dead. Officers regretted that shooting, but nowhere is it reported that anyone was punished for it. When Indians offer no quarter, it is in the book (p. 183).

The book is told largely from the point of view of officers in the Continental Army. We do not gain much of a sense of the ordinary soldiers, of the spies whom Fischer credits with contributing so much to the American strategy, or of the scouts so important to tactics. There is little on the experience of battle. Women get one page (p. 63). The chapter on civil-military relations is confined to an excellent discussion of Sullivan's relations with state governments, particularly Pennsylvania. One would like to know more about the people in the farmlands through which the army passed. But Fischer does convey other matters often neglected in our histories, most notably the enormous complexity of simply moving an army of six thousand men. On this issue, he brings us right down to the level of worrying about fodder for the pack animals.

Fischer makes no claim to write Indian history. He clearly understands Iroquois divisions in 1779, but he does not pay much attention to them. He does not keep us abreast of the actual tribal affiliations of the villages Sullivan demolished or the opponents he scattered. Nonetheless, his book has lessons for Indian historians. Fischer supports the thesis that the invasion not only failed to break the will of enemy warriors but cast them more deeply into the British camp. He criticizes British officers who disregarded Indian intelligence that clearly and accurately predicted the invasion and who instead credited the reports of Benedict Arnold, whose information was flawed.

This book is best read in conjunction with Barbara Graymont's *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (1972), which devotes its eighth chapter to the expedition's destructiveness and scattered atrocities. But even alone, Fischer's treatment of the campaign against Indians as an event of high strategic importance sheds new light on the Revolutionary War.

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W. JEFFREY BOLSTER. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 310. \$27.00.

Apart from the fleeting autobiographical accounts of individual slaves and free blacks who worked on vessels in the Atlantic world, studies of African-American seafaring activities have previously centered almost exclusively on the human cargoes in the Middle Passage. W. Jeffrey Bolster charts new ground by examining in detail the role and experiences of African-American seamen in a crucial phase of American history. To support his main argument that "the rise and fall of African American seafaring in the age of sail was central to the creation of black America" (p. 6), Bolster skillfully teases out from numerous primary sources material on African-American mariners in



Africa and the diaspora. Despite the speculative nature of his argument linking African spiritual associations with water to the ultimate growth of seafaring free black communities, Bolster rightly assigns seafaring a central role in enhanced economic opportunities for slaves and free blacks.

African-American seamen performed various tasks on the ships that plied the sealanes of the Atlantic World. Although most served as cooks, officers' servants, and musicians, a smaller but important number operated in highly specialized roles as pilots and captains. Because of their relatively high wages, these individuals purchased material goods that often made them the envy of their land-based counterparts.

The ordered hierarchical nature of shipboard society, where race was usually less important than class or rank, benefited African-American seamen. Undoubtedly, a gap still existed between black and white sailors. Yet although white seamen operated on the fringes of white society, African-American seamen's access to privileges unavailable to most slaves placed them in a superordinate position within the African-American community.

The maritime experience and culture contributed significantly to African-American seamen's access to freedom for themselves or significant others. Spared the constant blowing of the conch shells that summoned their plantation counterparts to work, some enslaved mariners won important concessions from white supervisors and coworkers, including freedom of movement and independent income from petty trading. They also actively transmitted news and exposed the various possibilities for freedom, especially during the Age of Revolutions. The exploits of well-known figures such as Captain Paul Cuffee and Olaudah Equiano are beautifully blended with those of less-familiar individuals such as Thyas, Money Vose, Conner, and John Jea to create a "dynamic graphic of black seafaring" (p. 21) that had an impact beyond black America. In the immediate wake of the Haitian Revolution, however, the mobility of African-American seamen suffered. Fearful that these seamen would infect the minds of otherwise "loyal" slaves, several southern states adopted measures aimed at keeping a close watch over them while their vessels were in port.

Maritime activity, therefore, contributed immensely to the creation of a vibrant African-American community in the pre-Civil War era, when free black leadership flourished throughout the North. As active purveyors of news and information from other states and countries, African-American seamen were able to "integrate local communities into the larger community of color" (p. 36). Land shortage in the North made seafaring perhaps the surest avenue through which free African Americans could make a decent living. Building on opportunities that the sea and other ancillary avenues provided for economic enhancement, African-American seamen emerged in major leadership positions in various fraternal societies and other benevolent organizations that were a hallmark of

thriving northern free black communities. Ironically, African-American mariners' economic dependence on the sea left them perilously exposed to the consequences of shrinking employment prospects when seafaring experienced significant changes by the middle of the nineteenth century. Some, however, managed to survive the technological innovations. Hugh Mulzac's *A Star to Steer By*, the autobiography of a black Caribbean seaman, reminds us powerfully of the possibilities available to African-American seamen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Bolster's important book provides a fascinating glimpse of the experiences of African-American seamen. His interesting and detailed description of the plight of the thousands of captured black sailors held at Dartmoor Prison during the War of 1812 recalls the dangers that often accompanied these individuals, for whom no eighteenth or nineteenth-century society had a clearly defined legal position. Rather than being simply maritime history, this is social history at its most eloquent. It is to Bolster's credit that, by successfully mining many traditional sources, he has helped us understand the multifaceted nature of the African-American community.

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JOSEPH J. ELLIS. *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1997. Pp. xiv, 365. \$26.00.

It is a rare sphinx who spends thousands of hours of a long life in sociable conversation and leaves behind more than 18,000 items in his personal papers. "The American Palimpsest" would be more apt, for many are the times that the Jefferson text has been effaced to make room for yet another. Thomas Jefferson appears as a sphinx, I believe, to those who are not fundamentally in sympathy with him. But critics make good biographers, as Joseph J. Ellis has demonstrated in this book.

"My goal is to catch Jefferson at propitious moments in his life, to zoom in on his thoughts and actions during those extended moments," Ellis explains in his preface. Thus his lens has focused on Philadelphia in 1775–1776, Paris in 1784–1797, Monticello in 1794–1797, Washington in 1801–1804, and back again to Monticello for the last ten years of Jefferson's life.

The book's subtitle indicates the area where Ellis makes an original contribution, for otherwise he has trod the paths already worn well by the legions of previous biographers. It is also here where his lack of sympathy is most evident. Ellis's interpretations of the complexities of Jefferson's personality and the tensions evident in his public life are not flattering. Intellectually he sees Jefferson dwelling in a world of visionary imaginings in which the problems that bothered his contemporaries did not exist. Not exactly devious, Jefferson hid from himself his darker passions and denied censurable actions when they were ex-

posed. Ellis's Jefferson was incapable of the immediacy of feeling that would have permitted him to have an affair with one of his slaves, and he taught those around him to screen him from every day events that were distasteful, distressing, or cruel.

The familiar story of the writing of the Declaration of Independence offers a good example of Ellis's approach. Pressed by detractors, rivals, and fans to explain his inspiration for the Declaration, Jefferson summed it up as "neither aiming at originality of principles or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing." This would seem a straightforward enough explanation, but Ellis characterizes it as "an ingeniously double-edged explanation, for it simultaneously disavows any claims to originality and yet insists that he depended upon no specific texts or sources." The image this remark "conjures up," Ellis goes on to amplify, "is that of a medium, sitting alone at the writing desk and making himself into an instrument for the accumulated wisdom and 'harmonizing sentiment' of the ages" (p. 54).

Ellis also objects to Jefferson's famous rhetorical flourishes such as his metaphor about the tree of liberty needing refreshing from "the blood of patriots and tyrants" or the letter to William Short in which he said, concerning the early years of the French Revolution, "I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam and an Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it is now." Conor Cruise O'Brien found it difficult to resist the conclusion that Jefferson's favorite twentieth-century political leader would have been Pol Pot (*The Long Affair* [1996]). For Ellis, such words "conjure up comparisons to Lenin or Mao" (p. 127). Surely these men earned their reputations for actions not words.

Ellis's take on Jefferson's politics draws on the republican revision and an older American skepticism about idealism. "Jefferson's political vision was more radical than liberal, driven as it was by a youthful romanticism unwilling to negotiate its high standards with an imperfect world" (p. 59). Ellis elaborates on this trope by adding that Jefferson was "always an idealist with greater talent at envisioning what ought to be than skill at leading others towards the future he imagined" (pp. 68–69). Further, his first inaugural made "a backward-looking statement about the 'spirit of '76,'" his abiding preference being for ancient simplicity and "pristine Republicanism" (p. 171).

Telling against this judgment are Jefferson's words and his actions. Repeatedly he explained that his opponents had looked "backwards not forwards, for improvement." They favored education, he said, "but it was to be the education of our ancestors," noting ruefully that President John Adams believed that "we were never to expect to go beyond them in real science." "We can no longer say there is nothing new under the sun," Jefferson exulted in a letter to Joseph Priestley, "for this whole chapter in the history of man is new" (Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson* [1904–1905], Vol. 10, p. 146). Al-

though Ellis cites Noble Cunningham's work on Jefferson, he seems not to have taken in the paper trail that demonstrates how effective an administrator Jefferson was. To say, as Ellis does, "that Jefferson's own mind simply did not work at that level of specificity" (p. 186) plays into an old stereotype and ignores Jefferson's detailed reports on commerce as secretary of state, his recommendations for the census, his instructions for the Lewis and Clark expedition, and his revision of the Virginia laws, not to mention the extraordinary attention to detail he gave to and demanded from his cabinet officers.

Concentrating on one interpretive line in a 800-word review makes Ellis's biography appear captious and threatens to rob the book of its undoubted merit. This would be a mistake, for Ellis is almost as good a writer as his subject. His research, if not original, has been freshly done. He brings alive Jefferson in Paris and captures the partisan intensity of the 1790s with a dramatist's skill. On the vexed subject of slavery, Ellis offers insights that move us away from invective.

The lilt of Ellis's prose is well captured in his description of Jefferson's enthusiasm for the West: "The United States was not just integrating the West into the union; the West was actually integrating the older United States into a newer and ever-changing version of America. In spirit, if not in fact, Jefferson was a westerner, captivated by the apparently endless horizon and the exciting unknown that Merriwether Lewis might bring back to nourish the present with news of the future" (p. 213). Like Adams, about whom he has also written, Ellis grudgingly concedes that Jefferson got America right, and I would add, vice versa.

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MARC W. KRUMAN, *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 223. \$39.95.

Almost three decades have passed since Gordon S. Wood published his monumental study of *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (1969). At the time, one might have expected that Wood's book would soon launch a small flotilla of monographs, testing how well his general conclusions about the establishment and evolution of republican government could be replicated or modified in the light of the experience of the individual states. Instead, scholarship took a different course, as historians and their colleagues in cognate disciplines became preoccupied with the debate (now mercifully subsiding) about the respective influence and importance of the republican and liberal strains of American political ideology. A few scholars, notably Willi Paul Adams and Donald S. Lutz, published alternative accounts of the republican origins of American constitutionalism that varied in

certain respects from Wood's work but hardly threatened its hegemonic authority.

After all these many years, now comes Marc W. Kruman, by training a scholar of mid-nineteenth-century American politics, to issue a forthright challenge to Wood. The nature of that challenge can be summarized fairly succinctly. Kruman takes issue with two propositions that he argues are fundamental to Wood's interpretation. First, where Wood holds that the distinctive American idea of a written constitution as supreme, fundamental law emerged only gradually in the decade after 1776, Kruman asserts that this conception was already present at independence. True, it may have been imperfectly executed, insofar as the provincial conventions that drafted the early constitutions could not avoid simultaneously conducting other business, thereby compromising their status as purely constitutional meetings. Yet the aspiration to distinguish constitution-making from merely legislative deliberations testifies, Kruman suggests, to the advanced state of American thinking. Second, where Wood argues that American constitutionalists initially assumed that the principal danger to liberty would arise from the magistracy, Kruman holds that in 1776 they already recognized that the legislative power was equally deserving of scrutiny and constraint. The original American conception of separation of powers was not as asymmetrical as Wood implies, Kruman argues. Moreover, the constitution-makers' insistence on such devices as annual elections, equitable apportionment, and a wider suffrage indicates that they did not regard the American people as one undifferentiated, homogeneous mass of virtuous citizens.

For Kruman, therefore, the principal theoretical developments that reputedly came to a transformative culmination in 1787 are better regarded as extensions of an original understanding that was present at the creation of the American republic in 1776. It was not the experience of self-government under the new republican regimes that first gave the American science of politics its distinctive character, Kruman concludes, but rather the lessons Americans drew from the imperial controversy of the decade preceding independence.

This last causal statement is made only in the conclusion, however, and Kruman does not provide a sustained account of how the pre-Revolutionary debate directly merged into the constitutional deliberations of 1776. There is no effort here to trace how the debates of 1765–1774 laid the groundwork for the constitutional experiments of 1776. Most of the book instead offers a chapter-and-verse summary—at times rather conventional, though well researched and scrupulously illustrated—of the ways in which Americans originally discussed such essential topics as the nature of constitutions and bills of rights, representation, the suffrage, separation of powers, and bicameralism. Kruman succeeds in adducing a fair amount of evidence to demonstrate that the leading edge of American thinking was already quite precocious in 1776, but whether

this material mounts as potent a challenge to Wood as claimed is another matter. Kruman's summary of the object of his criticism seems flawed in two major respects. First, Wood's account of the starting position of American constitutionalism is a much more balanced one than Kruman credits; and indeed, it is hard to read this book without thinking that Kruman strains to overstate the significance of his points and to understate the complexities of Wood's argument. An excessive preoccupation with the republican-liberal conundrum has, I think, made it difficult for many scholars to grasp how hard Wood worked to portray the ways in which backward and forward-looking components of American constitutional thinking coexisted from the outset. Second, and more important, Kruman's emphasis on the advanced state of American constitutionalism in 1776 makes it difficult to understand how and why the reformers of the 1780s came to think that they and their countrymen had not adequately comprehended essential concepts of constitutionalism when they first began drafting written charters of government. With its tight focus on the original moment of constitutional experimentation, this book cannot capture everything that was dynamic about American republicanism from 1776 on—which is one reason why its revisionist challenge is only partly fulfilled.

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LEN TRAVERS. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1997. Pp. x, 278. \$29.95.

Len Travers traces the origins and functions of the quintessential American holiday from the first festivals in 1777 to the Jubilee of Independence in 1826. Applying anthropological analyses of social rituals, he skillfully explicates the rich symbolic content of such activities as processions, banquets, and entertainments. By examining Fourth of July celebrations in Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, he is able to note regional variations and to discuss the interplay between local/regional and national identities and interests. Although some scholars have mistakenly seen localism and nationalism as simply competing, Travers's account shows the two interacting in more complex ways. The Fourth of July could be a means to incorporate local and regional historical experience into a national framework of meaning.

Travers also shows that these rituals were simultaneously ceremonies of inclusion and exclusion. The first celebrations during the Revolution defined a myth of national birth and a common identity transcending local connections. Yet for the War of Independence to succeed, individuals must be compelled to pledge allegiance to Independence and those who continued to espouse loyalty to Britain must be stigmatized. Thus, wartime observances provided occasions to sep-

arate revolutionary sheep from Tory goats. The felt need to identify who belonged and who did not persisted in the early republic. "Ladies" were to serve not as participants in July Fourth observances but as the audience for male performance in militia maneuvers and displays of artisanal skill. The approbation of upper-class and upper-middle-class white women validated the virtuous republican citizenship of white males. Meanwhile, the banishment of African Americans from the annual festival of freedom declared that independence and the country were the possessions of white men only. Yet, Travers shows, despite their exclusion, both white women and African Americans fashioned means of celebrating themselves respectively at the margins of the Fourth and on other holidays of their own making.

Contests of class among white men were even more central to the postrevolutionary celebrations as opposing groups struggled to define and disseminate alternative visions of American nationality. During the latter 1780s, and particularly during the ratification process, Federalists sought to fashion the Fourth as a didactic instrument to school ordinary men in orderly republican nationalism under elite leadership. But by the mid-1790s, the emergence of political parties generated competing Federalist and Republican modes of commemoration that propounded rival versions of America's Revolution and thus its future course. Although these partisan celebrations remained fierce even after the Jeffersonian revolution of 1800, Republican politicians rather easily switched from denouncing George Washington to claiming to be his true heirs. This makes one wonder how much this politicization of patriotic rituals was pragmatic politicking to attract and mobilize voters.

Americans adapted their commemorations to meet changing needs. The generation that fought the War of 1812, the "Second War of Independence," used the victory and the holiday to confer on themselves heroic status for having established the national character before the great powers of Europe. The brief Era of Good Feelings that followed produced Independence Day festivals that asserted a mythic national unity while masking deep sectional contradictions and conflicts. Indeed, as Travers observes, in the first half century of nationhood, Americans of various regions and political stripes often used these celebrations to insist that a fundamental solidarity underlay the differences that in fact divided them.

The single shortcoming in this excellent book is Travers's fuzzy definition of nationalism as "a belief in, and more important, an emotional response to, membership in a parent society" (p. 9). Yet his account corroborates the firmer delineations of this multifarious historical phenomenon that one finds in the large, recent interdisciplinary literature on nationalism, a body of scholarship insufficiently attended to by Americanists. In barebones outline: nationality is a form of social identity, and nationalism is the constellation of beliefs, symbols, and rites that express and

seek to propagate that identity. The originators and proponents of national identity are typically ruling elites who use it to define both their collective identities and their class roles. But because their position and power is often contested by other social groups, the elites' definition of the national identity as disseminated in its formulation of nationalism is often challenged by competing identities and social visions. While some of those rival viewpoints uphold antinationalist local identities, others endorse nationality but espouse alternative versions of it linked to the interests and collective self-images of non-elite groups. Travers depicts exactly this sort of process of elite propagation of national identity and the ensuing contestation and negotiation involving various social groups. He offers a useful case study in the dissemination of nationalism. If historians who import conceptual tools from other disciplines too often seem to let the analytical apparatus overdetermine the evidence, reducing actual people to abstract categories, Travers offers a model of cross-disciplinary borrowing.

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ROSALIND REMER. *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 210.

Modern-day authors who undertake to get a book published soon learn that writing the manuscript and landing a contract are only the very first steps of a long and uncertain process that is largely out of the author's control but highly determinative of the eventual impact of any book. Publishers strategize about how much money to invest up-front in a project—costs associated with editing, design, and production and maybe even an author advance—and then shrewdly calculate the size of the print run, the retail price, and the marketing and promotional effort. Profits from bestsellers underwrite more specialized titles with small sales. Booksellers secure discounts at varying rates and often can avoid risks by returning unsold merchandise within a specified time. Books have become products, sometimes with a short shelf life.

Rosalind Remer's important and richly detailed study focuses on the first generation of Philadelphia printers who thought through these kinds of decisions. Their goal was to impose order and control on a highly speculative and risky venture. Her story unfolds in the forty years between 1790 and 1830, when entrepreneurs by fits and starts separated book publishing from book printing, a move accomplished just on the eve of the arrival of new technologies of mass production (the steam press, stereotype plates, and the railroad).

Remer begins with an overview of the colonial printer's world in Philadelphia, where artisans set type and pulled pages of legal forms, broadsides, newspapers, almanacs, chapbooks, and, less often, actual books. Printing books involved substantial risk: it tied



up a lot of capital in a physical product that often proved hard to sell in the quantities necessary to make a profit. The colonial world of books, as we know from studies such as Edwin Wolf's *Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen, and Booksellers* (1988), largely consisted of imported British books, which Remer says often included overstock that London publishers dumped on the American market (the remaindered books of today).

Change arrived in the 1790s with more diversification among printers. Partisan newspapers flourished in the new federal capital and augmented the typographical professions. Some printers made books by joining together in shareholding agreements to spread financial risks; others opted to print books by subscription sales, not starting the production until a sufficient number of buyers had signed on. Remer tells of one instance in which several journeymen printers undertook to print an eight-volume work, issued in forty-eight successive segments that were each eighty pages long, with the proceeds from prior segments financing subsequent ones.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Remer finds evidence in printer-booksellers' account records of several innovations in wholesaling practices to spread risk and provide variety for consumers. Sometimes printers simply exchanged books with their counterparts in New York and Boston, as a way of getting a greater assortment of titles into their stores. Some began to engage in commission sales, assuming the risk by guaranteeing to take back unsold copies from sellers. Others pushed the risk onto booksellers enticed by steep discounts to purchase and carry the titles. A fascinating chapter on the financial details of the business illuminates the intricate webs of credit and debt relationships publishers and booksellers maintained. Remer can recapitulate publishers' profit-and-loss analyses, where they "cast off" with precision the length and cost of a book and figured the required price and quantity. A long final chapter follows the publishers of the early Republic into the countryside—western Pennsylvania and Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and beyond—where they cultivated new markets for inexpensive books via sales by ministers, peddlers, or through branch stores.

Remer's main sources for this study are the records of a dozen emergent book publishers in Philadelphia. By 1830, she argues, printers and publishers had become distinct entities, the latter hiring the former to print books. Publishers were capitalists now, unlikely to have ever worn a leather apron. Remer has much to say about the actual business practices but rather little about the titles and contents being marketed; her study is one of production, not consumption. Nevertheless, it is a significant addition to our understanding of the "reading revolution" of the early Republic, because it demonstrates with abundant detail how capitalistic

decisions and constraints put books into the hands of readers.

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DALE B. LIGHT. *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War*. (Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 448. \$48.95.

In 1790, Catholics formed a small but integral part of the society of Philadelphia, the largest city and capital of the United States. As late as 1840, they still constituted but a tenth of the city's population. By 1860, the Roman Catholic community in Philadelphia was institutionally the most developed of any Catholic diocese in the nation and had become a church markedly different from what it had been in the early national period. By rich use of archives and printed sources, both in Rome and America, Dale B. Light traces the evolution of this community through a focus on the confrontations between Catholic bishops and dissenters, both lay and clerical, that plagued the community in Philadelphia for well over a half century. Of all the American Catholic communities, none was probably more deeply disrupted by trusteeism or the claim of lay power vis-à-vis hierarchy than that in Philadelphia. Conflicts between trustees and bishops at two Philadelphia parishes continued nearly unabated from 1787 until 1851. Beneath this surface continuity of conflict, Light identifies three distinct periods of community decline and development: a period from 1790 to 1815, in which the traditional community, "based on hierarchy, deference, and paternalism, disintegrated" under various pressures; a subsequent period from 1815 to 1830, in which schism and factionalism fractured the community; and a final period from 1830 to 1860, in which a new, Romanized, stratified church centered a reconstructed community. At the heart of the turmoil, he sees a contest of ideologies and sensibilities between traditionalist and modernist worldviews epitomized by Rome and the "New Republic" of the United States.

The initial dissent stemmed from the attempt of German immigrants, under the influence of liberal republican sentiments, to exercise popular sovereignty in the governance of Holy Trinity parish that they built in 1787. In a republic such as the United States, they reasoned, it was proper for the people to assume the prerogatives of *jus patronatus*, including the naming of pastors, that in Europe the Church had accorded to monarchs or aristocrats. The leaders of the Germans were staunch supporters of the liberal revolutionary movement in France. They were the first Philadelphia Catholics to draw up a "Constitution" for their church, embodying the principle of independent lay authority. By 1799, the Holy Trinity Congregation was claiming the right not only to be governed by one of their own

but also to participate in the election of their bishop. When their appeal to Rome for support predictably failed, the dissidents at Holy Trinity gradually fragmented into liberal and ethnic elements, with the "German party" triumphing by 1815 and making its peace with the hierarchy just as St. Mary's, the church from which Holy Trinity had sprung, was experiencing its own turmoil over authority.

At St. Mary's, Philadelphia's original Catholic parish, two Irish immigrant priests, James and William Harold, exploited class and ethnic antagonisms to disrupt the former Anglo-Irish parish in which the old mercantilist elite deferent to episcopal authority had formerly prevailed. Now the Haroldites, a union of immigrant workers with newly emerged entrepreneurs and professionals, defied church authority above the parochial level. Into this cauldron came another immigrant priest of republican ideals, William Hogan, who soon led the parish in open rebellion against Bishop Henry Conwell, also an emigré Irishman but one whose worldview was "insular, authoritarian, patriarchal" (p. 98). He was the church, he informed his audience when he arrived in Philadelphia in 1820. He saw himself as the guardian against a revolutionary movement that threatened no less than to destroy the church in America. By 1821 the congregation overwhelmingly had supported Hogan against Conwell and were proposing to create in America an independent Catholic church "organized on a liberal, constitutional basis" (p. 128). But appeals to state courts and legislature, as well as to federal authorities and Rome, for support ended in denials and frustrations for the dissidents. Hogan departed into apostasy. Rome finally ordered Conwell to Rome and had the principal clerical dissidents transferred.

Francis Kenrick, Conwell's successor, an Irishman fully formed in and committed to realizing the ultramontane ideals of "Roman universalism, institutional authoritarianism, and intense supernaturalism" (p. 244) quickly broke the power of the trustees at St. Mary's and Holy Trinity and for the next two decades made Philadelphia a model of restoration Catholicism by a centralization of governance and uniformity of discipline and devotion as well as a vast physical expansion of churches and schools, financed by a Catholic elite whose interests by the 1830s "coincided with and reinforced the authoritarian tendencies" of bishops like Kenrick and his successor John Neumann. By 1860, Light concludes, this was "neither the 'republican' church nor the 'immigrant' church nor was it a specifically American church. It was a product of the institutional imperatives emanating from restoration Rome and the class imperatives of industrial society" (p. 333). As the trustees of St. Mary's lamented in 1855, they embodied the paradox that in the leading republic of the world, "the Catholic laity . . . have less religious liberty, and are religiously more oppressed, than in any Catholic country in the world" (Patrick Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* [1987], p. 112).

Light's heavy reliance on Martin Marty's "modern schism" model in explaining the conflict between progressive and traditional cultures is inconsistent. Light invokes it in interpreting the opposition of an emergent middle class to traditional episcopal authority in the 1820s but conveniently ignores it when confronting the support that a more mature Catholic elite gave to the restorationist bishops of the antebellum period. He also distorts nativism as a largely legitimate reaction to Catholic anti-democratic imperialism. But this is a highly thoughtful study of the emergence of what would become one of the most important and influential Catholic communities within the United States.

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PETER McCANDLESS. *Moonlight, Magnolias, and Madness: Insanity in South Carolina from the Colonial Period to the Progressive Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 405. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

"South Carolina," James Louis Petigru was supposed to have said in 1860, "is too small to be a republic and too big to be a lunatic asylum." Mad as it was, in one sense, the state was actually ahead of its times in the late 1820s when it created the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum. Struggling at first to garner patients, the asylum eventually became a rather well-run and functioning institution for the mentally ill in the state by the 1840s and 1850s. In other respects, however, the mad in South Carolina—as elsewhere—had to fend for themselves, or be chained to beds, or suffer all kinds of awful medical care such as excessive bleeding. For no group was this mistreatment more apparent than for the black residents of the state, whether free or enslaved. After the Civil War, the situation rapidly deteriorated, as it did throughout the nation. The asylum became a huge warehouse, and there were few medical or psychiatric advances made for the mentally disturbed population at large. The idealism of moral treatment that Peter McCandless argues worked rather well in South Carolina before the Civil War turned into the dismal and hopeless conditions of the early twentieth century.

In this well-researched and engrossing book, McCandless challenges some of the assumptions of scholars such as Gerald N. Grob, J. David Rothman, and Norman Dain, who have tended to dismiss asylums in the South as backwater institutions. At the same time, McCandless works within the spirit of the impressive "new history of psychiatry" that seeks to avoid what Grob has called the "presentist" perspective of observers as diverse as Irving Goffman, Thomas S. Szasz, and Michel Foucault. McCandless has mastered the general literature on the history of mental illness and has uncovered an astonishing array of sources on the local history of his subject in South Carolina. This book makes large points about a small subject.

The text is organized into four parts, each with

several chapters. A beginning section details the early history of psychiatry in South Carolina, a second the asylum period before the war, a third care for the mentally ill outside of asylums from the 1820s to 1918, and a fourth the sad history of the asylum from the Civil War to 1918.

One of McCandless's better insights is to appreciate the extent to which the asylum in South Carolina "replicated in many respects the patriarchal values of the surrounding society" (p. 95). In practical terms, the permeability of the boundary between asylum and culture profoundly shaped especially the way women and blacks were treated. In terms of the latter group, McCandless tells well the amazing story of the emergence, by the 1850s, in the scientific literature of the diagnostic category of "drapetomania," or the disease that caused slaves to run away. There was also "Dyaethesia Aethiopico," more commonly called "Rascality," which fell principally on the minds of freed blacks and of those slaves whose owners allowed them too much freedom. The victims became mischievous and stupid. So much for psychiatric objectivity. It makes the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM IV)* look positively enlightened.

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DAVID C. HSIUNG. *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. xv, 239. \$32.95.

The recipient of the 1996 Appalachian Studies Award, this book explores the development of upper East Tennessee during the period roughly from the 1780s to the 1880s. David C. Hsiung's intent is to describe how "society developed in the mountains and how such images of Appalachia first arose." He does so by examining the interplay between mountaineers who "lived in relative isolation" and those who "established a host of broader connections extending beyond the immediate locale" (p. xii).

By providing a variety of methodological approaches, Hsiung believes that he can best reveal the complicated issues of self-perceptions and images. Hence, while the work is generally chronological, each of its six chapters also looks at different aspects of Appalachian society, including the impact of the Revolutionary War, the early road system, the economy, population persistence, the coming of railroads, and literature.

The discussion of roads during the late eighteenth century (in chapter two) answers the question whether residents of upper East Tennessee were isolated. Hsiung finds that while the developing road system connected residents in the "immediate locale . . . their ties to neighboring counties and states . . . were far more tenuous" (p. 72).

The most interesting methodological contributions

of the work are found in chapters three and four, which explore internal and external economic connections as well as population persistence. Hsiung does an especially effective job of linking the Washington County merchant records with tax lists to identify where customers lived in relation to where they made their purchases. His findings identify a growing division between residents who lived a relatively short distance from larger communities and those who were both more physically and economically isolated. Hsiung's discussion of population persistence, which is highlighted in six tables and covers the longest span of time in the book, will interest social historians of the nineteenth century. These tables, based on the tax lists of different districts of Washington County from 1790 to 1845, reveal that immigration played a "significant role" in the region's population growth and that there was a substantial turnover of the Appalachian population during ten-year spans (p. 117). Particularly noteworthy is his finding that, although there was a higher rate of persistence of residents in those districts with the greatest land values, mountaineers who may have been the most secluded and lived on the poorest land also may have found in their very isolation a reason to remain fixed.

Chapter five on railroads in the region, the most narrative section of the book, clearly suggests a growing rift between those parts of Appalachia that sought the benefits of outside contact and those that favored isolation. Hsiung demonstrates how the construction of the East Tennessee and Virginia Rail Road was met with substantial enthusiasm and financial support from those residents along its line and largely with indifference from others located just a dozen miles from its tracks.

The book concludes with an interesting discussion of the creation of popular images of Appalachian society, in which Hsiung focuses on the Appalachian stories written by David Hunter Strother and Mary Noailles Murfree. Strother, a writer and artist for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* who traveled extensively throughout upper East Tennessee and northwest North Carolina during the 1850s, provided detailed, first-hand stories of life in this area. By contrast, Hsiung emphasizes, the writings of Murfree were not formed by direct contact with the isolated people of the region but were acquired during annual visits to the affluent mountain resort of Beersheba Springs, Tennessee. Her impressions of the region's isolated residents were largely shaped by conversations with the more cosmopolitan townspeople of the region. Significantly, these townspeople did not realize that the portrait they provided of their more isolated neighbors would in turn be stereotyped as a representation of all the region's residents.

Although Hsiung provides a convincing perspective that two different worlds emerged in Appalachia, what remains unclear is the relative size of each of these worlds and how exceptional the region actually was. During this period, many Americans—not just those

living in Appalachia—experienced the tendency “to extend their connections to other peoples and places,” while some of their neighbors “sought not external connections but land and more intimate ties with a much more narrow range of people” (p. 187). The people of upper East Tennessee and Appalachia as a whole, therefore, may have embodied the most extreme manifestation of this national social dichotomy.

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DAVID L. KIMBROUGH. *Reverend Joseph Tarkington, Methodist Circuit Rider: From Frontier Evangelism to Refined Religion*. Foreword by WILMA DYKEMAN. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 218.

For anyone who wishes to study or simply to read about socioeconomic and religious aspects of the settling of the American Midwest, this brief volume by David L. Kimbrough is a good starting point. Its subject, the Reverend Joseph Tarkington (1800–1891), was a dedicated Methodist circuit rider who traveled throughout Indiana preaching and founding churches during much of the nineteenth century; he witnessed Indiana change from a raw wilderness to a settled state, saw the Methodists change from a sect to a large and influential denomination, and was displeased by many of the inevitable changes.

As the nation settled new territories after the Revolution and moved constantly westward, the frontier was a dangerous place. For those intrepid enough to be pioneers in what would become Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and other states, life was anything but easy. Native Americans constantly attacked them. Food was scarce, often nonexistent. For those who staked out a farm, perhaps miles from the nearest neighbor, exhausting and unrelenting work made life bleak. Death and disease were frequent. Many pioneers were uneducated and sometimes violent. The well-known circuit rider Peter Cartwright reported in 1800 that he knew rural men who in their entire lives had never seen a wagon.

Tarkington, fifteen years younger than Cartwright, also became a Methodist circuit rider after his conversion. Under the direction of Bishop Francis Asbury, American Methodists (along with the Baptists) were among the fastest-growing postrevolutionary churches. Between 1770 and 1820, they achieved a virtual miracle of growth, rising from less than a thousand members to 250,000. By mid-century, American Methodism was almost ten times the size of Congregationalism, America's largest denomination in 1776. Even its enemies testified to the fact that Methodism was infused with a moral earnestness and zeal equaled by no other church, and this had a large impact on the nation. Crucial to this success on the frontier was a dedicated contingent of itinerant circuit riders who “endured extreme hardships, gained little gratitude for their sacrifices, and frequently found an early grave” (p. 17). By 1830, ninety-one percent of the United

States' citizens still lived in places with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. The itinerant ministry that the Methodists provided brought preaching, the sacraments, and church structure to far-flung areas that would not otherwise have been able to afford a pastor.

Tarkington's life, as set forth by Kimbrough, exemplifies the early lay preachers who were, socially and educationally, much the same as the people who made up their audiences. The Great Revival had begun about 1800 in Kentucky and quickly spread to surrounding territories. Camp meetings were a chief method of gathering thousands of people starved for religious and social opportunities, and these remained popular until mid-century, resulting in great numbers of conversions. Tarkington's family had moved to “Indiana Territory” in 1815 (a year before statehood) from Tennessee because of their aversion to slavery. Joseph's conversion was sincere but non-emotional, and soon after he felt a call to preach. He had minimal education, but this was not seen as a deterrent to becoming a preacher. Unlike the college-educated Congregationalist and Presbyterian ministers, the early Methodist circuit riders had a natural social affinity with their listeners. Tarkington, like the others, was moved frequently from one circuit to another, often across the state.

Methodist preachers could not consider early marriage. For years, Tarkington preached and traveled at a grueling pace. Sicknesses came but also many successes. Preachers were motivated by the absolute conviction that revivalism was the Lord's plan to lead a dissolute area out of barbarity and brutal immorality into a civilized condition. Camp meetings, evangelism, and biblical instruction were the key. And it worked; churches thrived, gradually the entire area became respectable, morality improved, and the frontier moved on.

Eventually Tarkington married, and he and his wife raised seven children over a married life of fifty-eight years. His first son, John, was the father of the Pulitzer Prize-winning author Booth Tarkington. But the progressive changes and respectability that inevitably took place in Methodism vexed Joseph Tarkington. Class meetings and love feasts, long associated with the Methodists, disappeared. Grand church structures, pipe organs, comfortable pews, and well-educated preachers gradually replaced the earlier aspects. Abolitionism had long concerned Methodists, and in 1845, the denomination split over the slavery issue. The Civil War called several of Tarkington's sons into the army. He dealt with these and other changes over a long life, which ended at the age of ninety.

This is a biography and therefore is not intended to be a broad history of a denomination or a period, but at times one could wish for greater detail or accuracy regarding antebellum Methodism in the Midwest. For example, the Methodist goal of “perfection,” or freedom from deliberate sin, is never mentioned, despite the great impact of Phoebe Palmer's holiness movement on Methodism between 1835 and 1861. Or, we



are told that "conversion usually preceded the calling" of a circuit rider (p. 12), as if any exhorter would ever be allowed to preach without a definite experience of repentance and salvation that he could endlessly relate in great detail! Despite minor flaws, Kimbrough has been well served by the University of Tennessee Press, which has produced a handsome little book with a minimum number of typos. There are a number of excellent illustrations. Here is a vivid account of the frontier as it gave way to refined civilization.

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WILLIAM J. NOVAK. *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. x, 396. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This book offers a vigorous and effective challenge to two related bodies of literature: one that conceives of the law in the early Republic as a mere instrument in the hands of entrepreneur-favoring jurists and legislators, and another that sees government more generally yielding its residual colonial and medieval regulatory functions to the dictates of the market economy. "Law and the state," William J. Novak insists, "were not simply reflectors or instruments or facilitators of natural evolutions in the market or civil society. They were creative and generative" (p. 236).

In Novak's "well-regulated society," the rights of individuals "were inseparable from social duties, liberty was regulated, and the private and public were inextricably intertwined" (p. x). Antebellum governments were neither anemic nor supportive of individual initiatives that were to be achieved at the expense of the public good. The two most commonly expressed legal maxims capturing this model of governance were *salus populi suprema lex est* (the people's welfare is the supreme law) and *sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas* (use your property, but not to the injury of others). Treatise writers and jurists were therefore fond of the *dictum* of Lord Denman that "no greater evil can be conceived than the encouragement of capitalists and adventurers to interfere with known public rights from motives of private interests" (p. 126). Thus the observation of the Massachusetts Sanitary Commission in 1850: "We are social beings—bound together by indissoluble ties" (p. 196).

Novak brings the state back in through several portals. He reminds us, with rich documentation, of the central role it played in public safety (regulating urban construction and storage practices and tearing down buildings to create firebreaks), public economy (the licensing of merchants, auctioneers, public carriers, tradesmen, and professionals and the regulation of production and marketplaces), public space (the regulation of ports, roadways, and riverways), public morals (liquor and brothels), and public health (offensive trades and quarantines). And he notes other arenas similarly regulated that he does not examine in

this study (including public education, charities, utilities, and the family).

At least until the 1880s, "extensive police regulation" characterized nineteenth-century American society, "not the invisible laws of supply and demand" (p. 86). But thereafter, state and federal law began to supplant local regulation, and the Bill of Rights came to be claimed more vigorously through the Fourteenth Amendment by those whose liberties had been restricted under the well-regulated society (p. 237). Novak refers the reader to a follow-up volume he is currently writing, on "The Creation of the American Liberal State, 1877–1937," for his elaboration on that theme.

Novak's analyses of early nineteenth-century treatise writers, his lists of the details within urban ordinances, and his reviews of appellate cases upholding these regulations constitute the core of his evidence. But he is aware that there is more evidence out there. The cases, he says, "only hint at the full dimensions of safety, property, economy, morals and health regulation in nineteenth-century America" because they are "but the tip of the iceberg in an extensive (and sometimes hidden) legal history of enforcement" (p. 274). He knows that many ordinances were violated and that enforcement was not always aggressively pursued, but he argues that mere evidence of illegality does not refute the significance or vitiate the facts of these regulations. And he insists that, beneath the iceberg's tip, one can find some evidence of summary proceedings and "unrecorded neighborhood coercions" (p. 274).

I find this argument persuasive, but others will want to put Novak's claims to the test. How active and effective were the firewards, fence viewers, haywards, woodwards, surveyors of hemp, lumber and staves, hogreeves, cullers of fish, and assay masters? Surely they were less visible in some communities than in others. When exactly did the market clerks cease to prevent the sale by middlemen ("forestallers") of produce outside urban marketplaces? Novak leaves these questions to others, as well he might. After all, he has done what he set out to do: to put to rest the vision of antebellum American government and law as pliant and weakened creatures of the emerging capitalist economy.

PETER KARSTEN  
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MARY P. RYAN. *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 376. \$27.50.

Mary P. Ryan begins her new book in the present. American cities, she says, present a hostile array of class, racial, and ethnic difference without a common civic life; we take our pleasures in private, we protect ourselves in public, and we do not act like citizens. Ryan searches the histories of New York, New Or-

leans, and San Francisco from the 1820s through the 1870s to ascertain how we got into this trouble. She finds no time at which those cities were homogeneous and peaceful; diversity and conflict, she reminds us, are what urban democracy is about. She does, however, locate a public sphere in which difference was displayed and contested in democratic ways. That public sphere and its disintegration are the subjects of her book.

Ryan grounds her story in urban public space. Like other good democrats, she likes the possibilities of the American city grid. The cities of the early republic did not radiate out from the palace or the department store; instead, they provided a blank sheet on which a diverse public filled in the details of civic life. Antebellum cities were filled with meeting places where labor, religious, ethnic, racial, reform, and other groups built a particularistic and open urban politics. Organized diversity went public in parades that were grand, inclusive demonstrations of ceremonial citizenship. Rioting retained its scruffy, democratic legitimacy, and antebellum citizens agreed that it was unfair to call in the militia or the police. Finally, city services—the provision of schools, street repairs, fire protection—operated through improvised public-private combinations driven by a concept of the public good that was not only compatible with heterogeneity but dependent on it.

In the years 1850–1865, urban politics became more dangerous and more race-based. While old ethnic and religious conflicts grew more violent, and while laboring whites attacked blacks as well as each other, the Protestant business classes called for police protection and, ultimately, the overthrow of the old civic culture. Nativists (invariably led by Protestant businessmen) rejected parades, ward meetings, public rallies, and open-air riots in favor of the secret meeting and the midnight murder (as in San Francisco) or of “cleaning up” immigrant politics by stuffing ballot boxes and beating up opposition voters (as in New Orleans.) The old inclusiveness put up a stiffer fight in New York, but things there moved in the same direction. The draft rioters of 1863, Ryan points out, attacked police, militiamen, government officials, and well-dressed gentlemen as joyously as they attacked blacks, tying attempts to promote black freedom and black citizenship to forms of white wealth and state power that were killing an old civic life.

When the smoke cleared, the seaports had no room for civic life. The downtowns became centers of business, the outlying streets became exclusively residential, and the old meeting places disappeared. Public parks—the one possible exception—were built for family picnics and solitary contemplation; they often explicitly banned public meetings. The streets were defined (with increasing accuracy) either as avenues for travel between home and work or as the territory of dangerous misfits. At the same time, the old multicentered politics of ethnicity and class degenerated into sharply defined dualisms. New York’s politics re-

mained ethnic (blacks had been chased from public life and often from the city itself), but Manhattan replaced the antebellum kaleidoscope with a politics of Anglo-Saxons versus low immigrants. In New Orleans and San Francisco, both political parties practiced a racist politics of whites versus blacks or Asians, while white reformers called for businesslike bureaucracy. This reformulation pitted “taxpayers” (a code for new forms of class exclusion) against corruption and waste; the urban public became a taxpaying audience. When Ryan leaves them in 1880, the cities had radically narrowed the notion of the common good, making city governments that protected the people who made money in cities from those who did not—all of it tied to a dualistic politics of race. “It was in the name of race,” Ryan concludes, “that American cities pulled out of the social side of the political sphere and left everyone, not just those with non-European ancestry, at sea in the rough waters of industrial capitalism” (p. 302).

A book as large-minded and ambitious as this inevitably raises questions. First, Ryan’s three cities are all seaports, diverse and international by their natures, shaped by water and topography in ways that turn their residents in upon each other. (Not surprisingly, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco remain among the few American cities in which it is fun to take a walk.) Second, Ryan may overstate the inclusiveness of early American civic life. Antebellum blacks staged parades, but their attempts to gain power were usually met by white violence. And women were at best public spectators and passive participants in a politics that excluded them. We are left, too often, with an antebellum Euro-American politics of ethnicity and class and its postwar transformations—a less inclusive story than the one that Ryan wants to tell.

These are small quibbles with a book that is valuable both as scholarship and as politics. Left scholarship has tried for a long time to resolve disparate and disfranchised Americans into a “people” that can make democracy work. This book abandons that attempt. Ryan embraces both social difference and an inclusive, democratic politics that fights out questions of power and multiplicity without trying to end them. It may be a better dream.

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JOANNE ABEL GOLDMAN. *Building New York’s Sewers: Developing Mechanisms of Urban Management*. (History of Technology Series.) West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii. 228. \$29.95.

Joanne Abel Goldman traces how New York reformed its sewer-building process to cope with growth pressures. She argues that immigration, industrialization, and the introduction of an abundant supply of Croton water had created a major sanitary crisis in the city by the 1840s. Up to this time, the ward-oriented Common Council had directed sewer construction according to

the demands of local constituencies. Consequently, sewer installation was piecemeal and primarily designed to drain storm water. There was relatively little construction, because councilmen forced benefited property owners to pay expensive assessments to avoid raising the cities taxes or bonded indebtedness. But Manhattan's growing population and mortality rate required a major commitment. In the 1840s, Alfred Craven and other engineers argued for an integrated sewer system that also drained household and industrial wastes. But, as Goldman demonstrates, as long as ward politicians decided the time and location of pipe construction, the engineers' hopes were frustrated.

A new management paradigm began to emerge in 1849, when the state created the Croton Aqueduct Department, a body of engineers led by Craven, and charged it with building and managing Gotham's water and sewer works. Unfortunately, the Common Council still controlled construction. For the next fifteen years, lobbying by civil engineers and public health advocates combined with rising city-state political tensions to produce a series of state-sponsored charter reforms that gradually wrested control of sewers away from city politicians. Following an alarming report on local sanitary conditions by the influential Citizens' Association, state legislators in 1865 gave Craven's engineers the power to build an integrated sewer system for Manhattan. Even though Boss Tweed captured control of both the state and municipal governments in 1868 and largely restored home rule to Gotham with the 1870 city charter, he, too, denied the Common Council virtually any jurisdiction over sewers. He vested that power in the new Department of Public Works with himself as commissioner. Tweed also reformed the financing of public works with an 1871 law that allowed the city to tax itself up to two percent of the real value of property—thereby liberating sewer construction from the restraining influence of assessed property owners. Control over spending now resided in the new Board of Estimate and Apportionment, a body run by Tweed and his cronies. Following these measures, the city embarked on a major public works initiative.

Much like Leo Hershkowitz and other historians, Goldman recognizes Tweed's positive contributions to modernizing New York's public works policy. She observes that "while he pursued a political agenda to further his allegedly corrupt personal ambitions, engineers were left to build their sewer system" (p. 152). This is a significant conclusion, although one might quibble with part of it. Hershkowitz aside, there was nothing alleged about Tweed's corruption. Historians have demonstrated that Tweed and his friends saw their land holdings appreciate significantly once sewers and trapblock pavement authorized by his department arrived at the many uptown lots they owned. On a related front, historians need to look more closely at traditional assumptions about the "apolitical" behavior of nineteenth-century engineers. Research on Cincinnati, for instance, indicates that engineers sometimes allied with Boss Cox's machine to secure city

positions that would allow them to build their pet projects. The same was true later in New York when Robert Moses came to power.

These minor concerns hardly detract from what is a fine book. Goldman incorporates the research of Joel Tarr, David Hammack, and other relevant scholars in the field. Her comparative section covering how nineteenth-century London and Paris built their waste removal systems and how these events led to the gradual professionalization of civil engineering in the United States only strengthens the book's appeal. Most importantly, she relates sewer-building to the politics of charter reform and the need to create a "centralized mechanism of management" (p. 167) to remove dangerous sewage from a densely populated metropolis.

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BLUFORD ADAMS. *E Pluribus Barnum: The Great Showman and the Making of U.S. Popular Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 249. Cloth \$47.95, paper \$18.95.

Bluford Adams's book claims to reveal "the social and political forces that produced the need for Barnumesque culture" (p. xi). Certainly the book packs P. T. Barnum's activities into those now-hallowed boxes of race, class, and gender that dot the academic hillside. Pleasantly well written, it is worth reading but illustrates its genre's limitations more than its contributions.

The first chapter sets up a broad chronology related to Barnum's autobiography. The "Diddleum Letters" (1841), Adams claims, show Barnum attacking "his enemies in the emerging middle class, especially anti-slavery ministers and their female allies" (p. xiii). For the next two decades, he worked "to mythologize his country's classlessness" and to join and even create the middle class (p. xiii). After the Civil War, Barnum joined the "Republican business class," developed circuses as "tools for disciplining the lower classes," and advocated "a middle-class republic whose 'joint owners' were black and white men" (p. xiv). Four subsequent chapters deal with specific Barnum presentations: Jenny Lind's tour, the American Museum, the temperance and slavery dramas played there, and Barnum's circuses of the 1870s-1880s. Every chapter is full of sweeping claims. Lind's popularity showed Barnum's ability "to mythologize human identity against the market" (p. 40); his museum offerings were "an explosive mixture of feminism and patriarchy" that blew up in a canceled Cincinnati baby show (p. xiii); his circuses offered "Orientalized Others" to mediate "a crisis in middle-class manhood" (pp. 186-87). Such Barnumesque claims evoke interesting possibilities, but most are stretched beyond convincingness. Several are wildly improbable: "Everyone fearing a rebellion of young women leaped for joy upon the news of Lind's

marriage on 5 February 1852" (p. 54). And the earth shook.

Adams's generalities are often imposed on the evidence. For instance, he centers the moral drama chapter around Barnum's intent to create middle-class loyalties and align audiences "against feminists, rebel slaves, and radical abolitionists" (p. xv). Yet the plays in question contain no attacks on these groups, Barnum in fact took no active role in what appeared, and the offerings that Adams uses to show his intent were generally ones played in the same form at many other theaters before or at the same time, including the Bowery Theater, supposedly the heart of what Adams calls "the national capital of working-class culture" (p. 90). Adams rests his class argument about *The Drunkard* (1844) on the play's reformer, who is a "princely merchant," but he does not mention that the merchant had been an alcoholic for twenty years, because to do so would explicitly tie the play to the reformed-drunk, lower-class Washingtonians. In his closest use of a passage, Adams claims that the reformer asks the maddened drunk about his "origins" and acts only when he learns that he has "slipped down the social ladder," thus proving the play's central concern with class. In fact, no information about social status is sought or learned; the reformer simply gets the debased hero to admit he has "fallen" and promises a "brother" to help "raise you once more to the station in society from which you have fallen" (p. 123).

One weakness that Adams shares with many recent interpreters of the era's popular culture is insensitivity to humor and its function within both drama and society. For Adams, the stage Irishman in Barnum's plays is proof of his scorn for the Irish, although the stereotype was a staple in all theaters, including Irish ones. On the other hand, Adams's picture of the non-coopted working class is drawn much from the stage fireboy who is treated and traisted very like the Irishman. The broadly similar comic form and function in these plays of the stage Irishman, Yankee, fireboy, black, farmer, servant, and sailor complicates much of the class and racial meaning derived from concentration on only one of them.

To treat Barnum non-humorously is to miss the central quality of his life and amusements. He was a man who, when chided for his promotional shenanigans for Lind, pointed out that even Christ needed John the Baptist to pave the way and the Angel Gabriel had a trumpet. Barnum was the Ben Franklin of popular culture who carved his career from Democracy's murky miasma between the Truth that is and the Truth that is what is believed. From this genial sense, Barnum's steady parade of frauds, freaks, and feats were all "wonders of the world," who could bring in money from audiences conned into enjoying their fascinatingly shifty surroundings.

The book has a wonderful title, but Adams misses much by not keeping his eye, with Barnum, on the many. White Capitalist Patriarchy (WCP) was doubtless a powerful gent who often hoodwinked the more

popular and sometimes hypocritical Liberty Equality Democracy (LED). But the evidence that Barnum or his audience spent their lives serving either WCP or LED (or slices thereof) is weak. Barnum worked, in a society that well suited him, to amuse himself and others, making as much money as possible *e pluribus* as possible.

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DOUGLAS AMBROSE. *Henry Hughes and Proslavery Thought in the Old South*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 226. \$45.00.

Over the last two decades, the "new" southern intellectual history has showcased the important work of such scholars as Lewis P. Simpson, Drew Gilpin Faust, Michael O'Brien, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Eugene D. Genovese, and Bertram Wyatt-Brown. Much like Clement Eaton in the 1950s and 1960s, they recognize that the Old South—in spite of, or in some cases, because of slavery—had important thinkers who played salient roles in their region and rivaled intellectuals worldwide, including those north of Dixie. Indeed, the southern intelligentsia held its own and participated fully in a transatlantic discourse in such fields as literature, theology, political economy, and medicine.

In this concise study, Douglas Ambrose examines the life and thought of a fascinating, though relatively obscure, intellectual from the Old Southwest, Mississippian Henry Hughes (1829–1862). Ambrose offers a thorough and astute reading of Hughes's complex *Treatise of Sociology: Theoretical and Practical* (1854), framing it within southern white preferences for limited government and proslavery ideology. Hughes was unquestionably one of the South's more original thinkers.

In his *Treatise*, Hughes proposed a unique theoretical society fashioned around the South's existing social order. His argument joined "positivist notions of progress and the scientific study of social development with the reality of southern slavery" (p. 187). Rejecting the principles of individual rights, free labor, and the market, he advocated a powerful, regulatory, modern state. A strong interventionist state, Hughes argued, could best preserve and extend the South's civilization and its unfree labor system. This was necessary, he said, to defend his region's social organization against increasingly powerful northern free labor. Hughes believed that free labor society reeked of chaos, anarchy, and decadence. Only a vast authoritative state, he concluded, could order a multi-class, hierarchical society. For Hughes, the state signified "the moral as well as the political center of social existence" (p. 189).

Hughes envisioned an idealized South based on what he termed "warranteeism," not slavery. He distinguished between the two, explaining that slavery



represented a private relationship between master and slave whereas "warranteeism" constituted a system whereby the state controlled the relationship between "warrantor" and "warrantee." Rejecting the notion of one person owning another, Hughes insisted that the "warrantor" owned not the person but the person's "labor-obligation." His hope was that, over time, slavery would evolve ("progress") into "warranteeism." As Ambrose explains, Hughes's *Treatise* balanced a defense of racial slavery and an advocacy of a new statist society. "As such, he combined, albeit awkwardly and inconsistently, the near-omnipotent state of warranteeism with the benevolent paternalism of southern slavery" (p. 138).

Like other southern intellectuals, Hughes was no provincial rube. Born in Port Gibson, Mississippi, he received an excellent classical education at Oakland College and had many interests, including law, oratory, literature, poetry, language, history, classics, physiology, physics, mechanics, hygienics, and eugenics. Drawing on Hughes's unpublished diaries (1848–1853), Ambrose shows that European ideas—specifically Thomas Carlyle's theory of the hero and Charles Fourier's notion of social reorganization—influenced Hughes significantly before he launched his defense of unfree labor.

Ambrose also constructs an interesting analysis of Hughes's complex personality. The Mississippian's life was a conflict, he says, between dreams of greatness on the one hand and reality on the other. From an early age, Hughes radiated ambition, craved success, and believed in his own genius and historical role. Intensely competitive, Hughes was driven by a need to control both himself and others, what Ambrose terms "personal and societal perfection" (p. 162). These traits were tempered, however, by Hughes's introspection, loneliness, self-isolation, and self-doubt. He was ambivalent and fearful of others, especially women. Hughes vacillated between confidence and despair, impatience and indecision. "His insecurity, his inability to 'trust' himself," Ambrose concludes, "permeated not only his relation with his senses but also decisions he made regarding almost every aspect of his life" (p. 47).

For all his book's strengths, Ambrose fails to explain the intellectual evolution, the historical "moment," of Hughes's *Treatise*. Hughes's origins as a white southerner in the age of sectionalism, as intellectual, and his psychological makeup provide interesting angles from which to view this text. Unfortunately, Ambrose falls short of showing how Hughes's *Treatise* became part and parcel of the man. This book begs for greater analysis of "the uneasy tension in Hughes between the abstract theoretician and the pragmatic polemicist and the ways in which the former limited the effectiveness of the latter" (p. 183).

In the end, not surprisingly, Hughes's *Treatise* had little influence. The few who read its dense, abstract, and murky prose interpreted it simply as yet another defense of slavery. During the late 1850s, Hughes devoted most of his intellectual energies to agitating

for the reopening of the African slave trade and defending southern society. He died in 1862, at age thirty-three, during a war that ended his dreams of southern "warranteeism" but ironically ushered in expanded state power in the Confederacy and in the individual Confederate states.

Hughes's life, then, reminds us that there was a diverse community of thinkers in the Old South, especially among those who defended slavery.

JOHN DAVID SMITH

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WILLIAM C. HARRIS. *With Charity for All: Lincoln and the Restoration of the Union*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. x, 354. \$37.95.

With little apparent charity for historians (including this reviewer) who have concluded that Abraham Lincoln reached radical heights concerning government-mandated race equality Reconstruction policies and purposes, William C. Harris, the author of several well-received studies of southern states during the Lincoln era, here reevaluates the topic of his book's subtitle. He challenges judgments that "have reflected the intense interest in race relations and civil rights among late-twentieth-century scholars" (pp. 3–4).

Impressively researched, well organized, and clearly written, the book, unhappily, is also flawed. One flaw exists in Harris's review (chapter one) of the familiar dismal prospects facing Lincoln and the Union in 1861. Harris's Lincoln becomes president of the un-United States virtually lacking a history. Regrettably, the absence of individual or group biographical insights lessens the value of the whole. Illuminations germane to this book's fundamentally important core topic might have emerged from even relatively brief biographical explorations into the intellectual baggage, the mindsets, that Lincoln and his party colleagues brought to crisis government, he from his third-of-a-century immersion in both legal and political cultures.

Consider first the law, the first of two three-letter environments (war is the second) about which Harris is uninformative. By 1861, dominant Republican politicians—including Lincoln, most of his Cabinet choices, and influential congressmen—were lawyers. The label "lawyer," like "Republican," was a big umbrella. Where prewar professional education and licensing standards for lawyers existed, they were local, diverse, and almost everywhere thin. To Lincoln and his generation of lawyers, politics was commonly a second trade. As reflected in the Lincoln Legal Papers (apparently unused by the author), law, like politics, was inherently state-focused; that is, both conformed to federalism's then-familiar contours. Lincoln's legal practice was overwhelmingly in state jurisdictions. Slavery and race were formal statuses of the slaveholding states' property (civil) and criminal laws, untouchable before 1861 by residents of "foreign" states or Washington, D.C. Nurtured on Blackstone, Kent, and

Story, lawyer Lincoln revered state-defined property rights as the source of all other rights.

Since the 1780s (and especially since the early 1830s, when young lawyer Lincoln began to practice), all these facts of law's life had enormously advantaged the South's political defenders. This deference to states' legal hegemonies left prewar antislavery lawyer-politicos primarily the federal fringes—fugitive slave renditions, national territories (future states), the federal district, and rare admiralty felonies like *Amistad*—to contest in elections but only very rarely, if spectacularly, in courtrooms. In 1861, Lincoln (and Salmon P. Chase, William H. Seward, Charles Sumner, and others) were veterans of three decades of almost unrelievedly frustrated antislavery activism. Yet, by 1865, they had liberated themselves and the reunified Union of states from the hardened crust of constitutionalized custom and obliterated nationwide an entire class of state-defined private property.

The book's second three-letter lack is the war itself. Wars' causes, conduct, and aftermaths are core factors of our lifetimes, as the Civil War and Reconstruction were to Lincoln's contemporaries. I have suggested elsewhere that long wars, and, especially, long civil wars, tend to change the contending societies. The causes of such wars often differ from stated aims, and the results build on but, as in the case of Lincoln's presidency, transcend both causes and aims. Lincoln Republicans early discerned in the unanticipatable federal military presence in the white South reasons eventually to reconsider, then to alter black southerners' legal and constitutional standings in their states of residence. The Civil War's unprecedented civil-military developments built on prewar habits of thought yet led to Lincoln's interwoven cumulative decisions to emancipate and then to arm blacks; to restore the crumbling Confederacy's states as slaveless entities; and to favor the Thirteenth Amendment.

What post-Appomattox Reconstruction goals did Lincoln thereby perceive? Unusually for a pastologist, in his stimulating epilogue, Harris responds to this "if Lincoln had lived" query, and although I disagree with his predictions I enjoyed reading them. Indeed, benefits flow from reading all of this book. It offers a convenient state-by-state recapitulation of Lincoln's and the Union Army policies in the contracting Confederacy. Granting this substantial merit, however, Harris's claim (p. 4) that this is the "first comprehensive account" of Lincoln's evolving policies on reunion and that it fills "a void in Civil War-Reconstruction historiography" seems excessive.

Harris correctly notes the perils of what used to be called "present-mindedness." I confess that Depression-World War II events, Second Red Scare tensions, and Great Society breakthroughs in federally mandated civil equality all encouraged my inquiries into the Civil War and Reconstruction past. I do not feel guilty about this; I hope that I obeyed Oscar Handlin's wise injunction ever to remain a happy prisoner of ascertainable facts. If I succeeded, then perhaps my

present-mindedness was (is) more virtue than vice. And, with charity for all, I hope the same for Harris.

HAROLD M. HYMAN  
Rice University

PAUL A. CIMBALA. *Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865-1870*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 395. \$60.00.

No federal agency has elicited as much debate among historians as the Freedmen's Bureau. Historians have long disagreed over the goals, methods, and accomplishments of this temporary agency established in the War Department at the end of the Civil War to aid and protect the former slaves in their new freedom. Scholarly works during the early twentieth century condemned the Bureau for its intervention in southern labor relations and for its assumed political activity designed to elevate blacks and carpetbaggers above white southerners. A more benign view of the Bureau began to appear during the 1950s with several specialized studies on the agency, including William S. McFeely's important *Yankee Stepfather: O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (1968). Recent historians have criticized the Bureau for failing to work hard for the economic, civil, and political rights of the freedpeople in the postwar South. These critics charge that Bureau agents frequently took the side of white planters and ignored black interests and aspirations. They claim that the Bureau failed because of a lack of commitment by its officials.

Paul A. Cimbala, in this well-researched book on the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia, provides a more complex and positive view of the agency. Mining the voluminous Bureau records in the National Archives (on microfilm) and in private collections elsewhere, Cimbala focuses on the ideas, priorities, and tactics of the Bureau's assistant commissioners and subordinates in Georgia. He rehabilitates the reputations of these officials, especially the much-maligned Davis Tillson, who served as assistant commissioner during the critical period from September 1865 to January 1867. Although recent historians have condemned Tillson for his emphasis on the Yankee work ethic for blacks at the expense of economic security (land ownership) and civil and political rights, Cimbala paints a generally favorable picture of Tillson, particularly in view of the difficulties he faced in Georgia and the restraints placed on him by federal policy.

Tillson, as well as most of his subordinates, believed that labor contracts, vigorously enforced on both parties, offered the best means for the freedpeople to overcome the vestiges of slavery and ultimately become landowners. He tried at first to persuade planters to treat their black laborers fairly but soon discovered that he needed to take a firm stand against whites who violated their contracts. Tillson and other Bureau officials in Georgia also recognized that blacks had civil rights that existed concurrently with their obliga-

tions as laborers. Frequently at the risk of their lives, these officials insisted that planters and local civil authorities respect black rights. Although Tillson did not support political equality for the freedpeople, his successors, serving during the period of congressional reconstruction, aided blacks in understanding their voting rights and insisted that the military protect them in these rights. The most lasting feature of the Bureau's work in Georgia was the system of black education that the agency helped to create. Although the story is familiar, Cimbala provides an informed account of the Bureau's efforts to facilitate the Northern educational mission in postwar Georgia and to aid blacks in sustaining their schools.

In an important chapter, Cimbala describes the Bureau's role in the futile attempt of coastal blacks to maintain control of the lands assigned to them in General William T. Sherman's special field order of January 16, 1865. The main problem arose because of the federal policy that the freedpeople could only have "possessory titles" to the abandoned lands on the sea islands and adjacent areas. They could not claim these properties in fee simple, which made it incumbent on the Bureau to permit the return of the land to the original owners. Tillson, true to his free labor philosophy, found confiscation an unacceptable solution to the problems facing blacks on the Sherman reservation, but he sought to protect their legitimate rights to the land and to prevent the impoverishment of the dispossessed. In addition to blaming President Andrew Johnson, the usual villain in the reservation story, Cimbala faults the Republican Congress and other Washington authorities for their failure to pursue confiscation in any systematic way to insure the success of the Georgia experiment. Cimbala implies that only the confiscation and distribution of land to the former slaves would have guaranteed their freedom and their well-being. He ignores studies by LaWanda Cox and Willie Lee Rose that raise serious doubts regarding the efficacy of such a land policy. According to these scholars, land distribution would only have had a negligible effect in alleviating black poverty in the postwar South.

The most pressing problem facing the freedpeople during and after Reconstruction was the protection of their civil and political rights. Despite what some recent historians have claimed, Cimbala insists that the Bureau in Georgia made a valiant attempt to protect these rights, using both the carrot and the stick approach to do so. He concludes that, in addition to flawed federal policies, the Bureau failed because of a lack of time and resources (only eighty-two agents served at the height of its five-year tenure in Georgia), the Bureau's overestimation of the power of its free labor system, white Georgian hostility, and the indifference, if not opposition, of the federal military in the state.

This book is a useful addition to Reconstruction

scholarship and should be read by historians and students of the period.

WILLIAM C. HARRIS

North Carolina State University

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN. *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South*. (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1996. Pp. xix, 264. \$18.95.

MATTHEW J. MANCINI. *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 283. \$34.95.

There is a large and varied literature on convict labor in the postbellum South, much of it dealing with the inhumane treatment of prisoners. In these new studies, Matthew J. Mancini and Alex Lichtenstein provide ample evidence of such inhumane treatment, but that is not their main purpose. Rather, both studies seek first to explain the origins of convict leasing and the reasons for its being abolished and replaced by work on roads, state-owned farms, and other public enterprises, and second, to assess the significance of convict labor in the postbellum South. Mancini deals almost exclusively with the convict lease system. He devotes three initial chapters to its general operation followed by a detailed discussion of its origins and evolution in each southern state and a final chapter analyzing the reasons for its abolition. Lichtenstein takes a longer view, studying both convict leasing and the public convict labor system that replaced it, but his scope is narrower, centering primarily on Georgia. Because both see the leasing system and the other forms of convict labor as a window through which to view the response to emancipation and the ensuing development of the postbellum southern economy and society, their studies contribute to important issues debated by historians of the South: the response to emancipation, change and continuity over the Civil War era, and the nature of modernization in the postbellum South. Although they often use the same or similar evidence and their arguments sometimes overlap, they differ in their views in important ways.

Mancini demonstrates that, in every state, leasing arose to cut the costs of holding prisoners. In the early years, some states paid businessmen a nominal sum to work, guard, and feed prisoners, but this quickly gave way to the usual practice of lessees paying the state. At first, payments were small, but legislators soon realized that leasing not only cut costs but (if they increased rates) could become a major source of state income. As the states increased the leasing rates, the costs of using convicts rose, sometimes reaching the levels of employing free labor. Employers found convict labor valuable even when costs increased and even when convicts proved less productive than free labor, however, because they were assured of a constant and reliable workforce. But eventually the capitalization of

labor that produced rising fixed costs proved economically dangerous; leased convicts, unlike free workers, could not be laid off in times of economic downturn. The result, Mancini argues, was the abolition of convict leasing.

Although touted by many contemporaries and by some later historians as a progressive reform, abolition of convict leasing "was essentially a reallocation of forced labor from the private to the public sector—from leasing to chain gangs and prison farms" (p. 221), and it did not improve the treatment of prisoners. Economics, not humanitarian reform, Mancini insists, was the primary motivation for ending leasing. "It was not until the system lost its profitability to the lessees that it was finally abandoned" (p. 226).

The convict labor system, Mancini argues, although profitable to the lessees, was a backward and retrogressive effort to solve the economic and social problems of the postbellum South; he terms it "a prebourgeois form of coerced labor" (p. 36). Lichtenstein, however, disagrees. He argues that convict labor was a key element in the modernization of the postbellum South. He agrees with Mancini that convict leasing began as a means to avoid penitentiary costs and that its attraction was that it allowed the southern industrialists "to command a reliable, predictable labor force" (p. 4). But he argues that convict leasing arose from a conscious decision on the part of those seeking to industrialize the South. It did not signal prebourgeois labor relations or some kind of resurrected slavery. On the contrary, it provided industrialists with a labor force necessary "to exploit their region's resources and bring its economy into the modern world" (p. xvi). And it did so, Lichtenstein argues, with the support of the planter elite, because using convict labor for industrial development did not challenge planter domination of its agricultural labor force. Indeed, inasmuch as the convicts were overwhelmingly blacks from the rural areas, the leasing system helped to control the black plantation workforce. Convict labor, therefore, allowed planters and industrialists to avoid conflicts and promoted their cooperation in the modernization of the postbellum South.

Like Mancini, Lichtenstein argues that the economic pressures of rising fixed costs of convict labor and not humanitarian concerns ended convict leasing in Georgia in 1909 and that the lot of prisoners did not improve as they moved from private to public sector work. Lichtenstein adds, however, that the purpose of convict labor remained unchanged. The state continued to support economic modernization, now doing so directly by using chain gangs to build the infrastructure of public roads.

The evidence that Lichtenstein presents is consistent with his interpretation, but it does not clearly and unambiguously support it. He is certainly correct in suggesting that unfree labor is not necessarily "an 'archaic' obstacle to capitalist development" and that it "has frequently been an essential element in the accumulation process that made development possi-

ble" (p. 188). To take his analysis beyond an interesting and provocative suggestion, however, requires that he provide more detailed information about the extent of economic development fostered by convict labor. Necessary also is a clearer demonstration that the legislators and the other supporters of convict leasing were aware that the leasing would achieve economic modernization and cement a harmonious planter-industrialist coalition. On the basis of the evidence in both books, I suspect that convict leasing arose to meet immediate needs to cut the costs of maintaining prisoners and that it developed in unforeseen ways. This does not mean that convict labor did not support industrialization, but it does suggest that this was not the goal of those who began it. Lichtenstein's argument would be strengthened by evidence of the growing recognition of the value of the leasing system for economic development and for building the planter-industrialist political coalition.

That these two new studies do not answer all questions and that they raise a number of new questions are not signs of failure. On the contrary, by providing new perspectives on the various forms of unfree labor in the postbellum South, they suggest fresh insights into the political economy of the New South.

HAROLD D. WOODMAN  
Purdue University

DAVID M. FAHEY. *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. Pp. xii, 209. \$39.95.

During the 1860s, the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT), a fraternally organized temperance society, became the nation's largest temperance group, with more than a half million members in 1868 (p. 12). Although this early explosion of growth was followed by prolonged but inexorable decline, the Templars merit attention, David M. Fahey argues, not only for their numerical preeminence but because they offer a window into racial beliefs and practices at a crucial moment in the history of American race relations.

Fired by a conviction that all should be part of the temperance struggle, the IOGT expressed what Fahey terms its universalism in various ways. It kept membership costs low to include people of modest means, especially the young. Beginning in 1852, the Templars extended full membership rights to women. "Female membership was Templar universalism's most dramatic success," an ideology that "transcended gender at a time when for most men's organizations difference in gender justified a rigid exclusion of women" (p. 29).

Universalism was also located in the international character of the IOGT, unusual among nineteenth-century fraternal and temperance societies in that it maintained a unified structure of governance even as it spread through Britain and Northern Europe. The "great schism" of 1876 to 1887, the book's central focus, reflected tensions and power plays between



American and British Templars, but it was prompted by disputes over universalism's final component: the fact that the Templars sought, in Fahey's careful words, "to provide some kind of membership for African Americans" (p. 6).

Positions in this debate ranged from a vision of racially integrated local lodges, held primarily by British Templars, to a segregated system, proposed by American southerners, in which African Americans would be channeled to a separate black organization, sponsored and patronized (in every sense of the word) by whites. The compromise position, which ended the schism, was a system of dual grand or state lodges for blacks and whites, each of which would be recognized by the international organization.

A decade-long organizational upheaval reveals not just beliefs but priorities. Northern Templars who espoused racial equality nonetheless shied away from imposing it on the white southerners, whose presence they valued enormously. Southern leaders often countenanced black participation in the international organization, even as they opposed it on their home turf. Their attachment to Templarism ultimately led to the dual-lodge compromise that preserved social segregation while recognizing the legitimacy of a black presence within the larger organization.

Black Templars were also divided. Some vigorously protested the segregated dual-lodge compromise, finding it almost as repugnant as the earlier stratagem of racially separate organizations. Others continued to be drawn to one of the few temperance organizations that at least struggled seriously to address the issue of black participation. But organizers from both sides of the schism were frustrated by the limited success of their efforts to organize African Americans, and dwindling membership in general, especially in the South, made the issue increasingly irrelevant.

The difficulty of establishing a self-sustaining black Templarism was often blamed on a lack of education or funds within southern black communities, but Fahey's ability to evaluate such claims is limited by an over-reliance on Templar sources. Richmond, Virginia, for example, was a city where Templars made only limited inroads despite the organizing efforts of William Wells Brown, the former fugitive slave, abolitionist, and the Templars' best-known black leader. Yet other sources, such as Peter Rachleff's *Black Labor in Richmond, 1865-1890* (1989), testify to an African-American community "honey-combed" with hundreds of secret societies, churches, and political and labor organizations.

This suggests a need for greater contextualization, which would, in this case, have strengthened Fahey's explanation that few African Americans felt the attraction of a white-dominated, only "slightly integrated" fraternalism (p. 3). Moreover, it might have mitigated an occasional tendency to become over-absorbed in the twists and turns of Templar factionalism to the exclusion of larger social, cultural, and political themes. Nonetheless, in his identification of this

largely overlooked organization and his effective, well-researched demonstration of its significance, Fahey has produced not only a valuable addition to the history of nineteenth-century temperance but an original contribution to our understanding of post-Civil War race relations.

MARY ANN CLAWSON  
Wesleyan University

ANNEMIEKE GALEMA. *Frisians to America, 1880-1914: With the Baggage of the Fatherland*. Groningen, the Netherlands: REGIO-Projekt Uitgevers; distributed by Wayne State University Press, Detroit, Mich. 1996. Pp. 357. \$29.95.

Although a population considered Frisian and in part speaking Frisian dialects is also found on Germany's North Sea coast and islands, Annemieke Galema concentrates on emigrants from Friesland in the Netherlands—more specifically from the six northern, rural municipalities comprising the fertile *Bouwhoeck*, or clay-soil area—and their settlement in the United States. This book is a transatlantic microstudy on the model of Jon Gjerde's and Robert C. Ostergren's work on migration from specific Norwegian and Swedish parishes to particular locations in the American Midwest that also draws on the theories of social scientists like Charles Tilly and E. S. Lee. Galema has utilized her own data base (including nearly 10,000 clay-area emigrants, drawn from both Dutch and American sources) while recognizing a large undocumented Dutch emigration, estimated at as much as one-third of the total. She also makes extensive use of letters and other private documents to concretize her account on the personal level.

Friesland was a "peripheral" Dutch province, heavily dependent on agriculture. With little industrialization, it suffered from widespread rural underemployment and poverty. Individual farm ownership was the lowest in the Netherlands, and much of the land belonged to absentee landlords. The beginnings of commercial dairy farming widened the economic and social gap between farm-holders and a growing rural proletariat.

Frisian emigration to America—especially from the *Bouwhoeck*—grew rapidly with the European agricultural depression of the 1880s, peaking between 1881 and 1893. Emigrants amounted to 17.5 percent of the clay-area's population as of 1914, while Frisians accounted for some eight percent of the approximately 200,000 Dutch emigrants from 1880 to 1914 (pp. 56-57). Around 1900, when about sixty-eight Dutch per 100,000 emigrated annually, the Frisian rate was as high as 498 (p. 257). Initially, Frisians went to locations in Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois and thereafter increasingly to New Jersey, Massachusetts, the plains states, and the Northwest.

The emigration historian will recognize certain common features, especially for northern Europe: heavy out-migration from an underdeveloped region; early

forerunners in areas of later settlement before the Civil War, followed by a mass migration reinforced by commercial propaganda and emigrant letters later in the century; earlier land-seekers and later job-seekers; concentrated ethnic neighborhoods, both rural and urban; stage migration from older settlements to newer ones farther west; ethnic exclusivity in private life as opposed to the workplace; the central role of the church in the ethnic community; selective assimilation to American ways and values; and the immigrants' overall rise in socio-economic status.

Above all, as a study at the microlevel, Galema's work confirms the central role of the family in the entire migration process, reinforcing the findings in particular of Gjerde, Ostergren, and John Bodnar. She traces in fascinating detail migration from specific north Frisian villages to particular American locations. Everywhere, both statistics and personal letters reveal the workings of family and community networks.

The Frisians were notable for a high incidence of direct migration from their native parishes and of family migration, their predilection for farming and the relative absence of women employed outside the home. They also became trilingual, using Frisian at home, Dutch in church, and English in the outside world.

Galema offers some interesting insights in the cultural sphere. She holds that urban ethnic settlements were more closely knit than rural ones, due to greater pressures from the outside (p. 179). Newer arrivals, she finds, generally settled near, yet at times apart from earlier, more Americanized immigrant countrymen, in order to avoid contamination of their ethnic baggage (pp. 184–86). Discord between factions of the Dutch Reformed Church she regards as a binding as well as a divisive force, as it provided the medium for contention over a wide variety of issues (p. 234).

One misses a fuller discussion of divided views within the Frisian-American community regarding cultural retention versus Americanization, and particularly the role of the competing Reformed churches in this debate. There is little on public reactions in the Netherlands toward the emigration. A notable omission in a study of this scope is any consideration of remigration and its implications for the Frisians in America, as well as for Friesland and the Netherlands.

Such considerations aside, Galema's very readable study is a model of conscientious, demanding scholarship. She demonstrates once again how essential detailed research at the microlevel—in both the homeland and in the land of settlement—is for the ongoing development of migration scholarship. May it help show the way to further studies of this kind.

H. ARNOLD BARTON  
Southern Illinois University,  
Carbondale

TERENCE EMMONS, *Alleged Sex and Threatened Violence: Doctor Russel, Bishop Vladimir, and the Russians in San*

*Francisco, 1887–1892*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 251. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Terence Emmons has written a thoroughly engaging narrative account of a clash of personalities, political ideologies, and religious belief systems in San Francisco during its raucous "Barbary Coast" days in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The author of several important works on nineteenth and early twentieth-century Russian history, Emmons previously published *Around California in 1891* (1991) describing the California travels of the Russian physician Dr. Nicholas Russel. Now, in a nearly exemplary demonstration of the historiographic possibilities of the genre of micro-history, Russel reappears. This time, as revolutionary, exile, and adventurer, he is one of the two main characters in a fascinating tale, which Emmons declares to be a "satire (or farce)" (p. xii), of how members of the immigrant community in post-Gold Rush San Francisco continued to act out the cultural, social, and political conflicts they had brought with them to America.

The protagonists in this work are a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church and a nihilist revolutionary of the populist and anarchist persuasion, and the book is organized into a chronological narrative of fifteen chapters with chapter titles such as "Enter Bishop Vladimir" and "One Last Scandal, and Exit the Doctor." The motives that brought Bishop Vladimir (Vasily Sokolovsky) and Russel (Nicolai Sudzilovsky) to the leading metropolis of the western United States could not have been more different. Russel, a political exile, made his way to California after failing to accomplish revolutionary transformation in (among other locations) Kiev and Bucharest. The bishop, a missionary, was determined to revitalize the faith among the Orthodox parishoners in the Diocese of the Aleutians and Alaska. The doctor aimed to build a lucrative medical practice and to make himself a person to reckon with in the small Russian community. The bishop arrived fired with religious enthusiasm and accompanied by a retinue including eight priests and nine seminary boys. When his vigorous attempts to economize and introduce English as the language of worship generated resistance among the congregation, Bishop Vladimir blamed the opposition on the "Outcasts and Nihilists" among them. Russel, who hoped to increase his status and prestige in the Russian enclave by becoming chairman of the dissidents, launched a no-holds-barred campaign against the bishop (which included charges of priestly pederasty against what the press called the bishop's "pretty boys") as the local representative of an oppressive, foreign, state-sponsored church. Between mid-1889 and the autumn of 1891, the San Francisco Russian enclave was rent by charges and counter-charges, affidavit wars, grand jury hearings, sensationalist newspaper stories, and investigations of the affair by the Russian consul-general and vice-consul. The controversy included several dimensions of cultural, social, and political complexity

that make its details a source of considerable interest to historians of the period: anticlericalism, anti-Semitism, antimonopolism. The bishop, who was almost immediately recalled by the procurator-general in the interest of avoiding a scandal, managed to hang on to his job for nearly two years but finally was reassigned to a new post in Russia. The doctor, who displayed a huge talent for hurting his own case, never did build up a successful medical practice. He found his financial situation "beneath any criticism" and, after a sojourn in the Sierra, shipped out to Hawaii, where he landed a position as a plantation physician and was elected to the first Hawaiian Senate. The two men died within four months of each other in 1930 and 1931. The bishop ended his life in obscure poverty in Moscow, and the doctor, a pensioner in the Soviet Association of Former Political Prisoners, died in Tientsin, China.

The book is attractively produced, includes thirteen illustrations that enhance the narrative, and contains (by this reader's count) but a single, and minor, erroneous statement: Christopher A. Buckley may have been a local power broker, but he was never mayor of San Francisco. Emmons has produced a highly successful book that makes a limited but extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of the social and cultural life of western American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and that increases our appreciation of the complexities of immigration, acculturation, and assimilation in American life.

WILLIAM ISSEL  
San Francisco State University

J. ANTHONY LUKAS. *Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets Off a Struggle for the Soul of America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1997. Pp. 875. \$32.50.

In his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* (1985), J. Anthony Lukas wrote about three families embroiled in the Boston busing crisis of the 1970s. His reflections on writing that book led him to search for a subject that would enable him to address the question of class more explicitly. While writing *Common Ground*, he thought that he would be "grappling with the great American dilemma of race, but I kept stumbling over the twin issue of class . . . I found the conundrums of race and class inextricably intertwined" (p. 13).

Struck also by most Americans' lack of class consciousness in the early 1990s, Lukas was intent on finding a subject that would reveal the salience of class conflict in American history. After months of reading, he decided that the bitter labor struggles in the Rocky Mountain West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented the moment when the nation came closest to being plunged "into ruinous class war" (p. 13).

The centerpiece of Lukas's story is the 1905 assas-

sination of Frank Steunenberg and the attempt to prosecute the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), including William Haywood, for conspiracy in the murder. Steunenberg had been governor of Idaho from 1897 to 1901. As governor, he had waged a bitter war against the WFM and had repressed a strike in the Coeur d'Alene region with particular severity in 1899.

Within ten days of Steunenberg's death, a man calling himself Harry Orchard was arrested near the assassination site in Caldwell, Idaho. Compelling physical evidence linked him to the crime. But Robert Gooding, Steunenberg's successor as governor, other prominent Idaho politicians, and James McParland, one of the Pinkerton Agency's top detectives, saw the incident as an opportunity to link this and other acts of violence to the inner circle of the WFM. McParland cunningly encouraged Orchard to think that he might be let off leniently if he implicated the WFM leadership. Orchard promptly took the bait. With scant regard for constitutional niceties, Haywood, George Pettibone, and Charles Moyer were kidnapped from out of state and brought to Idaho for trial. The stage was set for one of the most dramatic and highly publicized trials in American history.

Although Lukas is clearly quite interested in whether or not the WFM leaders were involved in the assassination, the trial itself occupies a relatively small part of this almost 900-page book, and Lukas produces little new evidence to prove or disprove the charges. He is quite explicit in his preface that the book is "both a narrative of a sensational murder case and a social tapestry of the land in which that case unfolded" (p. 14). Lukas's account of the class strife in the Rocky Mountain West is vivid and compelling, and few will be left questioning that this was indeed one of the most savage periods of class warfare in the nation's history.

It is, however, both the strength and weakness of this book that Lukas undertakes to paint a very broad social tapestry. In the immediate aftermath of his tragic death (just before publication of this book), even some of the most sympathetic reviewers and admirers of his last work noted his penchant for lengthy discursions that might try the patience of some readers. Lukas's discursions are invariably fascinating, beautifully written, and demonstrate the extraordinary amount of research that went into this book. It is, however, too often the case that even highly pertinent background information leads to over-lengthy digressions that take the reader far from the central narrative. Unquestionably, McParland was an important figure in the saga, but some readers may question whether he warrants a forty-five-page chapter, containing a twenty-page account of the Molly McGuire. It is useful to know that black federal troops played a significant role in suppressing the miners' rebellion in the Rocky Mountain West, but do we really need a twenty-page history of the role of African-American troops in the U.S. army from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War?

A riveting chapter on the murder trial itself ends with Clarence Darrow about to open for the defense, but there follows a chapter devoted to actress Ethel Barrymore (who appeared briefly at the trial); an account of an eccentric Harvard professor who claimed he had scientific methods for verifying the veracity of someone's testimony; a lengthy history of *McClure's Magazine*; and a fourteen-page account of Darrow's obsession with baseball. Indeed, Lukas begins his account of Darrow's defense on page 570 and does not resume it until page 707.

Through most of the book, Lukas's sympathy for the plight of the miners is evident, and he is forceful and convincing in depicting the way that corporations ruthlessly exploited the labor force and the environment. At the same time, Lukas is intent on being totally objective, and his slightly Machiavellian view of human nature does not prevent him from casting a critical eye over Darrow and, particularly, Haywood.

It is for this reason perhaps that Lukas does not fully share in the relief at the acquittal of Haywood and his alleged co-conspirators. In his epilogue, he suggests that the question of their innocence remains open. Indeed, in the last two pages of his book, Lukas argues that there is significant evidence to the contrary. The basis for this is correspondence between Socialists that occurred while the McNamara brothers were being exposed as the perpetrators of the 1911 *Los Angeles Times* bombing. In this context, Lukas cites a letter from someone calling himself Cornelius Corker who warned the editors of the *Appeal to Reason* that if the attacks on the former editor, George Shoaf, did not cease, information might be revealed showing that leaders of the WFM had been involved in the Steunenberg assassination. But, as Lukas argues, Shoaf was not only a morally and politically discredited man, he was in all likelihood the author of correspondence signed Cornelius Corker, and the one person that issued a similar threat was a longstanding friend of Shoaf. This is frail evidence by which to determine the guilt or innocence of Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer.

In sum, the verdict on this book is a mixed one, and much will depend on the readers' disposition. Those willing to be taken on a far-ranging journey across the social tapestry of Gilded Age and Progressive America will find much that is fascinating and rewarding in this book. A reader more focused on the trial and the immediate social context in which it took place will be frustrated at times. All will agree, though, that this is a very thoroughly researched and wonderfully written work. Some will feel that the book and its humane and distinguished journalist-historian author would have been better served if an editor had cast a more critical eye over this lengthy work.

DANIEL CORNFORD  
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WILLIAM T. HAGAN. *Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 274. \$25.95.

Theodore Roosevelt has been branded a racist because of the bellicose views he expressed toward American Indians both in public statements and in his four-volume *Winning of the West* (1889–1896). William T. Hagan, one of the leading historians of American Indian relations with Euro-Americans, succeeds in softening this image by presenting a more balanced view of the Rough Rider. He admits that Roosevelt was a chauvinist and an elitist addicted to belligerent overstatement who never developed any deep or abiding interest in Indians, despite his wide variety of experiences in or near tribal environs in the Dakotas and elsewhere. Yet Hagan shows repeatedly how Teddy's braggadocio was inconsistent with his genuine sympathy for the Indians' plight, his admiration for some tribal institutions, and his sincere efforts to reform the Indian Service and preserve certain aspects of Indian culture. The author argues further that Roosevelt was not a racist as that term is understood today, because he believed in individual merit and the potential of any people to improve their circumstances and because he admired and identified himself above all with the ability of people to overcome adversity and produce good results under pressure.

Hagan states that Roosevelt entered the White House better informed on Indian affairs than any president since William Henry Harrison. He attributes this understanding to Roosevelt's contacts with six friends and two institutions knowledgeable about and sensitive to contemporary Indian issues. Counted among these friends are George Bird Grinnell, Herbert Welsh, and Francis E. Leupp. Grinnell was a paleontologist and writer who developed close ties with the Pawnee, Blackfeet, and Cheyenne tribes and was also founder of the American Audubon Society. Welsh was the founder and principal force behind the Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association (IRA), the most influential lobbying organization of the eastern friends of the Indians and one of the two institutions that influenced Roosevelt's more positive thoughts regarding Indian affairs. Leupp was a journalist with the *New York Evening Post* and a consummate political insider who became the IRA's agent in Washington. As Roosevelt's appointee to the office of commissioner of Indian Affairs, he continued to influence the president long after relationships with some of the other friends were cooled by political differences in other arenas. Hagan also notes that Leupp probably had greater access to the White House than any other Indian commissioner.

The other three friends are Hamlin Garland, Charles F. Lummis, and C. Hart Merriam. The humorless Garland was a failed Dakota homesteader who became one of the most popular writers of his day on Indian subjects. The controversial Lummis was a journalist who became one of the leading critics of the federal Indian boarding school system and a founder of a friends of the Indian organization known as the Sequoyah League. Merriam was a Yale-trained physi-



cian who subsequently became an ornithologist and one of the great naturalists of his era.

The other institution that influenced Roosevelt was the Washington-based Bureau of Catholic Missions. Hagan points out that Roosevelt was more receptive to Catholic missionary efforts than most of his six friends would have liked because he realized how effective the Catholic clergy were in mobilizing voters.

Hagan does not focus on the Roosevelt administration's Indian policies *per se* but rather on how friends and institutions alike sought to have Roosevelt use his political influence, even before his presidency, on behalf of American Indians. Since the priorities of these individuals and organizations were disparate and at times conflicting, the results of their importuning were mixed. As Hagan shows, Roosevelt responded favorably to their views on some occasions, even when it brought conflict with his own secretary of the interior, while at other times he ignored their input and made decisions that were more pragmatic politically.

Hagan has again met the standard for precise research and cogent, interpretive writing that readers have come to expect from the scholar whose *American Indians* (1961) helped launch the renaissance of American Indian history as an academic field and who also played a key role in the establishment and growth of both the Western History Association and the American Society for Ethnohistory. In doing so, he has likewise succeeded in making a significant contribution to what is probably the least examined era in the historiography of American Indian policy: that period between the General Allotment Act of 1887 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

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VERNON J. WILLIAMS, JR., *Rethinking Race: Franz Boas and His Contemporaries*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1996. Pp. ix. 152. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$15.95.

Historians of race and social science have long acknowledged that Franz Boas (1858–1943) played a decisive role in turning the tide against biological racism in American social science. In this book, Vernon J. Williams, Jr. adds a new dimension to our understanding of Boas's influence. Although short (102 pages of text), the book documents the far-reaching impact of Boas on African-American intellectuals and public figures such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Alain Locke, Zora Neale Hurston, Carter G. Woodson, George E. Haynes, and Monroe Nathan Work; and Williams includes a chapter on Robert E. Park as well. Solidly grounded in the Boas papers and other pertinent archival collections, Williams throws new light on Boas's interaction with and sway over black reformers. Boas schooled black activists in the concept of "racial equipotentiality" (p.

9) and assured them that they need not be ashamed of the African past. Williams recounts how Boas offered a systematic defense of African achievement in a 1906 address at Atlanta University that left an excited Du Bois "too astonished to speak" (p. 32). Even more surprising, Williams reveals that, near the end of his career, Washington finally abandoned anti-black stereotypes because of Boas's accounts of African accomplishment.

Although he praises the "emancipatory implications" of Boas's thought (p. 35), Williams in no way portrays the architect of social anthropology as the unsullied pioneer of anti-racist thought. Instead, he characterizes Boas as a complex and conflicted man who held ambiguous ideas about racial equality. He was a man torn between the "methodological puritanism" (p. 9) of physical anthropology and his "philosophical egalitarian sentiments" (p. 6), a predicament that Williams calls "Boas's Paradox" (p. 4). Although Boas preached against the racist norms of his times and advocated equal opportunity for blacks, he also believed that physical differences between whites and blacks, such as average brain size, indicated unequal mental abilities between the races. Williams condemns such racial ambivalence as "reactionary" (p. 17) and declares Boas "a prisoner of his times" (p. 4). In spite of Boas's steady evolution toward equalitarian views, Williams charges, he never fully escaped the "essentialist framework" of physical anthropology that postulated a defective African ancestry (p. 11).

But if Boas was a prisoner of his times, so was Du Bois. As Williams points out, the black elite accepted "uncritically" Boas's stance as the "best deal they were going to get" (p. 46). Nevertheless, in Williams's eyes only Boas remained racially imprisoned. Du Bois and other black reformers quickly evolved, after being enlightened by Boas, to become the egalitarian voices of the future. Clearly, one of Williams's goals is to champion the contributions of black social thinkers. He nonetheless slights the influence of Boas's numerous and influential white students, many of whom had scrapped all traces of methodological puritanism and had unraveled the Boasian paradox by the 1930s.

In the last chapter on the sociologist Robert Park and in the appendix called "Toward an Ecumenical Mythistory," Williams attempts to explain the origins of the current debate on race and class, multiculturalism, and Afrocentrism. In pursuing this objective, Williams makes several extravagant claims that cannot be explicated adequately in such a short book. For example, he asserts that Boas "not only helped lay the foundation of Afrocentrism and multiculturalism, he defined the parameters of the current controversy concerning the salience of 'race,' 'culture,' or 'class' as the chief determinants of African Americans' life chances" (p. 5). But Williams does little more than mention Afrocentrism and multiculturalism after introducing the terms. Another provocative statement that gets no evidentiary support is that, after 1938, "racism triumphed in anthropology and sociology for

another decade and a half" (p. 35). Finally, those unversed in the history of the social science of race may have difficulty in trying to follow the connections that Williams tries to establish between Boas and such contemporary scholars as William Julius Wilson, Alphonso Pinkney, and Arthur Jensen, for the author does not properly educate the reader about the arguments of these social scientists.

Despite these criticisms, the book contributes significantly to a fuller understanding of Boas's impact on racial thinking, and it offers new insights into the changing racial views of social scientists in the formative period from 1896 to 1943. The result adds credence to Williams's observation that "the history of the social science of race relations . . . has raised the issue of race in general to a level of primary concern . . . in the field of intellectual history" (p. 116).

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ELNA C. GREEN. *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 287. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

In this book, Elna C. Green explores the woman suffrage question in the South and uncovers a complicated political and social picture. Southern politics, according to Green, produced not only a suffrage and an antisuffrage movement but also a *state* suffrage movement whose supporters lobbied for state woman suffrage amendments while opposing the federal amendment. As was so often the case, race was the complicating factor in southern politics, and each corner of the tripartite struggle described by Green used the politics of race in its campaigns. Federal suffrage supporters tried to reassure southern voters that woman suffrage would not disrupt established policies of black disfranchisement, antisuffragists countered that woman suffrage would bring large numbers of black women to the polls, and state suffragists claimed that only women enfranchised by the state, rather than the federal government, could assure the continuance of white supremacy in the South. This distinctive brand of politics was practiced in a region that retained a lingering hostility toward the perceived predations of the federal government, an urban industrial base that had matured much more slowly than in other areas of the country, and a widespread loyalty to the ideas of "woman's sphere."

The book is most valuable in adding to our understanding of southern conservative women. Green devotes a chapter to comparing antisuffragists and suffragists in terms of age, marriage, education, employment, and other criteria, and here, as in much of life, the story is more complicated than some would prefer. As Green observes, historians "have overlooked the ways in which 'sisterhood,' the 'separate sphere,' and 'women's culture' could serve the needs of

conservatism as well as feminism" (p. 77). In recent years, conservative women have finally received the same serious scrutiny that was previously reserved for more liberal-minded women (Kathleen Blee's *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* [1991] is a notable example of this recent scholarship), and Green makes her own contribution to this important new direction in women's history.

Unfortunately, this fascinating, complex world nearly founders under the weight of Green's earnest but frequently soporific prose. There are far too many paragraphs here that numb the reader with a laundry list of characters of only local importance who show up just once. A brief excerpt from a long paragraph will suffice: "Another Mississippi legislator, Edmund Irby, was a merchant and a college-educated artist. But his father, Richard, was a planter, and his grandfather, Wyatt, was an antebellum legislator. Irby voted against the state suffrage amendment in 1918. In neighboring Louisiana, John R. Perez was a college-educated attorney practicing in New Orleans. His father, however, was a prominent sugar planter, and Perez voted against the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920" (p. 40).

After a large number of such paragraphs have rolled by, the reader's interest has been greatly diminished and his or her patience sorely tried. If Green is intent on presenting such evidence, she would do less damage to the flow of the narrative by putting this material in a citation rather than in the text.

Green's best chapter by far is the one on states' rights suffragism and Kate Gordon. One of the leading figures in the suffrage battle in Louisiana, Gordon was energetic, charismatic, and viciously racist. She saw the proposed federal woman suffrage amendment as a Republican plot against Democratic politics in the South, and she maintained that "the Democratic South is nothing but a concise way of expressing anti-nigger" (p. 131). For this reason, Gordon only supported suffrage on the state level. Not one to mince words, Gordon proclaimed "if Louisiana employs an understanding clause to preserve white supremacy and will grant woman suffrage, then I will not have a word to say against it. White supremacy is going to be maintained by the South by fair or foul means" (p. 131). Gordon preferred no suffrage at all to federal suffrage, and when state suffrage lost in Louisiana, Gordon turned her energies toward defeating the federal amendment. Unfortunately, this exemplary chapter is followed by an overly long case history of suffragism in Virginia. This is material that could have been reduced and summarized elsewhere.

Throughout its length, the book is meticulously researched, with Green drawing from a wide variety of manuscripts, newspapers, and other primary and secondary sources. The notes are useful, and Green includes over thirty tables (though some are only tangentially relevant). Indeed, the quality of the scholarship is impressive, and Green is to be commended for trying to bring this subject to life. Green's prose poorly serves her ambition, however, and an opportu-

nity to engage readers other than specialists in the field is lost.

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STEPHANIE J. SHAW. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era.* (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 347. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$16.95.

Stephanie J. Shaw begins preface by recalling her southern childhood and going to the back door of a restaurant for take-out orders. With childlike innocence, she equated the back-door service with receiving extra helpings of food from a family friend who worked there, not with the discriminatory practices of racial apartheid that sent black customers to the back door for service. This personal experience informs Shaw's stance that there are different layers of truth based on how we choose to define it. In reconstructing the layered elements of black women's professional lives from the 1870s to the 1950s, Shaw lets their views shape her scholarly project of recovery and reclamation. Black professional women such as civil rights activist and women's club president, Mary Church Terrell, are known to historians, but most of the women have remained anonymous, beyond the fading memories of those whose lives they touched. Shaw begins by accepting these definition of themselves as professionals in female-dominated fields, even though the larger society did not always recognize them as such.

The approximately forty-five women who form the core of Shaw's study are social workers, teachers, nurses, and librarians. This book examines their personal and institutional papers, letters, and all manner of archival records in special collections and other repositories. Avoiding the trend of bestowing victim status on oppressed groups, Shaw focuses on self-agency instead. She acknowledges the pervasiveness of racism and sexism in the social landscape that these women inhabited but chooses to follow "the enabling aspects" (p. 5) of their lives. Her conceptualization of this three-generational study places black women at the juncture of (white) women's history and black (men's) history. Although this approach understates the fact that race and gender fuse along the way and are not discrete entities even in authorial discourses, it does not deter the author's pursuit of the rich textures within her subjects' scripted lives. Social responsibility shaped these women and their individual yearnings. Clashes between individual desires and social expectations seldom materialized across the generational spectrum; this was due in large part to entrenched cultural norms brimming with expectations of achievement, and the slow pace of social change in the larger society. Their families and their communities continued to expect excellence from black professional

women, even as white Americans continued to limit and confine their opportunities to achieve it.

The pursuit of what was possible followed a path that began during childhood and was nurtured by family and community. For girls, it meant adherence to a strict code of social behavior, dictated not so much by individual proclivities or inclinations as by the weight of history and its judgment of black women's morality. In the first three chapters, Shaw examines child-rearing strategies that were designed to produce high achievement. Reinforcement came from the community, including the schools, which completed the process of guiding young girls toward what they should and ought to do. Interestingly for me, this book awakened a thirty-five-year-old memory of Mrs. Dorsey, the proper but friendly head librarian at the "colored" branch of the Miami Public Library, whose graceful demeanor, high purpose, and commitment to her work made little black children excited about books and worldly possibilities. I recognize Mrs. Dorsey as one of these unsung women. Exhuming such memories allows acknowledgment, and that is a secondary but important value of Shaw's book. It documents and validates the sustaining work of unnamed armies of women fighting a quiet war and claiming silent victories.

In subsequent chapters, Shaw examines the lives of black professional women within the shifting but overlapping boundaries of the public and private spheres that claimed and needed their contributions. Rather than dividing their loyalties, the women accepted both as part of their work, whether paid or not. Although it is difficult not to valorize such purposefulness, as a seasoned researcher, Shaw accepts the necessity of tempering her conclusions. The sources at her disposal are impressive but broad, widely dispersed, and sketchy. Few of the women in question left full accounts of their work. Much of the disconfirming evidence that even lives of purpose are known to harbor is missing. I wonder about purposeful beginners who lost their way under the weight of race, gender, class obstacles, and the burden of family and community expectations. Shaw's discussion of the uneasy relationship of Portia Washington Pittman and her famous father, Booker T. Washington, suggests that the path was not always a straight one.

This is a useful and necessary book. It contributes to the continuing historical documentation of black women's lives that is slowly but surely breaking the silence and telling the truth.

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JOANNE L. GOODWIN. *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform: Mothers' Pensions in Chicago, 1911-1929.* (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 284. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

In recent years, scholars have produced an abundance of work examining the history of U. S. social welfare policy. Moving beyond the social control debate, some, like Michael Katz, James T. Patterson, Roy Lubove, and Walter Trattner emphasize the effort's failures. Others, such as Theda Skocpol, Linda Gordon, Ruth Sidel, and Robin Muncy discuss the impact of women and gender. Joanne Goodwin's book is a welcome addition to this literature.

Although not the first study to focus on the origins and history of the mothers' pension movement, Goodwin's sophisticated analysis of the debate, implementation, and impact of America's first state-wide mothers' pension law exposes "two of the most challenging issues of the twentieth century—the shifting boundaries of citizenship and Americans' increased expectations of government" (p. 2). Goodwin makes three main arguments. First, other studies pay too little attention to the movement's incorporation and then abandonment of its initial goal to expand married women's rights of citizenship. Second, Goodwin agrees with Mark Leff and Skocpol that "consensus characterized the push for mothers' pension laws," but she also finds that "political conflict," specifically over who would maintain bureaucratic control, "characterized the program after its passage" (p. 5). And third, Goodwin "challenges the perception that mothers' pensions paid mothers to stay at home and rear their children" (p. 7).

The book opens with an overview of the Progressive Era debate on the problem of impoverished women and their children, or what was then termed "dependent motherhood." Goodwin convincingly shows that there was little agreement about what constituted the problem or its solution. Mother-only families on public relief shared the dual circumstance of caring for children and low-paid employment in a job market that discriminated against women. Mothers' pension advocates claimed that subsidies would end poverty for such families. But proponents disagreed on the specifics due to distinct race, class, and ideological interests. Those highlighting inequities within American society, a group Goodwin calls "social justice feminists," lost the debate to others influenced more by race and class issues. In addition, gender was not a unifying force. For example, at first the National Congress of Mothers (NCM) agreed with social justice feminists that poor mothers were entitled to aid. But, Goodwin argues, increasingly class prejudice and desires to control social ills shifted the debate from women's rights as mothers to their children. NCM's president Hannah Schoff expressed this shift in 1914 when she wrote that "the mother's pension then is for the benefit of children and the State, and not the mother" (p. 45).

The varied opinions and prejudices of advocates combined with the culture and practices of existing relief institutions to further inhibit the program's revolutionary impact. Through careful analysis of census reports and relief records, Goodwin shows that, despite popular rhetoric at the national level, the

majority of women receiving pensions in Chicago were not full-time mothers. Some policy advocates feared that high benefits would encourage men to desert their families. Others believed the ability to earn some income was a fundamental qualification of the "worthiness test." Goodwin holds that even today "the persistent characterization of women on welfare as non-wage-earners has contributed to the invisibility of their dual roles" as caregivers and wage workers (p. 187).

Goodwin is appropriately sensitive to the impact of race, class, gender, and ethnicity. This book includes a wide variety of sources and extensive footnotes. In addition, the author properly links the Illinois law with the 1935 Social Security Act's Aid to Dependent Children program. Nonetheless, the important perspective and motivation of children's rights advocates, present from the beginning of the debate, is only given scant attention. Goodwin acknowledges a shift of emphasis from mothers' to children's rights after 1920. But I would argue that this distinction was present from the debate's origins. Greater attention to child welfare sources would help to better illuminate this conflict of interest. Women's rights and the "best interest of children" were often at odds. This fact continues to complicate the modern welfare debate.

Nevertheless, despite this criticism, Goodwin has made a significant contribution to the story of U. S. social welfare history. Because so much power rested in the hands of local officials, it is impossible to judge the impact of national policies without examining the actual execution of programs at the local level. Furthermore, Goodwin's focus on gender is an important element too often overlooked by historians. This book should serve as a model for others analyzing the development of mothers' pensions and other welfare programs throughout the United States.

KRISTE LINDENMEYER

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JUDITH WALZER LEAVITT, *Typhoid Mary: Captive to the Public's Health*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon, 1996. Pp. xviii, 331. \$25.00.

Once, when I was a graduate student working a summer job and studying for generals in Dark Harbor, Maine, one of my young charges whispered to me: "Typhoid Mary cooked here." Not entirely sure who Typhoid Mary was, the young girl nonetheless sensed her symbolic stature and significance to the mythology of place.

Mary Mallon, Typhoid Mary, was the stuff of which history is made. An immigrant Irish cook, she "had the distinction, at the age of thirty-seven, of being the first person in North America to be identified, charted, and reported in the literature as a healthy typhoid carrier" (p. 14). But as those who shared their local lore with me understood, Mallon also symbolized much more: the domestic, the outsider, the woman who disrupted an American order. This woman is the subject of



Judith Walzer Leavitt's history. To Leavitt, Mallon represents an extraordinary epidemiologic case, but the threat she posed depended as much on her gender, her ethnicity, and her occupation as on her status as a mysterious carrier of disease. Leavitt intertwines these themes from the start: a dish of "peaches and ice cream"—rather than more conventional blood and guts—was the telltale epidemiological clue that led the New York City health officials to Mallon.

Leavitt's book is both a story of public health battles to control disease and an analysis of how Mallon's story has been told. The book presents seven interconnected but distinct "perspectives." Leavitt serially recounts Mallon's history from the vantages of medicine, public policy, law and lawyers, the media, Mallon's contemporaries, Mallon herself, and the subsequent generations that have borrowed and adapted Typhoid Mary's story. Leavitt tells each story easily, moving smoothly back and forth between analyses of the political and scientific promises of bacteriology and of the ways in which social circumstance tempered the objective power of science. The book's themes fuse Leavitt's earlier interests in the health of cities and in women and health, and they build on years of scholarship. Each chapter reminds us of the ways in which Mallon's gender, occupation, and ethnicity shaped the scientific, medical, legal, and popular responses. Because "she walked more like a man than a woman" and was not a typical "breadwinner," Mallon suffered differently than other "healthy carriers" of disease.

Leavitt's varied tellings nest on each other like a set of Russian dolls. Each one repeats a familiar theme and form, but its color, texture, and stature is distinct. Each stands alone as an account of Mallon's history; together they blur the singularity and authority of any one. The structure of Leavitt's book is thus as important as its content and extends her work in important new directions. Her study of Mary Mallon reaches into the history of monuments, symbols, and icons, and the narrative structure of the book reminds us of the ways in which these are created and used. Leavitt examines diverse sources: the words, pictures, and plays through which Mary came to be known. She explores the mechanisms by which a healthy-looking, blue-eyed blonde was transformed into a menacing, dark woman. She locates that transformation within two contexts: efforts to arouse the public and protect its health, and efforts to make sense of women who, like Mallon, did not conform to middle-class standards. These contexts, Leavitt reminds us, were specific to the time and place in which Mallon lived, but they resonate with current epidemics—most notably AIDS and TB—where the "blame," "responsibility," and "isolation" that Typhoid Mary experienced are repeated. "Equitable policies applied with the knowledge of history should produce very few captives to the public's health," she concludes.

This is a familiar ending, used increasingly often to satisfy publishers and policy makers of the relevance of history. Leavitt's contributions to both go much fur-

ther, however: she skillfully melds analysis of perspective, narrative, even "discourse" with the material base of history. This makes for compelling reading that enables a broader public to develop a more sophisticated "knowledge of history," one not confined to appreciation of a single historical case but extended to the historical methods that affirm a multiplicity of sources and accounts.

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LESLIE J. REAGAN. *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867–1973*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 387. \$29.95.

With the publication of this book, Leslie J. Reagan has established herself as one of the foremost historians of her generation. It is a work that will earn her a place of honor in three areas of inquiry: legal, medical, and women's history. Like the best historians in each of these fields, Reagan combines ethical engagement with rigorous research and incisive analysis. Her book sets a new standard for those analyzing the complex dynamics between physicians and patients, medical professionals and policy makers, popular beliefs and sanctioned practice, and scholarly analysis and political struggle.

Reagan breaks new ground not only by offering the first history of the practice and regulation of abortion in the United States during the century that it was illegal but also by offering a model for any study that seeks to integrate analyses of public policy with understandings of ordinary lives. Reagan argues persuasively for the importance of women's own agendas and actions in shaping the history of abortion, yet she never loses sight of the power of the state, the courts, and the medical establishment to reshape the ground on which women acted out their demands. Two of the most compelling chapters highlight moments of repression, first in the 1910s and 1920s and then following World War II, when women's access to abortions, particularly to safe abortions, was severely curtailed. Yet this is no simple tale of doctors, lawyers, and legislators conspiring to deprive women of the right to control their own bodies. Instead, Reagan introduces men on all sides of the issue: physicians, politicians, boyfriends, and husbands who sought to restrict women's access to abortion; those who insisted that their wives, lovers, or patients end a pregnancy; and those who supported woman's right to choose her own course. Women as historical actors are portrayed in even more complex terms. Reagan takes into account the particular circumstances and backgrounds of women seeking, and suffering from, abortions as well as the diverse motivations of those who advocated various solutions to unwanted pregnancies such as better access to contraception, the training of midwives, support services for unwed mothers, medically regulated abortions, or legislative regulation of women's right to choose.

By using a case study of Chicago to enrich her investigation of national trends, Reagan interweaves riveting tales of individual lives in crisis with broader arguments about state intervention, the professionalization of medicine, the expansion of women's public roles, and cultural understandings of abortion. She draws, for instance, on two journalistic exposés of abortionists—a *Chicago Times* series in 1888 and a *Chicago Tribune* story in 1915—to trace changes in popular perceptions of those who performed as well as those who sought abortions. In the 1880s, two *Times* reporters, posing as a pregnant woman and a male friend, wrote a series of stories. Entitled "Infanticide," they exposed "hypocrisy in the medical profession, the Protestant clergy, and church-going ladies" (p. 50) as well as "the commercial underworld of abortion" (p. 52) that flourished in poor and immigrant neighborhoods. Given the evidence presented, readers might readily have concluded that a young woman could end an unwanted pregnancy with relative ease in late nineteenth-century Chicago. In 1915, the murder of an unwed and pregnant young woman in the home of a female physician/abortionist was used to frame a new narrative about abortion, one that emphasized "the victimization of unmarried women" while it "blamed married women for 'race suicide'" (p. 102). Reagan's analysis of these two cases focuses our attention on changing discourses about pregnancy, marriage, sexuality, danger, and choice, but with an eye as well on the material implications of these portrayals for pregnant women, physicians, the interested public, and policy makers. Thus she explores long-term shifts in the identity of the heroes, villains, and victims who inhabited widely publicized abortion stories. At the same time, she grounds these morality plays in the everyday experiences of flesh-and-blood women seeking assistance from friends, family members, lovers, doctors, midwives, social workers, and social reformers.

At every step of the analysis, Reagan takes into account disjunctures between prescription and behavior, discourse and practice, popular morality and legal sanctions. She is equally sensitive to differences among doctors, among ordinary women and men, and among agents of the state as they confront issues of reproduction, contraception, and abortion. She illuminates the ways that class and race shaped women's attitudes and access to abortion, particularly during periods of economic crisis and state repression. Combining quantitative and qualitative analyses of a wide range of sources, including coroners' inquests, journalistic exposés, criminal trials, hospital and organizational records, and popular and scholarly medical journals, Reagan offers both an incisive analysis and an accessible narrative. Hers will be the definitive work on the century of illegal abortion in the America for decades to come.

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KEITH WAILOO, *Drawing Blood: Technology and Disease Identity in Twentieth-Century America*. (The Henry E. Sigerist Series in the History of Medicine.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 288. \$39.95.

Over the last few decades, historians of medicine have devoted a great deal of attention to studying how various diseases have been socially constructed. In this book, Keith Wailoo examines the relationship between technology and disease. By focusing on the contributions that various technologies (such as the hemocytometer and the hemoglobinometer) have made to the discovery, diagnosis, and treatment of a fascinating assortment of blood diseases, Wailoo shows how developments in technology enabled physicians to create new disease entities, and he examines how these technologies shaped the medical management of the patients who were diagnosed with these diseases.

Most of the book is composed of fascinating case studies of various blood diseases, including chlorosis, splenic anemia, aplastic anemia, pernicious anemia, and "Negro blood." In each instance, Wailoo seeks to answer several questions: how have different technologies been used to diagnose and to define various diseases, thereby creating whole new categories of patients; how accurate and reliable have those technologies been; and how have those technologies been used to bolster the professional authority of physicians? These are important questions, and Wailoo does a masterful job of answering them.

Had he stopped there, Wailoo would have made an important contribution to the social history of medicine. But he does much, much more. Boldly and skillfully, Wailoo analyzes not only the role of physicians but of research hospitals and pharmaceutical companies. In addition, he shows how things like race, gender, and lifestyle influenced how physicians defined and responded to the very diseases that were called into existence by the new technologies they employed. Often, as was the case with chlorosis and splenic anemia, those diseases vanished from the list of official illnesses as quickly as they appeared, because new technologies and tests could not support the original diagnoses. To his credit, Wailoo does not denigrate or belittle the physicians who created these diseases and then later admitted their errors. Rather, he portrays them as well-intentioned, honest people who erred because their reasoning was contaminated by attitudes and values that held broad cultural currency.

By telling the story of how blood work became an established feature of modern medicine, Wailoo has placed an important chapter in medical history in its broader cultural context. This is a major contribution to the social history of medicine and to the growing literature on professionalization.

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JAMES GILBERT. *Redeeming Culture: American Religion in an Age of Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 407. \$28.95.

At least from the time of the Scopes Trial of 1925, when William Jennings Bryan attacked evolutionary theory as false science because it appeared to contradict widely held beliefs about creation, religion and science have had a tangled relationship in American culture. James Gilbert sets out to explore that relationship, aware that at some times religion and science have embraced each other as allies in pursuit of truth and that at others each has seen the other as enemy.

Gilbert's brief look at the impact of the Scopes Trial echoes traditional interpretations, suggesting that Bryan's bombastic oratory and intellectually weak argument fostered a milieu in which scientific method and its results gained ascendancy as a basis for common culture because they were intellectually superior to religious truth claims. Gilbert often tells his story through key individuals; here the symbol for the preeminence of science over religion is John Dewey, who expected secular humanism grounded in science to supplant the superstition he identified with religious belief.

Complications arose, however, with the moral questions raised by the scientific achievement of harnessing atomic energy. Use of the atomic bomb in World War II and threats of nuclear destruction that permeated Cold War thinking spurred popular concern for infusing science with a moral dimension—or, at least, assuring that moral values rooted in traditional religion shaped those who made decisions about how and when to use the results of science, like the bomb. Gilbert tracks efforts to add a religious element to military training in the postwar years to guarantee that those on the front lines of national defense would act from a moral basis.

Gilbert also shows how emerging technology, such as film and television, were used to confirm an underlying harmony between religion and science. Film director Frank Capra, for example, guided several productions that sought to make scientific understanding of the physical world accessible to the masses, but always with an underlying message that science and religion, particularly biblical truth, were compatible. The fundamentalist Moody Bible Institute organized a scientific arm that produced films—many of them geared for school and military training uses—that trumpeted how scientific knowledge buttressed traditional religious understanding of the universe. Even the growing intrigue with science fiction, space travel, and UFOs had a religious element.

Much of this story Gilbert tells through the ongoing debates in intellectual circles between Immanuel Velikovsky, his unlikely ally Horace Kallen, and Harvard's Harlow Shapley. Velikovsky's idiosyncratic views sought to bolster religion's primacy over science, although Kallen was comfortable with a broader pluralism. Shapley, however, firmly believed that scientific

truth disproved much religious teaching. Various conferences and committees designed to probe the links between religion and science belong in the larger story, but their impact was restricted largely to the intellectual elite.

Gilbert extends his inquiry to social science and academic efforts of groups like the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR) and the Institute on Religion in an Age of Science (IRAS). Such endeavors, he argues, sought to bring religious inquiry in harmony with the best in science and to forge a new understanding of religion that affirms scientific method and achievement. In that way, the common culture continues to make both religion and science integral to American self-understanding. In this vein, Gilbert looks at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, whose celebration of science posed challenges to those who tried to create a viable religious presence for attendees.

Space exploration and the mission to the moon provide another case study. For Gilbert, what is vital is not only the resulting explosion of scientific knowledge of the universe but the fact that astronauts circling the moon on Christmas Eve 1968 read aloud the Genesis creation story. Together they represent another symbol of the American commitment to hold religion and science together in creative tension.

While some of Gilbert's material is familiar, much is fresh, and if the value of scholarship lies in questions left for others to explore, Gilbert's contribution is substantial. He focuses primarily on the intellectual elite of the nation; there remains much to unpack about ordinary people in the pews. If those who produced science fiction films graced them with a subtle religious message, how were those films received by the masses? How do the ways in which the SSSR and the IRAS work influence how ordinary folk make sense out of the world in which they live? How does the neo-fundamentalism so prominent in the contemporary religious scene relate to a scientific community more aware of its own limits and presuppositions than in the age of the Scopes Trial?

Gilbert paves the way for probing these questions; answering them will give greater understanding of the pulse of American religion in an age of science.

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SARAH STAGE and VIRGINIA B. VINCENTI, editors. *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 347. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

For those of us who associate home economics only with junior high school instruction in making gathered skirts and white sauces or with the corporate toadying of Christine Frederick's *Selling Mrs. Consumer* (1929), this book comes as a welcome corrective. Fourteen essays (originally presented at a 1991 conference at

Cornell University's School of Human Ecology) also raise hard questions for today's home economists. Can a profession that justified its existence through cultural assumptions of women's unique nature and domestic responsibilities survive in an era of gender-integration?

In the first section, "More Than Glorified House-keeping," co-editor Sarah Stage reminds us that women like Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Ellen Swallow Richards founded home economics to enable educated women "to apply scientific principles 'not only in her own home' but 'in all the work for the amelioration of the condition of mankind'" (p. 32). Richards conceived a progressive profession forged in science, service, and home life.

In its glory years between the founding of the American Home Economics Association (1909) and the postwar backlash against working women, home economists often fulfilled Richards's dreams in places far removed from, but always cognizant of, home. Lynn K. Nyhart's "Home Economists in the Hospital, 1900–1930" describes how young women trained in cooking and nutrition moved into the developing institution of the hospital and collaborated in the invention of modern hospital practices. Initially, home economists instructed nurses in food preparation, but during World War I, they assumed the roles of food administrator and director of hospital kitchens. During the 1920s, dietitians began to work regularly with doctors on "diet therapies," although, as Nyhart concludes, "recognition of healthful eating as a realm of valuable expert knowledge would long be hindered by its designation as 'women's work'" (p. 144).

During the 1920s, home economists moved into the field of child development and parenting, often in opposition to "male academics reluctant to ally themselves with such an undeniably female discipline" (p. 61), according to Julia Grant's essay, "Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement, 1920–1945." Grant reviewed records of child study groups organized by the Cornell College of Home Economics to analyze how home economics created a bridge between expert advice and maternal experience. A successful early campaign in adult education, the child study groups also empowered their predominantly middle-class members. "These communities of mothers reinforced women's sense of themselves as experts in their own right by providing a venue in which they could critically reflect on both their own child-rearing practices and the professional literature" (p. 72).

In "'Where Mrs. Homemaker is Never Forgotten': Lucy Maltby and Home Economics at Corning Glass Works, 1929–1965," Regina Lee Blaszczyk argues that home economists' corporate work, like their employment in the public sector, advanced everyday well-being. Maltby had devoted her Iowa State master's degree work to analysis of glassware and its uses in housewares. Presenting herself to the Corning Glass Works at a moment when its consumer product sales

had stagnated, Maltby revived the Pyrex brand line. With a staff of home economists ultimately deployed in consumer service, the test kitchen, and a field service, Maltby inspired generations of male physicists, chemists, and engineers to design inexpensive, versatile, and durable products that fit women's practical demands and cultural preferences. Despite urging her men colleagues to try out appliances in the kitchen and "to transgress gender boundaries," Maltby's operation retained enough female stigma that, "in comparison to male department heads, [she], like the members of her female staff, was poorly paid" (p. 179).

Home economists' service ethos always existed in tension with other organizational goals. In "Part of the Package: Home Economists in the Consumer Products Industries, 1920–1940," Carolyn Goldstein argues that home economists became essential mediators between corporate producers and housewife purchasers: "having a staff of home economists became a hallmark of the progressive company" (p. 285). In product test labs at model employers like Sears, Roebuck, and Procter & Gamble, however, women experts always functioned as the feminine side of the company, dependent on men to push forward their ideas and torn between their professional allegiance to accurate information and the companies' bottom lines.

Having expanded the view of home economics beyond cooking and sewing, these essays also confront another popular misconception: that home economists imposed a white, middle-class view of housewifery on non-white, immigrant, or working-class families. In "Legitimizing Nutrition Education: The Impact of the Great Depression," Kathleen R. Babbitt analyzes how extension agents studied the problem of getting nutritious food to impoverished families, arrived at a solution of "subsistence gardens [as] the cheapest method of providing food for the huge population of unemployed workers" (p. 160), and used New Deal relief funds to organize public gardening. In 1934, 69,000 gardens produced thousands of pounds of canned vegetables and fruits and provided satisfying work for those shamed by accepting unearned relief.

In "Grace Under Pressure: The Black Home Extension Service in South Carolina, 1919–1966," Carmen Harris documents the devotion of black women home economists to the well-being of poor blacks living in a world of segregated schools run by disdainful white politicians. Working as government extension agents (at wages substantially below those paid white home economists), black home economists sought to develop a "community ethos" and to raise morale through organizing women's and young people's clubs like the "Head to Foot Club to improve personal appearance" (p. 211). By the early 1940s, agents directly "encouraged resistance to the status quo" (p. 219), pushing parents to buy shoes only from stores that would allow black children to try them on first. Sadly, the 1960s integration of public services reduced the power of black agents, who were then uniformly subordinated to white supervisors.



By the 1960s, women seemed to lose control of the profession they had developed for half a century. In the 1960s, when, as Margaret Rossiter puts it, "The Men Move In" as deans and professors in formerly all-women domains, home economics finally gained academic recognition and research funding, but it also lost the "home" from its identification. Cornell University's eminent School of Home Economics became the School of Human Ecology in 1968; by 1994, the professional association metamorphosed into the American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences.

These admirable essays all point to the need for research in corporate records, state extension service archives, and land grant college histories to learn more about women's professional work, neighborhood organizing, and domestic values during the first half of the twentieth century. For home economists, however, the record reveals serious obstacles to the redefinition of a profession historically tied to women's mission at home and in the world.

PHYLLIS PALMER

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JOAN M. JENSEN. *One Foot on the Rockies: Women and Creativity in the Modern American West*. (Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 178. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Joan M. Jensen takes her title from Isadora Duncan, who in the 1920s proclaimed, "I see America dancing, standing with one foot poised on the highest point of the Rockies." In 1917, at a low point in her personal life and career, Duncan returned to her home state of California, styling her journey as a Whitmanesque quest to create an authentically American dance. The West, for Duncan and for so many others, as Jensen points out, was "what Americans wished to be," at once "a place, an experience, an escape" (p. 3).

Jensen's book is based on the Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture, which she delivered at the University of New Mexico in 1991. It examines the creative lives of five western American women who produced art for the marketplace. Jensen's selection is decidedly multicultural. She begins with her subjects' creation stories, each of which present a mythic vision of what it means to be a woman artist: Quail Woman, the Basketmaker, the chief actor in the creation myth of the Pomoan speaking people; the Dancer (Duncan); the Choreopoet (Ntozake Shange); the Storyteller (Maxine Hong Kingston); and the Muralista (Judy Baca).

The extent to which the marketplace defined what passed for "western" in the United States can be seen in the careers of painter Grace Hudson and photographer Emma Freeman, who successfully participated in the packaging and selling of Indian culture in the postfrontier period, 1890–1920. Hudson rubbed Pomo children's faces with dirt and pinched them to achieve

the mawkish misery that characterized her paintings. Although surely not as egregious as her husband, who confessed to cheating, stealing, and robbing graves to obtain Indian art, she nevertheless manipulated her subjects to achieve the "Indian" image that commanded the highest price. Like Freeman, who photographed mixed-blood "Indian princesses," Hudson contributed to a romanticized, idealized, and bastardized view of Native America.

In the 1920s, the shift to modern art led to declining interest in western regional production, a decline that Jensen traces in the fortunes of Mary Austin, whose writing brought her little money or fame during her lifetime. Jensen contrasts Austin with Georgia O'Keeffe, who arrived in New Mexico in 1929 with an assured market for her modernist paintings. O'Keeffe's popularity quickly made Taos an extension of the New York art scene.

Jensen's contention that a "fertile crescent" can be plotted geographically from the Pacific Northwest through the Southwest seems strained in light of her treatment of Taos. It would be more accurate to see a disparate series of artists' colonies, whether on the Mendocino coast in the 1900s or in the feminist enclaves of the Bay area in the 1970s.

As Jensen explores the postmodern period following World War II, she uses contemporary feminist theory, both linguistic and literary, to discuss the rise of a "New Western History" influenced by poststructuralism and postcolonialism. Jensen celebrates the diversity and multiculturalism that are the hallmarks of the twentieth-century West, yet by avoiding a discussion of what makes a woman artist "western," she seems to beg the question at the heart of her book. While Austin, Agnes Smedley, Baca, and even Hong Kingston can plausibly be viewed as western artists, it is more difficult to speak of Duncan or Shange in that vernacular. Duncan, for all her bold image of standing "one foot on the Rockies," left California as soon as she had the opportunity to regain her place on the world stage.

SARAH STAGE

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West*

PAULA M. NELSON. *The Prairie Winnows Out Its Own: The West River Country of South Dakota in the Years of Depression and Dust*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 250. \$27.95.

In her prize-winning book, *After the West Was Won: Homesteaders and Town Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917* (1986), Paula M. Nelson traced the endeavors of pioneers who aspired to create a new Iowa on the desolate lands of what they considered to be the last great frontier. She showed how they settled the area, faced adversity, successfully coped with drought and heat, and entered the war years optimistic about the future. In this elegantly written and deeply researched sequel, Nelson follows the same pioneers

further into the twentieth century. Although the brief postwar depression again caused hardships, throughout the 1920s, farm families and townsfolk continued a way of life predicated on hard work, individual initiative, trust in God, and concern for education, all within an environment where space was a factor to be overcome if contacts of all kinds were to be maintained. Inadequately served by railroads and miserable unpaved highways, far from centers of power and influence, residents of these west-river counties strove to improve their lot. Owing to the poor economy of the state and their limited resources, however, little was accomplished.

Then came the years of the Great Depression, accompanied by dust, grasshopper and other insect plagues, intense winds and heat, and bitterly cold winters. Crops withered, livestock succumbed, dust storms turned day into night, activities of all kinds came almost to a halt. Families faced with mounting debt, loss of income, and diminished services gave up and joined a migration to Idaho, Oregon and Washington that was comparable to that of the "Okies," a migration that as yet has found neither its John Steinbeck nor historians to personalize and amplify its dimensions. For those who remained (the "stickers," Wallace Stegner called them), the federal government first provided relief and later jobs in developing the kind of infrastructure that earlier settlers had dreamed about: sewer systems, paved roads, small dams, and public buildings. Hesitant at first to accept public assistance, by 1935 most of the "stickers" accepted and even welcomed it. But along with this aid came bureaucrats in the Soil Conservation Service, the Resettlement Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and other New Deal agencies who, in effect, informed them that they had been living a lie, that their way of life was inadequate and destructive of the land they hoped to develop into a new Iowa. It never should have been extensively farmed; grazing was a more appropriate way to utilize the land. This was a harsh message for a proud people to accept. But as the "dirty thirties" came to an end and conditions improved, changes did occur. Small ranches appeared and bureaucrats worked with residents to modify their farming practices. Gradually, most of the people returned to their Republican roots, many forgetting or not choosing to remember that federal programs had enabled them to stick it out and meliorate their lot.

The tale that Nelson so brilliantly relates amplifies earlier studies by D. Jerome Tweston (*The New Deal at the Grass Roots: Programs for People in Otter Tail County, Minnesota* [1988]) and Pamela Riney-Kehrbeg (*Rooted in Dust* [1994]). All three add immeasurably to our understanding of the impact of the New Deal in a significant portion of the American West.

RICHARD LOWITT  
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RICHARD LONGSTRETH, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los An-*

*geles, 1920–1950*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1997. Pp. xxx, 504. \$60.00.

Thirty years ago, Robert Fogelson argued, in *Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850–1930* (1967), that the quintessence of Los Angeles is an ambivalent attitude toward urbanization. This ambivalence fueled the quest for the suburban ideal throughout Southern California; but what else drove flight from the city? The automobile? The terrain and climate? Real estate developers? A conspiracy of auto and tire manufacturers? Fogelson held that the failure of the Los Angeles transit system was of fundamental importance in shaping the region but also pointed to decisions made by retailers and store developers. In response to the expansion of suburban retail markets and the inaccessibility of central Los Angeles, a number of important retailers relocated old stores and opened new ones along Wilshire, Hollywood, and other fashionable boulevards.

Richard Longstreth's book expands upon this insight and explains both malls and the shaping of the urban environment. He starts with department stores and traces the intersection of retail, real estate, and architecture in city-building, showing how each responded to the automobile. He delineates the manner in which the automobile affected commerce and the city and illuminates much beyond the topic of retail trade as he explores the pre-World War II origins of the regional mall.

The car is not the villain in this account, but Longstreth demonstrates that the manner in which retailers, developers, architects, and others dealt with it was crucial. Longstreth pays little attention to city planners but credits business interests with doing much to determine the appearance of the region. Retailers adapted to shoppers who wanted to use their cars both to patronize large department stores and to avoid the traffic congestion they had helped to create. Downtown department stores moved to the periphery of the city, and national chain stores became a central factor in the expansion of outlying areas and the creation of new residential and commercial areas in the 1920s and beyond.

This book carefully documents how branch stores, exclusive residential enclaves, farmers markets, chain stores, and real estate boosters all played a part in creating the shopping mall with its circumferential parking. A "Miracle Mile" emerged to the west of the Los Angeles central business district as Bullocks and other stores established branches along Wilshire Boulevard. This was a new type of retail center characterized by towering retail structures that rose amid low-density development. "Miracle Mile" was to be "a place that fused the best qualities of Main Street and metropolis, evoking memories of both but unlike either one" (p. 133). This is an important step toward something new, the mall. Regional shopping centers and malls created after World War II clearly rested on foundations laid before the war, and although no place

had "a central role comparable to that still maintained by New York and Chicago in the design of tall commercial buildings, southern California's contribution was among the most significant" (p. 309).

Longstreth also credits the reform impulses of architects (in service to commerce) with shaping the region. By the 1940s, Longstreth sees—in architect Victor Gruen's early work, for example—the attempt to create a place that required the car but avoided the negative effects of traffic. Gruen's idea of the mall joined the downtown department store, Main Street, and the open-air market to create "a place where one could partake of an array of things possible only in a great city and at the same time gain refuge from the street and all other messy aspects of urban life" (p. 325). Exigencies of war led to federal sponsorship of residential and commercial projects and helped to carry the day for these reforming and idealistic architects. Such developments as the Linda Vista Shopping Center in 1943 created a world "that seemed quite removed from the twentieth-century metropolis" (p. 296). These reform plans of the architects were propagated in a nation that might never have accepted the mall otherwise, but with the end of the war all the essential groundwork was laid for the contemporary shopping mall.

Reading this book one sees, once again, that architects and others wanted it both ways. The mall was an attempt to reconcile urbanization with its antithesis. Such "reform" by the architects, when combined with retail and real estate interests, created the ideal of the mall as a world unto itself. This creation led to center city decline and the devotion of vast acreage for parking for the temples of shopping. Although these plans were a culmination of the southern California experience, the implications are national.

Without developing these implications, Longstreth significantly augments an understanding of both this region and city-building in this meticulously researched case study of retail decentralization. This is an important work, to be taken seriously both for its content and its methodology. Longstreth makes fascinating photographs and architectural plans central to his argument and provides a splendid model of this approach to history. This visual documentation makes for a persuasive study and a weighty (perhaps cumbersome) volume. The illustrations are crucial, but the resulting pagination and labeling are awkward. Similarly, better editorial work (even a simple spell-check program) would have caught a half-dozen spelling errors. Design preferences aside, this is a fine work that is recommended to those with an interest in Los Angeles in particular and city-building in general.

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GERALD L. SITTSE. *A Cautious Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. x, 317. \$39.95.

The loyalty of individuals and private institutions to nations in wartime has been an issue raised both by historical figures and by the scholars who have recorded and interpreted their actions. American historians have been most interested in outright resistance to war, and they have concentrated quite properly on the genesis and fate of antiwar movements during controversial struggles—the Civil War, World War I, and, of course, Vietnam. Gerald L. Sittser provides us with an important new angle by investigating the nuanced nature of church *support* of government policy during World War II, certainly the least controversial (once it began) major war in American history.

The Christian churches of the United States displayed "a cautious patriotism" during World War II, according to Sittser, endorsing the American war effort but reserving the right to criticize the wanton destruction of modern weaponry and the war's deleterious moral effects on soldiers and civilians alike. At issue was not only the morality of war but also the status of the churches as independent moral voices in a democratic society. Christian ministers and organizations had largely succumbed to patriotic hysteria during World War I, only later to question the moral purity of that struggle and the wisdom of having uncritically embraced the policies and propaganda of the state. Many ministers and lay officials sought to regain for the churches what they saw as the proper role of ultimate moral arbiter distinct from government and popular opinion.

Sittser traces the creation of this position from the 1920s on, emphasizing both the development of stances on war and peace and the carving out of a place for the church to stand in grappling with war-related issues. He endorses the basic soundness of this "cautious patriotism," one that allowed the churches "to live in a creative tension" with American society even under the stress of war (p. 15). Sittser's commitment to viewing the churches in their own terms produces a new and useful rendering of issues usually understood in political, social, or cultural terms—World War I revisionism, isolationism and the peace movement in the 1930s, and the intervention debate preceding Pearl Harbor.

Sittser reminds us, for example, of the strong vein of antiwar sentiment that ran through American Christianity from the mid-1920s through the 1930s, which resulted in autonomous antiwar declarations and public support for secular diplomatic initiatives such as the Pact of Paris. Based on Christian principles, these declarations of moral independence sometimes fit seamlessly into the more general mood of peacemaking. At other points, differences between church non-interventionism and more politically inspired varieties became clear. This was especially true as Christian leaders attempted to retain their neutrality in the world while facing the grave challenge that the rise of militaristic totalitarianism in the 1920s and 1930s—whether in Italy, Germany, or Japan—posed to democratic Christian values.

The juxtaposition of peaceful hopes and undeniable dangers produced a spectrum of Christian thinking from the mid-1930s through Pearl Harbor. Sittser surveys the official policy-making meetings among Catholics and various Protestant sects and finds that most were reluctant to endorse direct intervention even after the Nazi occupation of Western Europe in 1939–1940 and the invasion of Russia in 1941. Some churches divided over the question of a national defense buildup. Neutralists and pacifists in the church often cooperated with political movements such as America First but based their position on understanding of Christian doctrine and the proper role of the church. “The function of the church is to keep Christ where he belongs,” wrote Harry Emerson Fosdick (whose own patriotic enthusiasm during World War I had later come to haunt him), “upon his judgment seat, condemner of our joint guilt, chastener of our impenitent pride, guide to our only hope” (p. 55). At the same time, significant churchmen abandoned their adherence to the peace position in light of Nazism’s threat. Most notable was Reinhold Niebuhr, who mounted a complex political, ethical, and religious rebuttal to the isolationist Christian argument.

American entry into the war ended one debate but opened new questions for the churches. Some were similar to those that confronted the population in general. How should churches view the internment of Japanese Americans? How should they react to the almost unbelievable, seemingly propagandistic stories of the Nazi mass murder of Europe’s Jews? Exactly what role should ministers and churches play in the armed forces and at home? Other questions arose from the challenges of war to faith itself, prompting ministers and lay persons to ponder questions of theodicy. How could God have allowed so bloody a war to occur? What was its ultimate purpose in God’s plan? Sittser surveys the great variety of answers given to all these questions and their implications for the churches and American society.

It would be easy to criticize this work for attempting to cover too much ground. Indeed, the reader may feel cheated as Sittser treats complicated issues in summary fashion and makes strange bedfellows for his interpretive categories. He acknowledges these problems. On balance, however, I appreciate his global approach to a topic that deserves much more research. Sittser has not produced a definitive work but rather one that effectively sets the terms for future research.

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SEAN J. SAVAGE. *Truman and the Democratic Party*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1997. Pp. viii, 259. \$34.95.

In this derivative monograph, Sean J. Savage proposes to fill a gap in Truman-era scholarship by examining the former president’s “relationship with the Demo-

cratic party and his presidential behavior as party leader” (p. vii). Assessing Harry S. Truman’s relations with members of Congress, the Democratic National Committee (DNC), and “machine bosses,” he characterizes the president’s various decisions as shaped by the conflicting goals of a man who was “both a party regular and liberal reformer” (p. vii). The consequences of Truman’s presidency, Savage concludes, were to maintain “the programmatic, ideological, and coalitional foundations of the expanded Democratic and liberal identity that Franklin D. Roosevelt had established” and to direct “the Democratic party toward more difficult, challenging liberal policy goals through the Fair Deal” (p. 204).

Based on extensive reading in the secondary literature, supplemented by limited research in primary sources and interviews, the book begins by tracing how Truman’s party philosophy was shaped by his pre-presidential political career as county commissioner, U. S. senator, and vice presidential nominee. Then, in separate chapters, Savage examines Truman’s relations with urban political bosses (notably David Lawrence, Jacob Arvey, William O’Dwyer, and Edward Crump), the DNC (notably its chairmen and the expanded and refined research and women’s divisions), the 1946 congressional elections and the Eightieth Congress, the 1948 presidential election (notably, the Dixiecrat and Progressive defections), and conservative (Republican and Southern Democrat) opposition, as well as Truman’s unsuccessful efforts to enact the Fair Deal and avert responsibility for the “Truman scandals.” If the promise of his decision to study Truman as party leader is that we will better understand the impact and legacy of Truman’s presidency by moving beyond the focus of earlier studies on political rhetoric, legislative and administrative decisions, and Cold War politics and McCarthyism, the result is instead a conventional political history.

Because Savage relies primarily on published scholarship, he never documents the party and institution-building aspects of Truman’s presidency: how specific decisions and tactics influenced the role and popular basis of local and national parties, and how the ideological and programmatic character of party adherents and leaders were influenced by Truman’s leadership and priorities. This is a study of political rhetoric and of electoral and legislative strategy, not of the social basis of party. It is a fairly comprehensive survey of some of the important political issues of Truman’s presidency, distinctive because of an attempted introduction of the theme of party leadership. As such, Savage’s thesis of Truman’s transformative and maintenance role is never convincingly documented. Savage ultimately offers limited insights into two fundamental questions raised by Truman’s presidency. Was the advanced liberalism of the New Frontier and the Great Society the legacy of Truman’s presidency? Were anti-New Deal conservatism, the decline in the role of parties, and the importance of personality and symbolism in the 1980s and 1990s by-products of the failure of



Democratic liberals to transform popular values and/or of Truman's failure as party leader?

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MAOCHUN YU. *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 340. \$35.00.

Almost fifteen years have passed since the declassification of its operational records first gave scholars the opportunity to document the fascinating saga of "Wild Bill" Donovan's Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Thus far, the story has emerged largely on a country-by-country basis, like so many threads being woven together to produce what is yet an unfinished tapestry. Maochun Yu's book represents a significant and long-needed contribution to this effort.

Relying primarily on the massive OSS collection now housed at National Archives II in College Park, Maryland, recently released Chinese documents, and the personal papers of numerous participants, Yu's well-researched book focuses mainly on the political and administrative side of the OSS's involvement in China. Accordingly, readers with an appetite for the cloak and dagger may find that this offering is not quite seasoned to taste.

From the outset, Donovan and his subordinates found themselves becoming enmeshed in the tangled web of suspicion and intrigue that seemed to dominate China's domestic political scene. Donovan soon learned, for example, that he could not operate independently of Tai Li, Chiang Kai-shek's sinister chief of intelligence, and his personal intelligence service, the Bureau of Information and Statistics. Moreover, cooperation with Tai involved accepting certain conditions that restricted the OSS's ability to function as the independent intelligence-gathering body Donovan envisioned. The internal struggle between Chiang's Nationalist Party and Mao Zedong's Communist movement threatened to limit Donovan's field of operations in the country since the Nationalists were reluctant to agree to contacts between the OSS and the Communists.

While confronting these problems in China, Donovan was constantly engaged in a form of bureaucratic guerrilla warfare against powerful enemies in Washington, who regarded the OSS as a threat and were intent on discrediting the agency or destroying it altogether. Donovan thus emerges as the consummate scrambler, determined to protect the interests of his agency in China by means that might best be described as improvisational, opportunistic, and expedient. Such an approach was hardly desirable, but realities in China and in Washington, over which the OSS had little or no control, left few options.

In reading Yu's account of these events, one is struck by how much time and energy were dissipated over petty issues that had little to do with prosecuting the war against Japan. As a result, the OSS did not

achieve a unified command structure in China until October 1944, when Albert Wedemeyer succeeded Joseph Stilwell as theater commander and put Richard Heppner in charge of all American intelligence operations in the country. Heppner's decisive actions consolidated the OSS's position in the theater and prepared the agency to absorb the influx of personnel from Europe following Germany's surrender in May 1945. The OSS/China reached its peak strength with 1,891 agents in the theater in July 1945. Two months later the war against Japan was over.

The story of the OSS's involvement in China is a complicated one, and Yu spares little detail in the telling of it. The result is a narrative that informs throughout but does at times become rather tedious. Yu gives the OSS mixed reviews for its performance in China, an assessment that seems eminently fair on the basis of the evidence. The agency's greatest failure, one that had serious implications for the course of events in post-war China, lay in its underestimating the motivation and scope of the intelligence war that the Communists were conducting against the Kuomintang (KMT). Successful penetration of the KMT, the OSS, and its successors allowed the Communists to manipulate intelligence coming to American policy makers up to and including George Marshall. Whether this failure was attributable to nothing more than "ignorance" on the part of the OSS and to "inattention" on the part of its successors, as Yu claims, is a question that will not be resolved until a more detailed examination of the OSS's operational files is undertaken.

Meticulously researched and well reasoned, Yu's groundbreaking study provides new insights into America's wartime experience in China. Scholars who may in the future choose to explore any aspect of this fascinating subject will undoubtedly rely on this book as a point of departure for their work.

KIRK FORD  
Mississippi College

MICHAEL DENNING. *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*. (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1996. Pp. xx, 556. \$29.00.

Reflecting the recent tendency to connect the activities of politics to the practices of culture, Michael Denning seeks to resurrect the Popular Front from its Red-baiting dustbin of history. Those who study the era between 1929-1945 know of this amalgam of writers, actors, artists, labor organizers, activists, and Communists who exerted tremendous influence on American culture. But, as Denning reminds us, by the latter 1930s, and certainly by the emergence of the Cold War, the Popular Front as an agent of social consciousness had ended. His book, using Frederic Jameson's dictum that "history progresses by failures" (p. 118), is meant as a corrective to that analysis that suggested that the Popular Front was simply a collection of fellow-traveling dupes whose influence was

limited to a brief radical window in the course of the Great Depression. Denning suggests instead that it was a cultural front that continued to inform and influence the next several generations and that opened up the dominant culture to the experiences and ideals of the American working class.

In the first two sections of the work, Denning provides a justification for a reexamination of the era and its culture, with a dissection of the major ideas that gave it power. The combined influence of the emergence of labor, tied to the liberal policies of the New Deal and the growing class consciousness of second-generation immigrants, and the rise of mass communication, or the cultural apparatus, allowed for the dissemination of Popular Front ideals: socially democratic, anti-fascist, and pro-worker. In a theme utilized throughout the work, Denning discounts the pro-New Deal people analogy favored by so many scholars of the era; he offers instead a vision of working-class political society made up not just of unskilled and semiskilled factory workers but also of the mental workers of the cultural industry, who operated at the same level of consciousness as did the workers in steel and auto production. Both labored within the confines of modernist mass production and recognized the dilemma of their experience: a heightened sense of class solidarity within the reality of a system that requires commodification of the same ideology. In the 1930s, seen as the era of the common man, the working classes became a viable and important market. Mass forms of entertainment such as radio and movies enjoyed growth and prosperity during the economic crisis, largely due to their appeal to ordinary Americans. Denning details how much of the Popular Front idealism remained influential on the cultural production/reception during the age of the CIO. Many of those workers in the entertainment field—writers, artists, composers, actors, critics—came from laboring-class backgrounds, and they had witnessed firsthand the realities of class/race/gender divisions in American society. As the cultural industry grew and demand for their services increased, cultural workers found themselves in a position to inform the dominant culture of the hope and dreams of the new Americans. Although their work failed to inspire much socialist political activism, it did leave its social democratic and pro-labor “imprint” on American culture for decades to come (p. 152).

The bulk of the book lies in the final section, in which Denning outlines this imprint. By examining specific cultural formations during the period, he underscores the role of Popular Front idealism in their creation and then explores the influence of the products on American culture. For some sections, this works quite well. For example, in the chapter on the development of the ghetto pastoral, Denning goes beyond the traditional analysis of proletarian literature and points to the infusion of laborist ideals into mainstream literary productions. His point is clear: literature underwent major changes during this time of

cultural reformation, when the children of the working class wrote about themselves and their experiences from a position of legitimacy and thus informed the dominant culture. The resulting novels were part of the American experience within the culture industry; they became staples of film, radio, and later television. Less stories of misery, they were more testaments to the contributions, on a daily level, of ordinary Americans. Denning's analysis of Orson Welles is also informative; he points out what we already know about the creation of Welles's cultural products and connects them to themes that transcend Welles and take their energy from the ideals of the Popular Front. Perhaps the best section deals with the influence of socialist theory on America's intellectuals, or what Denning calls the Americanization of Marx. Using Sidney Hook, Max Eastman, and others, he points to the wedding of Marx's philosophy to Dewey-inspired pragmatism during the 1930s. Denning's reading of Kenneth Burke and Louis Adamic remind us of the influence and importance of these cultural theorists.

Other chapters lack the same focus, and Denning strains to make his point. Denning wants to include nearly all forms of culture in his analysis, and although these sections are informative, they lack the power of influence. For example, the interesting chapter on the strike by Disney's animation workers in 1941 suggests that, as a result, some animators went on to “reshape animated film” (p. 405), but Denning has difficulty showing influence. The same holds for those sections dealing with musical culture. Although Denning is able to show how the ideals of the Popular Front affected jazz, or Billie Holiday's turn to torch songs, or even Blitzstein's musical theater, he does little to establish its lasting effect.

Nevertheless, this is an important book. Those interested in the development of modern social and cultural institutions will be stimulated by what is written here. New Deal scholars and labor historians will find much to enrich their studies as well. More significantly, the book provides a nice balance to traditional views of the Depression era and should foster a reexamination not only of many of that era's social and cultural formations but also of those of the following decades. Denning underscores that the 1930s are still an exciting era of investigation, in which the influence of Herbert Hoover's rugged individualism, Franklin D. Roosevelt's welfare statism, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations' social democracy vied for legitimacy. Denning's book reminds us that, although no one movement or ideal won out, the story of postmodern America is the sampling of these modernist ideals.

KENNETH J. BINDAS  
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STUART D. HOBBS. *The End of the American Avant Garde*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 37.) New York: New York University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 230. \$45.00.

The last American avant garde emerged in the late 1940s, Stuart D. Hobbs avers, tied in spirit to earlier artistic movements claiming advanced ideas but clearly marked by its own historical moment. Seeking to make creativity in the arts and letters an engine of change, the postwar avant garde succeeded in winning attention at the cost of losing its purpose. By the end of the 1960s, the avant garde was dead, having collapsed both as idea and as living presence under a combination of external pressures and internal weaknesses.

Hobbs builds his analysis of the avant garde's relationship to its culture around three themes: alienation, innovation, and the future. The negative experience of artists and writers with Communist politics in the 1930s, according to Hobbs, meant that the postwar avant garde was alienated from radical ideology. The younger vanguard claimed alienation as well from the "canonizers of modernism" (p. 34) and the New York intellectuals, who presumably represented contemporary academic culture and a larger conformity. In constructing their own stance, the postwar avant garde reframed traditional ideas of alienation to center on the atomic bomb as symbol of a modern technological society that denied individual freedom and moral choice. These layerings of alienation led toward an emphasis on the self and on the invention of new experience as a grounding for hope.

The avant garde, Hobbs argues, pursued innovation as a source of regeneration and sought to integrate art and life in meaningful ways. The ideal of integration prompted a definition of art as process, an interest in using everyday materials, and experimental engagements with jazz, sex, drugs, and spiritual contemplations. All of this, Hobbs insists, had a political intent. The early postwar avant garde looked to its own creativity to challenge the larger society and to stimulate protest and individualization that could foster self-expression and lead toward greater human liberation. These ambitions, Hobbs notes, depended on an orientation toward the future and a belief in the possibility of progress. By the end of the 1950s, internal tendencies within the avant garde were already undermining the essential commitment to the future that gave their work its bite.

Hobbs's argument to this point is at times rather thinly made. A few citations of Beat writers in one case or abstract artists in another provide irregular props for opinions attributed to the avant garde in general. Especially before the 1960s, a suspect unity of viewpoint appears to prevail. The postwar avant garde, moreover, is defined against the New York intellectuals, yet Dwight Macdonald is quoted as a voice of the avant garde with no acknowledgment of the complexities this necessarily suggests (p. 47). Hobbs's interest is clearly more engaged by the question of how the avant garde came to an end (as his title suggests), and it is in his final chapters that stronger analysis appears.

The avant garde began to divide by the 1960s over attitudes toward the future. A group of "slightly younger vanguardists," Hobbs suggests, "abandoned

the future and focused on the present as the only reality" (p. 104). Their emphasis on moments of present epiphany, on work that was self-contained and in need of no outside reference, and on creation or performance for a coterie meant that they were abandoning ambitions for social and cultural change characteristic of the historic avant garde, signaling the end of that tradition.

At the same time, the larger society was turning vanguard artists to its own uses. Hobbs is fond of language asserting that "cultural Cold Warriors appropriated the vanguard as a weapon" in the Cold War, even as he acknowledges that the avant garde's own understanding of cultural freedom ran parallel to that of the Cold Warriors (p. 115). Hobbs finds this complicity with a politics from which vanguardists declared themselves alienated "ironic" (p. 116), a term that in this case functions as an evasion of more probing questions about their alienation and the historic relation of avant gardes with their cultures. Similar questions should apply to patterns of avant garde integration with university employment, with programs of gallery publicity and sales, with the use of art in advertising, and with demands for novelty in a consumer market, all of which may—or may not—represent a process of "appropriation" that "destroyed" the avant garde (p. 172).

Hobbs provides ample grounds for readers to ponder the interplay between particular movements in the arts and a larger American culture in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but readers will indeed want to think beyond his argument as well as within it.

TERRY A. COONEY  
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WALTER L. HIXSON. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xvi, 283. \$45.00.

This is a lively, well-researched, and provocative study of America's propaganda efforts in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. At one level, Walter L. Hixson provides a solid narrative overview of American propaganda activities through the Eisenhower administration, a story with more than its share of twists and turns. The new art of "psychological warfare" was at first resisted by a Congress disenchanted with the New Deal proclivities of its predecessor, the Office of War Information. As the Cold War heated up, however, the information and cultural programs were finally institutionalized in the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. Despite the hopes of some of its devotees that psychological warfare would now become a central instrument of foreign policy, lavish funding on a par with military expenditures never materialized, as McCarthyite suspicions in the early 1950s and a tight-fisted appropriations process combined to limit the program's size to relatively modest dimensions.

Still, there was no shortage of official enthusiasm about its potential. The Truman administration's am-

bitious "Campaign of Truth" was launched in 1950 in the hope of negating Soviet propaganda successes. The Eisenhower administration, with its search for alternatives to budget-busting military outlays, approached American Cold War propaganda with an even greater sense of urgency and expectation. The formation of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953, cheered on by enthusiasts such as Eisenhower adviser C. D. Jackson, stirred hopes that the promise of "liberation" might be rather easily attained. Indeed, with Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) financed radio stations such as Radio Liberation and Radio Free Europe supplementing Voice of America broadcasts, significant penetration of the Eastern Bloc was achieved, despite Communist attempts to jam the transmissions.

In some ways, the propaganda effort may have been too successful. In East Germany in 1953 and Hungary in 1956, America's "vituperative propaganda" (p. 40) raised hopes of Western support for popular uprisings that the United States could not meet, a shortcoming that Hixson sees as the "central contradiction of psychological warfare" (p. 77). After the Hungarian debacle, a chastened Eisenhower administration shifted from revolution to evolution as its preferred approach to toppling the Soviet empire.

The new strategy was formalized by the signature of the U. S.-Soviet Cultural Agreement in 1958, which Hixson calls "one of the most successful initiatives in the history of U. S. cold war diplomacy" (p. 153). The agreement was followed by the stunningly successful six-week American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959. In two very entertaining chapters that form the centerpiece of the book, Hixson makes clear that this exhibition, more familiar to historians as the site of the "kitchen debate" between Nikita Khrushchev and Richard M. Nixon, convinced a Soviet public starved for consumer goods of the American system's superior ability to churn out a cornucopia of high-quality products. It also marked the beginning, he asserts, of a steady cultural infiltration of the USSR that contributed mightily to the collapse of the Soviet system.

More ambitiously, Hixson tries to connect cultural and political developments by arguing that the United States, entranced by a militarized approach to containment, misplayed numerous chances for a negotiated settlement. Had these missed opportunities been seized in 1952 and 1953, non-provocative cultural methods could have been used to bring the Cold War to a finish. This counterfactual argument is questionable, because it presupposes an ability on the part of policy makers to change deeply embedded world views and because alternative approaches—a neutralized Germany, for example—might well have generated formidable problems of their own.

As for the cultural infiltration thesis, one could argue that it was the Americanization of Western Europe and much of the rest of the world that constituted the real success story. Given the significant resistance to Westernization in Russia today, it was the

Soviet system's ability successfully to thwart the penetration of Western values that contributed to Soviet decay. Given the xenophobic bent of the Soviet regime, Hixson's welcome multi-archival research on the Sokolniki Park exhibition does not explain why, exactly, the Soviets should have been so eager to sign cultural agreements. Perhaps allowing some knowledge of Western achievements was an ideological imperative, inasmuch as the legitimacy of the Soviet system rested ultimately on a successful comparison with capitalism. One wonders, too, how arousing a desire for consumer goods constitutes cultural infiltration when the Soviet system was itself hopeful of catering to such desires for creature comforts.

These kinds of disagreements, as Hixson well understands, are matters to be resolved by future research and debate and should not be allowed to obscure his considerable achievement in producing a significant work. This welcome departure from conventional treatments of the Cold War makes a major contribution to a growing literature on the role of culture in foreign relations.

FRANK NINKOVICH  
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ROBERT BUZZANCO, *Masters of War: Military Dissent and Politics in the Vietnam Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 386. \$29.96.

In this ambitious, complex, and carefully researched volume, Robert Buzzanco focuses on the political interplay between senior military leaders and their civilian political superiors concerning the role of the United States in Vietnam. Four interrelated themes comprise the body of this study: "military recognition of the parlous nature of war in Vietnam and criticism of the U.S. role there; civilian responsibility for decisions to fight in Indochina; political maneuvering between civilian and military leaders over the war; and interservice division over the commitments to and strategy used in Indochina" (p. 4).

Buzzanco gives an excellent analysis of the early opposition of military leaders to significant U.S. military intervention in Vietnam. The reservations of senior military leaders concerning American involvement in Vietnam and the doubts of others that the United States could be victorious there are carefully explained. Buzzanco's book is useful in pointing out the contributions of thoughtful military leaders, such as Mathew Ridgeway, who openly opposed and spoke out against American intervention to rescue French interests.

Throughout the Kennedy-Johnson years, as American political commitment to Vietnam grew, Buzzanco argues, senior military leaders never shared the international perspective of political leaders and thus failed to agree with the political strategy of containing communism in Vietnam at the lowest level of American effort. Once the civilian leadership decided, perhaps largely for political reasons, that American forces were



to be used in Vietnam, there was little or no military opposition voiced. But the conduct of a limited war with political restrictions on military forces as insisted upon by the president was totally opposed by the military leadership throughout. The nation's military leaders may have been "masters of war," but they were not masters of limited war or of guerrilla war.

This military disaffection with a war with political limitations, of course, led to conflicts between the civilian strategy and a realistic military strategy. Military leaders, the author concludes, stridently and continuously requested the very measures—massive reinforcement, mobilization of reserves, military operations in Laos and Cambodia, increased air targets—that the White House would never authorize. A major thesis of the book is that these senior military leaders, still pessimistic as to success in Vietnam, pressed for increased American effort in that beleaguered nation only so that they could make the civilian establishment deny their requests and thus be accountable for failure in Vietnam. Their motive for these extensive requests was simply to place the blame on self-imposed political limits and the political leaders who insisted upon them (pp. 7, 217, 284, 313, 339).

This seems to me to be revisionist history. It is very difficult, indeed impossible, when writing history to ascribe motives to the actors that they themselves have not admitted. None of these military leaders, it seems, had the political sophistication, the deviousness, or the historical perspective to request forces and operating authority that they did not want and that they knew would be refused, just to pin the blame for defeat on the political leadership. They continued to push for the removal of political restrictions because of their sincere desire to achieve victory in Vietnam as they defined that military objective. In this, they were unimaginative, as Buzzanco points out, but hardly devious and political.

The only exception may have been the hearings before Senator John Stennis's Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee in August, 1967. The subcommittee's report chastised the secretary of defense for interfering with sound military judgement concerning the air war in North Vietnam and blamed him for that campaign's failure to achieve decisive results. Buzzanco covers this incident briefly (p. 300), but it is not sufficient evidence to prove his thesis.

This is an important and impressive study of the role of the American military in the nation's decision-making process concerning U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The weaknesses of military organization at the national level are detailed, but the author's attempts to attribute political motives to the senior military leadership and to attribute the increased political influence of the military at the national level to the Vietnam

experience detract from his obvious and important scholarship.

HERBERT Y. SCHANDLER

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ROBERT A. GORMAN. *Michael Harrington: Speaking American*. (American Radicals.) New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 243. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$16.95.

Robert A. Gorman begins his intellectual biography of Michael Harrington by recounting the confrontation that took place in 1962 between the young leaders of the newly formed Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Harrington, only slightly older at thirty-four. It was, Gorman argues, a crucial moment for Harrington. This incident "destroyed his reputation and credibility among the heretofore sympathetic young, non-communist radicals" (p. xv). Despite his commitment to socialism during an age when it was distinctly out of fashion, Harrington had been so steeped in the anticommunism of the postwar era that he failed to understand the new radicalism emerging around him.

There was a cultural as well as a political line that separated Harrington from the youth rebellion. "Mike Harrington thought the Village we knew," Dan Wakefield recalls, "ended the night a gawky kid named Bob Dylan showed up . . . 'I heard the future and I didn't like it'" (*New York in the Fifties* [1992], p. 158).

Harrington recalled how one of the SDS leaders, Tom Hayden, challenged him "to speak American" (p. xvi). Gorman's argument is that, after the initial hostility of the confrontation abated, Harrington spent much of the rest of his life taking up that challenge—an exercise Gorman believes went largely unnoticed in radical and intellectual circles. His book is an exegesis of that effort, stitched into both the story of Harrington's life and the context out of which his ideas emerged.

Gorman's monograph is really three books at once. He offers a close reading of Harrington's thinking on major political and cultural issues as well as the evolution of that thinking through the fifteen books and countless articles he wrote between 1965 and his death in 1989. To provide context, Gorman summarizes the intellectual background for Harrington's arguments and sketches the political and economic changes that the United States went through during these years. He offers very subtle analyses of Harrington on topics such as dialectics, poverty, the function of the state, the crises of welfare capitalism, the emergence of the new class, and the "new socialism" he advocated at the end of his life.

One of Gorman's great accomplishments is to present the history of crucial political concepts through their various arguments and revisions in remarkably little space. Those looking for insightful, capsule analyses of questions such as the role of class in socialist theory or the evolution and dismembering

of the welfare state could do worse than begin with these sections of the book. Similarly, thumbnail descriptions of the changing political scene, such as Gorman's scathing set of data concerning the downward turn in the economic lives of Americans in the 1980s, are brief yet powerful depictions of the America Harrington was assessing.

It is more likely, however, that readers will be those interested in Harrington the man, and they may be disappointed. Gorman sketches out Harrington's life in the first chapter and refers back to it as the intellectual arguments develop. But those interested in the intersection of the personal and the theoretical will not find it here. Such is not Gorman's aim. Instead, he wants us to take Harrington seriously as a political thinker. Despite his rupture from the New Left, despite the receding influence of radicals and even liberals as the 1970s and 1980s progressed, and despite the failure of socialism as the apparent alternative to capitalism, Gorman believes that Harrington has much to offer at century's end.

"Michael Harrington wove the threads of democratic socialism into a tapestry depicting America's bittersweet legacy of freedom," Gorman writes. He believes that Harrington confronted the crucial issues of our time and thought about them from an *American* socialist perspective. "He worked hard and remained optimistic [and] when he died in 1989, for the general public he was still the best kept secret in town" (p. 174).

With the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union and its communist experiment, there is the possibility of returning to those radical voices who fell outside the traditional postwar camps of American capitalists and, as Gorman tags them, "un-American socialists." Independent radical voices such as those of Harrington, C. Wright Mills, and even the young college students gathered at Port Huron may find new audiences. Harrington hoped, Gorman tells us, that Americans would come to see that "socialism fulfilled the American dream, and capitalism, with its glorification of selfishness and inequality, was un-American" (p. 190). If such an effort is to emerge, Gorman's book will be a fine place to start.

ALEXANDER BLOOM  
Wheaton College

LAURI UMANSKY. *Motherhood Reconceived: Feminism and the Legacies of the Sixties*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

A common misperception about the modern feminist movement is that it denigrated motherhood, seeing it as an oppressive institution that confined women to child bearing and rearing and other domestic responsibilities. In this well-organized and carefully articulated monograph, Lauri Umansky argues that the reality was far different. The majority of feminist theorists discussed motherhood at length, and most

celebrated it as a unique and empowering experience for women. As Umansky states, feminist discourse has subjected motherhood to its "most complex, nuanced, and multifocused analysis" (p. 2).

Approaching the debate both topically and chronologically, Umansky explores feminist thought from the late 1960s through the early 1980s. She ably sifts through an extensive amount of material, explaining numerous theories and debates and offering a clear and well-framed argument. By the book's end, it is impossible to separate the issue of motherhood from feminism, whether it be a discussion of women's demands for better child care, conflicting responses to abortion, or motherhood as a means to unite a divided women's movement.

Umansky dissects the changing, often fragmented feminist movement through the lens of motherhood. The most negative view of motherhood emerged from a small but vocal group of feminist leaders in the late 1960s and early 1970s who believed that it reinforced a patriarchal culture. These theorists questioned the importance of the nuclear family, which they felt impeded women's independence and sexual liberation. In doing so, of course, they ignored and alienated females committed to children and the home.

Some individuals who began to articulate a more positive view of motherhood were the hippies of the 1960s. In their quest to create a more utopian society, members of the counterculture saw children as the promise of a better world, unencumbered by the materialistic trappings of modernity and materialism. Hippie spokespersons celebrated earth mothers and homemakers who could return dignity to women's domestic roles. They encouraged natural childbirth, midwives as birth attendants, more female health clinics, and women's right to control their own bodies.

African Americans adopted an impassioned stance on motherhood, especially in response to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial 1965 findings on black matriarchy and the alleged decline of the black family. Black nationalists argued for increasing their numbers and deemed the pill and sterilization white plots to decimate the black population. Motherhood was rendered in its most positive light. Yet some black feminists felt their men were trying to control and limit their lives, and they reconfigured the argument, insisting that black women had always faced sexual and racial oppression. Many heralded black mothers' strength and ability to survive as central to the race's struggle to end oppression.

With extensive discussion in the black community, white feminists now hoped that the shared maternal experience would unite black and white women and overcome race and class divisions. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, cultural feminists also insisted that motherhood was central to treating the nation's ills, for the most important issues that worried mothers sought to address were troubled human relationships and community problems. Motherhood also became mystified and venerated as a means to bond all women

together. To neutralize tensions between lesbians and heterosexuals within the women's movement, spokeswomen mythologized women's matriarchal past and celebrated their sense of sisterhood, seeing these as powerful forces that would overcome all possible misunderstandings.

As Umansky concludes, feminists have created a fascinating and complex discourse on motherhood. The issue remains central, but the modern debate has shifted to new concerns over surrogate and single motherhood, abortion, and the more controversial aspects of modern reproductive technology. Yet however fragmented the feminist movement may be today and however multifocused its debate, Umansky shows that motherhood has been a central issue to feminists and one that will not disappear as long as women bear and rear children.

SALLY G. McMILLEN  
Davidson College

STEPHEN STEINBERG. *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 1995. Pp. xi, 276. \$25.00.

Stephen Steinberg witnessed the late 1960s as a graduate student at Berkeley. This book is his 220-page indictment of the failures of liberalism in postwar American civil rights policy. Steinberg's method is to review the policy literature, beginning with Gunnar Myrdal's *The American Dilemma* (1964) but concentrating on the racial crisis of the 1960s and the subsequent debate over racial policy.

Steinberg identifies with the "scholarship of confrontation" that challenged the liberal paradigm of incremental reform. Radical voices of the postcolonial era—Franz Fanon, Malcolm X, Stokeley Carmichael—invoked Third World solidarity, rallying oppressed people of color to liberate themselves. Steinberg shows little interest, however, in the specifics of a radical program or policy. He supports some sort of state guarantee of jobs and expanded affirmative action but has little more to say about the matter. Nor is Steinberg interested in conservatives and their programs; Ronald Reagan is scarcely mentioned. Steinberg's target is liberalism, the *real* enemy of radicalism.

For readers who are too young to remember the 1960s, Steinberg reconstructs some of the classic debates: for example, the storm over Daniel Patrick Moynihan's report on the disintegrating black family, which the left attacked for blaming the victim. Another, more recent Steinberg target is sociologist William Julius Wilson, whose structural emphasis on deindustrialization, according to Steinberg, disguises racist oppression. Social science scholarship in general, Steinberg argues, has invited the politics of backlash by emphasizing African-American vulnerabilities (drug use, crime, unemployment) and identifying impersonal forces (global competition, knowledge-based technology) that mask accumulated historical burdens. Liberal social science, he claims, has exagger-

ated the size and success of the black middle class and has pathologized the plight of the black underclass.

With one exception, Steinberg's book reasserts and updates the radical critique of the late 1960s. The exception is his forceful argument that large-scale immigration since the 1960s has harmed African Americans by bidding down wages and displacing black workers. Such views are heresy within the modern civil rights coalition. But for generations prior to the 1960s, a core doctrine for organized labor and for radical black leaders such as Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. Du Bois was that workers and minorities could overcome class and race barriers only when labor was in tight supply.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM  
Vanderbilt University

MARÍA CRISTINA GARCÍA. *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959–1994*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 290. \$35.00.

Since the 1960s, historical studies have been problematized: interpretative and/or narrative? textual and/or contextual? theoretical and/or factual? a linguistic turn? Two types of discourse have also plagued us: variations of Rankean "factual" representations and variations of Nietzsche's dictum that all "facts are interpretations." For some of us, there are questions of whether we are ethnic historians, American historians, or just historians? These are conscious and subconscious themes often found in our historical work. They are present in María Cristina García's book on Cubans, especially in the underlying question, which has been the central question for all American historians: what is an American?

García states that, "as a historian," she has tried to "provide an alternative interpretation" to other works as she attempts to "look" at the "formation of a community" (p. 4). With these statements, she seeks to return the historian of ethnicity to the role of an objective historian that does not analyze, but just "looks" at the process of development. Interestingly, her introduction—with no references—shows the tracings of Werner Sollars's "invention of ethnicity," Clifford Geertz's "thick descriptions," Raymond Williams's "culture and society," and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" among others as she presents the conceptual tropes that will guide her work: "identity formation," "cultural negotiation," "cultural reinvention," "hybrid society," and "border town" between the United States and Cuba. Her central argument (based on Milton Gordon's concept of cultural pluralism) is that "it is increasingly possible for immigrants to assimilate structurally and yet retain a distinctive cultural identity." Her catalyst for change is the communal and individual struggle for adaptation. This argument is not new. Thomas Sowell, in *Ethnic America: A History* (1981), made a similar argument. García extends this argument—with a difference.

García does not use her conceptualizations as points from which to interpret her material. Except for the chapter on "Cuban Writers and Scholars in Exile," which provides an excellent analysis of writers grappling with the issues of identity, alienation, and ethnicity (themes similarly expounded by other ethnic intellectuals), her other chapters on the exile/immigrant generation (1959–1973), the Mariel generation (1980s), and her chapters on identity and politics are done in the classical Rankean fashion: fact after fact with little interpretation. Nevertheless, García's work is meticulously researched and based on extensive original sources. Cuban immigrants have built an ethnic consciousness of collectivity based on Cuba as a homeland archetype and fueled by their feelings toward Fidel Castro, much in the same way that Jewish Americans have toward Israel and the Palestinians. In addition, like the Jewish population, "Cuban exiles and Cuban Americans of all generations have come to realize that their community has some of the best elements of both countries. They are able to express," García argues, "their cultural values—their *cubanidad*—in a politically stable environment that offers numerous social and economic opportunities. The first-generation exiles were forced to leave their homeland and adapt their customs and traditions to the realities of life in the United States, but in the process they forged a hybrid society, a uniquely Cuban-American culture." "Miami," García concludes, "had become Havana USA: the border town between Cuba and the United States" (p. 118).

Key to the Cuban success story is the Cuban exile's strong sense of self-esteem, their "old-fashioned values of thrift, hard work, and perseverance, and a symbol that God was on their side" (p. 111). It seems that the wealthy Cuban émigrés brought the capital; the middle class provided the skills and entrepreneurial attitudes; and an extensive array of political and cultural organizations, newspapers, radio stations, and writers provided an environment that fostered a climate by which the "business community provided job opportunities for the new immigrants who arrived each year, easing their assimilation into the economic mainstream" (p. 109). This was accomplished, García points out, with the generous monetary help of political administrations from John F. Kennedy to Ronald Reagan. Based on their success, García ultimately argues that the "commitment to *la cause Cubana* meant not that they necessarily wanted to return to Cuba but that, like the Jews, the Irish, the Hungarians, and countless other immigrants in the United States, they felt an emotional commitment to their country of origin" (p. 121).

García's story emerges as the traditional American story of cultural adaptation and economic and political assimilation. She writes, "Cubans seemed to prove that the American Dream was strong and intact" (p. 110).

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## CANADA

MARC EGNAL. *Divergent Paths: How Culture and Institutions Have Shaped North American Growth*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 300. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

Comparative history can allow one to discern what is distinct and what is common in a nation's past, and it is especially valuable in the delineation and understanding of causation. Crane Brinton employed such an approach to shed light on the process of revolution. Economic historians have often used comparative approaches in attempts to understand variable patterns of economic development across nations and regions. Marc Egnal has set himself the task of understanding the economic development of three North American regions between 1750 and the present: Quebec, the northern United States, and the southern United States. The result is a well-researched, engaging, and provocative study.

Egnal argues that "landholding, religion and slavery—more than any other concerns—defined the rapid path of growth that the North followed and the road of slower development taken by the South and French Canada (i.e., Quebec)" (p. 68). He views issues such as intellectual life, entrepreneurial drive, mobility and literacy as outgrowths or elaborations of these three core factors. Slavery in the South and the seigneurial system and Catholicism in Quebec were institutions that, in Egnal's words, cultivated a feudalistic mindset, a deeply seated and continually reinforced attitude averse to entrepreneurial risk-taking. Illiteracy, communalism, deference and a priority on social values characterized much of French Quebec. In the South, slavery fostered an elite concerned more with social status than with making money. A relatively free land-hold system in the North, coupled with Protestantism, aided in the growth of a strong entrepreneurial drive and the emergence of a society dominated by the priority of making money. Capitalists existed in all three regions, but capitalism dominated only in the North. A concern for reform rather than tradition typified the northern mindset. Northerners were more mobile, better educated, and more individualistic than were southerners and French Quebecers.

Reminiscent of Louis Hartz's characterization of North America's political cultures, Egnal underlines the persistence of attitudes and institutions and points to the extreme difficulties of changing deeply rooted values even after abolition of the seigneurial system and slavery in the mid-nineteenth century. While the North assumed a position of leadership in the commercial and industrial world, the South and Quebec lagged far behind. Only after World War II did economic growth in the South and Quebec begin to resemble that of the North. After a brief downturn attributed to the hierarchical tendencies of bureaucratically inclined corporations, the North's entrepreneurial spirit reemerged with the dawn of the postindustrial era. Still burdened by a poorly educated



populace (a result of past cultural and institutional preferences), the South and Quebec are, Egnal argues, experiencing significantly greater difficulty in confronting the new economic order. For per capita income to converge across these regions, Egnal points to the necessity for institutional and cultural change.

The above schematic summary does not do justice to the richness of Egnal's presentation. Employing a somewhat eclectic mix of sources—from portraits to travelers' observations to trade and income indices—and reviewing a wide and often contentious historiography, Egnal keeps his main theses clearly before the reader. Yet although he continually argues for a balanced appreciation of the effect that culture and institutions had on economic development in the three regions and attempts to steer a middle course between competing historiographical schools, he is not always successful. Economic indices for Quebec, especially in the nineteenth century, are far weaker than those for the North and South, but this does not give Egnal much pause. Moreover and relatedly, he evinces a disturbing tendency to dismiss summarily data that run against the grain of his argument. Serge Courville and his colleagues have, for example, generated impressive evidence on the extent of rural industrialization in nineteenth-century Quebec, evidence that Egnal dismisses as unconvincing in a footnote (p. 225). Similarly, he finds the work of Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, who have argued in a series of publications for the existence of normal modernizing forces in early nineteenth-century Quebec, somehow too "abstract." All too often Egnal relies on an older Quebec historiography to buttress his thesis.

Egnal, of course, might reply that the comparative perspective led him to emphasize arguments that privilege cultural and institutional differences, since those were the differences that seemed most evident and most relevant for explaining differential growth rates. But to be convincing, such an argument would have to rest on the contention that all else was equal, and in this book that assumption is only implicit. A more systematic look at labor markets, resource endowments, and government activity, to name a few factors looked at only cursorily in this book, is necessary. But comparative history invites such commentary. This is a provocative and erudite study. It deserves a wide readership.

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NANCY CHRISTIE and MICHAEL GAUVREAU. *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900–1940*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 22.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 367. \$39.95.

The history of religion in Canada is a lively and productive field, but one that is readily overlooked by historians of a more secular frame of mind. This is

particularly the case for the twentieth century, as historians of social movements and of social reform have often paid slight attention to religious motives. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have defiantly challenged such assumptions in a study that is intriguing but often unconvincing.

The authors dig in well-tilled soil. Movements of workers, businessmen, feminists, farmers, and professionalizing case workers have been at the core of social history. For the most part, they have been shown honing their own agendas along the lines of their class and gender-defined interests and reshaping the state to the extent that they could rally the resources to do so. Even the history of religion has acquiesced in this view; the "secularization thesis" has prevailed.

The core of Christie and Gauvreau's argument is that historians have mistaken the abandonment of the scholastic theology of mainstream Victorian Protestantism for secularization. Instead, they argue, the shift to more pragmatic social action along with a new revivalism was part of a process of making religion more meaningful to ordinary people. This is just the opposite, then, of the notion that the Social Gospel was a way station on the road out of the church. Far from challenging religion, the modernizing forces of commercialism, mass culture, and social science were embraced by "progressive" church leaders. Indeed, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches are seen as "the chief instruments through which modern values and sensibilities were translated to a wider Canadian society" (p. 245).

This was very different from the United States, where revivalism led in conservative and fundamentalist directions. Although the popularity of American evangelists like Billy Sunday and J. Wilbur Chapman extended to Canada, the social context and therefore the consequences of revivalism were, according to Christie and Gauvreau, quite different. Without the pressure of secularization, there was less of a conservative reaction; church leaders could harness such popular enthusiasm in the interests of social reform.

In the countryside, in particular, the churches confronted few distractions, and rural Canada was the "crucible" (p. 165) in which Canadian social reform was forged at the hands of the Methodists and Presbyterians. This is an interesting argument. Certainly rural churches remained key local institutions, although their influence within rural social and political movements is not as apparent as the authors suggest. At the same time, the cities, along with urban progressivism, seem to have disappeared by sleight of hand. A more powerful argument in this book is that the churches played a far more central role in investigating and publicizing social issues through the church-funded Social Service Council of Canada. They led in formulating modern social welfare policy based on university-trained expertise, the hallmark of twentieth-century progressivism. The lack of stronger secular bases for settlement houses and university sociology departments left the field open to the church. Mod-

ernizing clergy who saw state involvement in social welfare as the epitome of "applied Christianity" fought enthusiastically to devolve their responsibility onto government. The churches, in conjunction with maternal feminism, Christie and Gauvreau argue, were the progenitors of the Canadian welfare state.

Clearly, mainstream Protestantism retained a strong institutional presence long after World War I, although the argument that they outweighed universities, unions, and business organizations as advocates of social change is asserted more than demonstrated. Moreover, it is difficult not to see much of this—social surveys, the training of case workers, and lobbying for state support for social welfare—as secular activity. No doubt church advocates of "social evangelism" considered that they were making Christianity "a living force among all Canadians" (p. 249), but the authors do not convince me that there was not an element of self-deception here as clergy attempted to retain relevance by entering into an essentially non-religious world. Exploring their theology is insufficient evidence for explaining broad transitions in Canadian culture. Indeed, framing the debate over the "secularization thesis" in this manner replicates some of the scholastic characteristics that the authors rightly deplore in theology.

Even more problematic are the authors' audacious attempts to challenge characterizations of this period in Canadian history on the basis of their revision of religious history. Christie and Gauvreau deny that social welfare activity was in retreat in the 1920s, only to reemerge along more secular lines in the 1930s. Such a view, they suggest, comes from placing too much weight on labor and business and not recognizing the contributions of maternal feminism and church-sponsored social research to the persistence of "progressivism" and the eventual emergence of the welfare state. As a proviso, this is well taken, but older debates over progressivism are largely ignored here, and the authors' assumption that defeat of the post-World War I labor revolt had little impact on the forward march of social reform seems tenuous at best. The specific character of reform cannot be traced back to "social Christianity" without more specific reference to the class, gender, and ethnic identities of its supporters. Much of this evidence could be read quite differently, as attempts by a Protestant middle class to maintain its social hegemony by redefining the roles of some of its major institutions. A "full-orbed Christianity" was its attempt to reoccupy lost terrain.

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#### LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

DAVID BARRY GASPAR and DAVID PATRICK GEGGUS, editors. *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.)

Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. 262. \$35.00.

This is a collection of nine essays by eight authors. For me to review each one would both be exhausting for me and boring to the reader. Instead I will try to describe the "forest" created by these nine academic "trees" or essays.

First let us look at the perimeter of the forest. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus have set as their outline the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars and the Haitian Revolution on the greater Caribbean. But why not include South Carolina and the Alabama Gulf Coast in this definition? Granted, South Carolina might not fit a strict geographic definition of the greater Caribbean, but in every other way it had important economic and social connections with both the French West Indies and France. Charleston had a significant French population, portrayed events of the French Revolution avidly in its newspapers, and had a local chapter of the *Amis des Noirs*. Moreover, it was Charleston where Vincent Ogé landed and gained local assistance for his planned invasion of Saint-Domingue to achieve full mulatto civil rights. In greater South Carolina, there were the famous Gabriel (1800) and Denmark Vesey (1822) conspiracies. Both had important connections with the Haitian Revolution. And, significantly, the French governor of Saint-Domingue turned almost at once to South Carolina for military intervention to save his colony from the great slave rebellion of August 1791.

Perhaps the case for including the Alabama Gulf Coast is weaker. Mobile had a significant French population, however, and communities further inland became havens for Saint-Domingue émigrés. One such place was Greensboro, Alabama, where French refugees were too fearful and too poor to own many slaves again.

All of the contributors were pressed to show clearly the wider influence of the Haitian Revolution upon slavery and emancipation in the wider Caribbean. Why then did this work not include an essay on Toussaint L'Ouverture's invasion and conquest of Spanish Santo Domingo in 1800? Did he disseminate the values of the Haitian Revolution in the same fashion that Napoleon scattered the virtues of the French Revolution among those whom he conquered in Europe?

And, finally, why not plant a "tree" in this academic "forest" about the reactionary impact of the Haitian and French Revolutions upon the greater Caribbean? The story of Jean and Philippe Chartrand of the Plaine du Nord, near Le Cap Français, may have typified a general attitude among planters. Rescued by personal slaves, Philippe fled to Cuba and Jean to Charleston. Both became plantation owners again, and Jean even used the voodoo mindset and a voodoo slave priestess from Saint-Domingue to exercise control over his new slave gangs.

On the whole, however, I still found the essays in this collection interesting, although obviously incom-

plete in my estimation. In the introductory essay, Geggus surveys the greater Caribbean during the Age of Revolution, 1789–1815. Although the Haitian Revolution carried a radical message, Geggus contends that its shape as a historical force is opaque at best. Clear sightings for the historian were the uprisings of José Antonio Aponte in Cuba (1811), Charles Deslondes in Louisiana (1811), Auguste Bonhomme in Marie Galante (1791), and that in Jamaica (1815). There are many other suspected connections between the export of revolution from Saint-Domingue and local slave rebellions in the Caribbean. More important, Geggus points out, were European state policies that delivered hard blows to slavery in the Caribbean: heavy use of black soldiers by European contenders, French use of emancipation to gain black support, and the diminished economic importance of the British West by 1815.

The rest of my review is devoted to a regional approach to European colonialism within the greater Caribbean, beginning with the French West Indies and Louisiana. Here Carolyn Fick, Gaspar, Kimberly Hanger, and Robert Paquette have contributed essays. Fick demonstrates the reluctance of Maximilian Robespierre and the Jacobins to identify with abolition in Saint-Domingue because there was a Girondin odor about it. But Leger Félicité Sonthonax, Jacobin commissioner to Saint-Domingue acted out of sincere conviction when he freed the slaves of the embattled colony. Gaspar illustrates well the struggle between England and France for the French colony of Saint Lucia. The Brigands' War raged back and forth, with both sides making extensive use of black troops. In the end, the British won and reenslaved the rebels. But Gaspar believes that the former black rebels never lost their taste for freedom. Hanger reviews the *pardo* (mulatto) demands for full civil rights in New Orleans during the era of the Haitian Revolution. She hangs much of her case on the career of Pedro Bailly and vague connections he may have had with mulatto activists from Saint-Domingue. Bailly, however, supported slavery, as did many in his class.

This brings me to Paquette's contribution. He is at his best when he describes the Deslondes rebellion, which began within forty miles of New Orleans and involved over 500 slaves. Many of the conspirators had been "freedom infected" slaves from Saint-Domingue. Paquette also makes a case for wide knowledge of the Haitian Revolution among the slaves of Louisiana. I take issue, however, with his review of my account of Napoleon's reasons for the sale of Louisiana. Paquette dwells on my comments about whether or not Napoleon had given up on his Saint-Domingue adventure but ignores my acknowledgement that, regardless of Napoleon's intentions his army was hopelessly absorbed with events in Saint-Domingue and had no chance of occupying Louisiana. Paquette might also want to avoid using the term "Black Jacobins" when referring to the black rebels of Haiti (p. 205). Still his essay should find a place of interest among scholars.

Michael Duffy and Roger Buckley have portrayed well the British West Indies during the revolutionary period. Duffy demonstrates how desperately the British held on in the West Indies, eventually experiencing the loss of 45,000 soldiers there. But somehow England managed to get what it wanted: the demolition of French naval power and domination of the Caribbean carrying trade. Still, the struggle to do so left such a bitter taste that Britain shifted its efforts at imperial expansion to Asia. Buckley demonstrates that England's wide use of slave soldiers in the Caribbean eventually undermined the concept that a slave is not a legal person. In 1809, England began to allow slave soldiers to testify in courts martial, thus inflicting damage on the institutional system of slavery.

Geggus and Jane Landers cover the Spanish Caribbean and Spanish Florida in this period of revolution. Geggus weighs the theory of Michael Craton that changes came within slavery itself and were sources of rebellion against Eugene Genovese's theory that the French and Haitian Revolutions gave rise to a new and truly revolutionary style of struggle. He singles out uprisings in Cuba and Santo Domingo and can only locate vague connections between them and the Haitian Revolution. He concludes by saying that the Craton theory is easier to apply in the slave rebellions of the Spanish Caribbean. Landers believes that Spanish Florida was a "hot-bed" for the ideals of the Haitian Revolution. She makes much of the Spanish use of black soldiers and presence of Biassou in St. Augustine. Biassou commanded the Black Auxiliaries of Carlos IV and served as a symbol of black pride, as evidenced by his funeral in St. Augustine in 1801. One must be a little cautious in making too much of Biassou's appearance in Spanish Florida, however, since he never held a wide view of emancipation and himself owned a slave.

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JOHN COWLEY. *Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso: Traditions in the Making*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 293. \$49.95.

The Trinidad-style street carnival, carried by Caribbean immigrants to North America, Britain, and Europe, has become a major public event, attracting participants and spectators that in some cities number hundreds of thousands. Shifted for warmer weather conditions from a prelengthen to a summer festival in temperate zones, the carnival has kindled new interest among scholars eager to examine its history and to account for the fierce loyalty of devotees at home and abroad.

John Cowley traces the carnival's mixed origins in Trinidad, then a much-neglected colony of Spain in the late eighteenth century. When French planters fleeing revolution in the northern Caribbean found refuge (with their African slaves) on the island and began its development, they introduced the Shrovetide carnival.

But Britain conquered Trinidad in 1797, outlawed the slave trade a decade later, and abolished slavery in 1834. These changes compounded further by the steady importation of indentured workers from the Indian subcontinent to replace slave labor on the estates, produced a society fragmented by class, culture, language, and national origin.

The carnival reflected this new society. In urban areas, the street revels were appropriated by former slaves and menial workers, while the upper classes retreated to holding masquerade balls in their stately homes. As Cowley shows, the carnival became a source of frequent conflict between the police (themselves recruited from British Barbados) and the revellers, particularly the platoons of stickfighters accustomed to proving their skill against challengers from rival districts as part of the celebrations. Several riotous confrontations occurred. Laws were enacted restricting unseemly practices and behavior until, toward the end of the century, the colored middle class, led by merchants, began to take an active interest in the festival and organized competitions for costumed bands. By 1920, when Cowley's study concludes, elements of the carnival were beginning to gain international recognition, and the festival was poised to become the most important public celebration of the people of Trinidad and its sister island, Tobago.

Claiming that music is the "fundamental component" of the Trinidad carnival—a statement with which not all carnivalists would agree—Cowley identifies four distinct modes that serve different functions. First is the music for social dancing played in private homes or public dance halls during the festive season. Dance orchestras composed mostly of string instruments supplied popular music of the region, such as paseos, rhumbas, sambas, Spanish waltzes, and the current crop of calypso airs. Next, on carnival days the parade of costumed bands was accompanied by groups of musicians playing choruses from the season's favored calypsos, with maskers chanting the lyrics as they displayed their finery. Originally the calypsonian would lead the band in song, but as his stock rose and he became a professional balladeer performing for paying audiences, his role as lead singer in the street band declined.

Third, is the music for the dreaded stickfighters. These batoniers were expected to entertain spectators by dancing intricate steps in apparent disregard for their safety while engaged in the dangerous sport of cudgeling opponents or parrying their attacks. The music for these duels was furnished by percussion instruments such as drums, shac-shacs, scrapers, clappers, and the bottle-and-spoon, complimented by lusty voices singing traditional choruses aimed to spur the combatants on to battle. When the skin drum was prohibited, specially prepared bamboo stalks of differing lengths were substituted to become the bamboo-tambour bands of the streets. The calypso in its complete form as a commentary on local and foreign affairs, as *exposé*, humorous ditty, praise-song, or

warrior-song is the fourth category of carnival music identified by Cowley. It produced cadres of professional bards who sang without fear or favor, serving as the poor man's advocate under an alien colonial regime. Cowley reminds us that, as early as 1915, calypsonians had begun recording their calypsos on discs pressed by American companies such as Columbia and Victor.

Of course, Cowley's study goes beyond a musical treatise. Inevitably, his book describes the evolving social and political climate of a country composed of radically different and conflicting allegiances that must annually confront itself in the carnival. He allows the documents unearthed in his meticulous research to speak for themselves, and his book is replete with relevant excerpts. By the same token, as references are often grouped together in quantity, it is not always easy to identify individual citations. His frequent use of the term "masque," properly employed for English or French court disguisings of an earlier age but seldom if ever identified with the Trinidad carnival, can be off-putting. And although it occurred beyond his time-frame, a passing reference to the emergence of the steel band, as the ultimately unifying musical invention of youths from the so-called underclass of society, might have been expected. But these latter comments are perhaps idiosyncratic and do not seriously detract from the wealth of information and careful analysis provided in Cowley's illuminating book.

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LINDA ARNOLD. *Política y justicia: La suprema corte mexicana (1824-1855)*. (Estudios Históricos, number 62.) Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas. 1996. Pp. 207. \$12.75.

One of the most neglected topics of the understudied post-independence period in Mexico is the history of legal institutions. Thus Linda Arnold's monograph on the Mexican Supreme Court is an important and welcome contribution. Her study, based on the untapped Supreme Court archive, is a detailed institutional narrative with an emphasis on the extreme entanglement of the court in politics. Arnold argues that the Supreme Court struggled with modest success to establish its integrity and independence during the three turbulent decades from 1824 to 1855. It was, she adds, the most stable of republican institutions during this period, a key element in the formation of a unique Mexican political culture. She stresses the importance of the first generation of justices (*ministros*), men such as Andrés Quintana Roo, Pedro Vélez, José María Bocanegra, and especially Manuel Peña y Peña. Biographical details on these and other justices form one of the strengths of the book. It must be noted, unfortunately, that there is neither a bibliography nor an index, essential ingredients in a monograph that contains so much valuable information.



The court generally attained more prestige and power under federalist than under centralist regimes, although interestingly the liberal Revolution of Ayutla (1854) and the Juárez Law (1855) led to an increase of executive authority and the reorganization and further weakening of the court. In other words, the fortunes of the Supreme Court were not basically a function of federalist-centralist or liberal-conservative conflict. The same can be said for Mexico's distinctive judicial defense of individual constitutional rights (the *juicio de amparo*). It developed gradually, possibly aided by the Supreme Court, under differing political regimes, from 1842 to 1861, and may even, as some have argued, have had colonial roots.

The book evokes intriguing questions about the early development of the Supreme Court, some of which Arnold treats explicitly, others of which she leaves implicit. The struggle by the court to maintain independence from the other branches of government was paradoxical, in light of the overriding assumption that the judiciary be limited: it should apply the laws but not make them by interpreting the Mexican Constitution. Arnold suggests that this assumption (which the justices themselves shared) came in reaction to the legislative and political power of the colonial *Audiencia*. One might pursue further the origins of this new judicial philosophy. For example, to what extent was it derived from liberal Spain? If so, its origins might be traced ultimately to the French revolutionaries, who reduced the power of judges, introduced the ideological impulse toward codification, and established the extreme separation of powers—ideas that had great impact in the modern civil-law world.

Another question that Arnold's study raises is the reason for the entanglement of the Supreme Court and politics. The constitutions of 1824 and 1857 stated that the president of the Court would accede to the interim presidency of the republic, as indeed happened in the cases of Vélez (1829) and Peña y Peña (1847–1848). These provisions, as well as the frequent practice of justices taking leave to fill other government posts, never seemed to be questioned by a court that was presumably struggling to maintain its independence. Is this seeming paradox a legacy from the colonial *Audiencia*, or does it have other origins? Light might be shed on such questions by further examination of judicial thought, for example in the five volumes of Peña y Peña's *Lecciones* (1835–1839) occasionally cited.

In short, Arnold has tapped into a rich vein of archival material and opened up difficult questions to be pursued by scholars of the post-independence years.

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DON E. DUMOND. *The Machete and the Cross: Campesino Rebellion in Yucatan*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 571. \$57.50.

No subject in Yucatán's history has piqued scholarly interest more than the Caste War. From the first riveting narratives penned by late nineteenth-century provincial chroniclers to Nelson Reed's immensely popular study *The Caste War of Yucatan* (1964), the conflict, which lasted more than fifty years and cost the peninsula more than a third of its population, continues to captivate successive generations of scholars. During the summer of 1997, an international scholarly conference in Mérida marked the 150th anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities. Coupled with the recent publication of Terry Rugeley's *Yucatán's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War* (1996) and this book by Don E. Dumond, it does not appear that interest in the topic is flagging.

Dumond, an anthropologist, has had an ongoing interest in the rebel Maya who managed for fifty years to maintain their autonomy in the tropical forests in the eastern interior of the peninsula. Unlike most histories of the Caste War, which emphasize causation and the first decade of fighting, this monograph's most significant contribution to the already crowded literature is to flesh out the struggle's latter stages. Thanks principally to Dumond's analysis of British Colonial Office documents from the Public Record Office, there is fascinating new material here on a number of topics, including the multiple (and often competing) cults of the Speaking Cross, the complex and often ambiguous roles that neighboring settlers and colonial authorities in British Honduras played in prolonging the war, and the impact that disease and population decline had on the eastern Maya. Unlike Reed's account, which portrays heroic Maya arrayed against all-too-exploitative creoles, Dumond's study is more even-handed and nuanced. The maps are superb and the illustrations striking.

The first third of the book narrates the war's short and long-term causes and its first five bloody years. It relies almost entirely on the provincial chroniclers and the copious secondary literature. Dumond provides a different reading of these sources, however, downplaying the significance of land pressure as the rebellion's primary cause. He asserts that it was eastern peasants who triggered and carried forward the revolt. These Maya were "the most free to rebel" (p. 138), as they were less affected by the expansion of the sugar economy after independence than the peasantry in the southern Puuc region. Although Dumond admits that peasants in the Puuc would later join the rebellion to reclaim lands that had been taken away, the heart and soul of the rebellion were those Maya "least enmeshed in the highly stratified socioeconomic system" (p. 138). This leads the author to assert rather awkwardly that the revolt was a peasant agrarian rebellion, but not a struggle for subsistence resources or land. In addition, Dumond relates that Indians felt betrayed by Yucatecan authorities. Having received full citizenship, suffrage, and the right to serve in the military after independence, they watched creole politicians not only take away those rights but also increase taxation and

church fees. Dumond's attempt to read a revolution of rising expectations into *campesino* motivations is not entirely persuasive, however. It is difficult to argue, on the one hand, that the principal instigators of the revolt were the most autonomous peasants in the peninsula and, on the other hand, to suggest that these same Maya felt betrayed by unkept promises.

Dumond is on stronger ground when he makes excellent use of British documents to fashion a detailed account of the revitalization movement that took root in the tropical forest after the first decade of fighting. The Speaking Cross cults initially rejuvenated the rebel Maya, but they also contributed to internecine factionalism that eventually proved fatal. Dumond's analysis of the not-so-peaceful *pacíficos* also complicates our understanding of the period. Not only were these Maya used by Mexican authorities as a buffer against the eastern Maya, but they preyed periodically on Belizean settlements. The British returned the favor by providing arms and powder to the rebels.

The book's greatest strength—its empiricism—at times overwhelms the reader with a tropical forest full of detail. Insufficient signposting and the book's chronological organization ensures that intriguing evidence of everyday life in Chan Santa Cruz (the rebel Maya capital) lies scattered about the narrative. Moreover, Dumond eschews theoretical perspectives on peasant rebellions and revitalization movements and, as a result, misses an opportunity to have his research speak to a larger audience. A thoughtful conclusion, however, summarizes the key insights uncovered. If the past is any indication, Dumond's study will not be the last word, but his mining of new sources has enriched our understanding of the eastern Maya struggle to forge a state in the tropical forest.

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JOHN W. SHERMAN. *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform, 1929–1940*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. Pp. xxii, 154. \$55.00.

With a few notable exceptions, historians have neglected the study of the Right in Mexico from its nadir following the defeat of the *Cristeros* in 1929 to its resurgence during the bitterly contested presidential election of 1940. This book fills that lacuna.

John W. Sherman begins by tracing the antecedents of the Right prior to 1929 including opposition to the Constitution of 1917 and the *Cristero* revolt, and culminating in the Arreglos of 1929. The main focus of the book, however, is on the continuing power of the Right during the *Maximato* (1929–1935), when ex-President Plutarco Elías Calles dominated the political scene, as well as during the Cárdenas administration of 1935–1940. Sherman contends that this period witnessed the enduring power of the Right in that, although a revolutionary regime espousing leftist rhetoric ruled, it often governed like a capitalistic and

conservative dictatorship. During the *Maximato*, Catholic support of the presidential campaign of opposition candidate José Vasconcelos in 1929 was manifest. Also, the anticlerical policies of the *Maximato* engendered a second, less virulent *Cristero* revolt in the early 1930s. Having failed at armed insurrection, the Right, spearheaded by the Catholics, engaged in the formation of grassroots lay organizations that became formidable by the mid-1930s.

The election of 1934 generated little interest because it was perceived by the populace that Lázaro Cárdenas was a mere puppet of Calles and that the *Maximato* would continue. The radical social and economic policies of the Cárdenas administration coalesced the Right as never before, however. Sherman presents an extensive review of the Right's literary offensive against *Cardenismo* during the late 1930s. Through these efforts, the Right convinced many Mexicans that "the Cárdenas government was leading their nation down a road toward communism, atheism, and the destruction of the family" (p. 128). Sexual education in the schools, the militancy of labor unions (with the Marxist Vicente Lombardo Toledano at their head), and the communal distribution of land led many to believe that *Cardenismo* was a precipitous break with the traditions of the Mexican nation. Sherman contends that *Cardenismo* failed to mobilize the masses, whose fundamental conservatism rejected it. This is indicated by the fact that, despite the government's massive land redistribution, the anti-Cárdenas, rural-oriented *Sinarquista* movement grew tremendously during the late 1930s. *Cardenismo* was an anomaly and an interruption of the conservatism of the *Maximato* and was succeeded by a renewed rightist tendency after 1940. Sherman concludes that, had it not been for gross electoral fraud, Andrew Almazán would have won the presidential election of 1940.

Sherman has exhaustively examined the available primary and secondary sources relevant to his study. He was particularly assiduous in utilizing the Mexican presidential archives and the U. S. State Department records that have become available since I undertook a similar investigation over thirty years ago.

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PATRICIA ALVARENGA. *Cultura y ética de la violencia: El Salvador 1880–1932*. (Colección Rueda del Tiempo.) San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana. 1996. Pp. 371.

In the last fifteen to twenty years, few concepts have been deployed more diligently by historians of Latin America than that of the state. Its abrupt theoretical transformation (in the early 1980s) from a dull dependent variable into a snappy *primus motor* inspired countless studies of its formation and impact on civil society, greatly enriching the historiography of the region. More recently, a tendency toward reification

and determinism has been corrected as historians have begun to explore the interactive character of state, society, and culture.

In this very welcome and original study, Patricia Alvarenga grapples suggestively with the changing relationships between state and society during what might be called the middle period (*ca.* 1880–1932) of state building in El Salvador, a moment whose astonishing diversity is one to be savored by specialists in political and cultural formation. Alvarenga limits her attention to the state's organization of violence, and in doing so she makes three vital contributions. First, she holds up a dimension of state formation whose study has for too long been restricted almost entirely to military history or to the military as an institution. Second, she convincingly demonstrates that state power was not a self-contained lump but a manifold network of relationships that bled into Salvadoran society at every level. Third, she highlights the concept of collaboration to analyze the complex relationship between state-directed violence and subaltern participation in its execution. The result of collaboration, Alvarenga argues, was a growing recourse to violence in social relations and the construction of a culture of violence.

And yet, the denouement of this story is a stunningly ironic counterpoint to the stress on subaltern collaboration: *La Matanza*, or the retaliatory slaughter of at least 8,000 and perhaps as many as 25,000 peasants and Indians in a few weeks by the two core institutions of state-sponsored violence, the Ejército Nacional and the Guardia Nacional, immediately after an abortive uprising led by the Communist Party in January, 1932. *La Matanza* was a turning point in the modern history of El Salvador, effectively liquidating Indian culture as a source of identity and opening fifty uninterrupted years of direct military rule. Nevertheless, as Alvarenga shows, the bloodbath offered fresh opportunities for civilian collaboration with state-directed violence, which was now and for the next five decades legitimated ideologically as a response to the threat of communism.

Before 1932, collaboration took the form of locally organized militias that were ultimately accountable to the central government. Until the 1920s, when the Guardia Nacional was organized, these local militias, composed of peasants and Indians, were key instruments in state control of the countryside. But Alvarenga shows how the militias could also from time to time provide the basis for resistance to the very structures (those of the central state and the coffee plantation economy) with which subalterns were supposed to be collaborating. It became clear that a state policy of arming subalterns had to be accompanied by strict control and constant vigilance on the part of the state and the coffee *hacendados*. The most dangerous subaltern sector was that of the Indian communities, because they still retained some vestiges of solidarity and organic leadership, making them potentially successful challengers to the state. The 1932 rebellion

handed the state an opportunity to eliminate this threat permanently.

Collaboration tended to divide peasant and Indian communities, creating new tensions between collaborators and their victims, weakening the communities and their capacity to resist the state and the landlords. But the worst outcome, according to Alvarenga, was the escalation of violence that collaboration encouraged, further undermining any potential for creating nonviolent mechanisms of negotiation between the communities of peasants and Indians, on the one hand, and the state, on the other.

If there is much to praise in the originality of this book's analysis and interpretation, the critical reader will no doubt be disappointed by its failure to probe for a more satisfying theoretical framework than the rather incongruous (and quickly abandoned) application of Michel Foucault's distinction between private and public punishment. "Collaboration" itself is a conceptual label well worth exploring, considering the centrality of its role in this book, yet Alvarenga applies it quite unproblematically. Some readers will be infuriated by her tendency to make sweeping declarations of fact on the basis of extremely scanty evidence (often a single court case or newspaper article). Yet, working historians of Central America, aware of the paucity of written records, the difficulties of access, and the disorder that afflicts so many archives, will sympathize with her predicament. Such research conditions will continue to hinder the study of what is possibly the most under-investigated (yet most salient) feature of state formation in Central America: the multifaceted character of the violence that accompanied it. But Alvarenga's bold foray opens a wide new path that others should follow.

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JEFFERY M. PAIGE. *Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 432. \$45.00.

The problematic of this book is explaining elite behavior in the aftermath of the political crisis that erupted after 1979, as Central America as a whole moved from particular versions of nineteenth-century liberalism in the 1980s to forms of neo-liberalist democracy by the early 1990s. Jeffery M. Paige excludes Honduras and Guatemala from his analysis and focuses instead on the political behavior of coffee elites in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. According to Paige, in El Salvador and Nicaragua this transition became possible because the old hegemony of the landed elite within the coffee block lost power to a newer agro-industrial faction that emerged after World War II. In Costa Rica, the dominance of the landed coffee elite was broken in the aftermath of the Civil War of 1948, and so in the 1980s, the transition to neo-liberalism meant the weakening of social democracy.

In El Salvador, the agro-industrial faction, consist-

ing of newer capitalists with wealth in sugar, cotton, and cattle, resisted the murderous "total victory" approach to the revolutionary challenge posed by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR), a strategy different from the *Matanza* supported by the landed coffee elite in 1932, when they faced for the first time an armed challenge to their power. Instead, the new power holders accepted a negotiated solution to the crisis of the 1980s, which Paige presents as a counter-part to the drama. In Nicaragua, the new agro-industrial elite, never fully in alliance with the landed coffee elites, actually tacitly supported the Sandinista Revolution because of their hatred of Anastasio Somoza, but they eventually parted ways because of the Sandinistas' commitment to socialism.

Paige's theoretical approach to the problematic of elite political behavior in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica is derived from Barrington Moore's classic work, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966), and in this way, as he readily acknowledges, he follows in the footsteps of many others in and outside Central America who have engaged the region's political history. Paige argues, however, that he parts ways from others' conclusions. The "Central American experience," he claims, "stands out as a distinct form of a transition to democracy through socialist revolution from below," even if this outcome was an "unintended consequence of the failed socialist revolutions" of the 1980s or the "successful social democratic revolution in Costa Rica in 1948" (p. 332).

Methodologically, Paige offers a new set of data, perhaps the most interesting and most innovative aspect of the book. Between 1986 and 1990, he interviewed fifty-seven members of fifty-three different "dynastic" coffee families who in the different countries "created" the political structures associated with old liberalism, and whose agro-industrial factions promoted the transition to neo-liberalist democracies by the early 1990s. The interviewees' words are strategically rendered, and they enliven the narrative. We learn, for example, that "a conversation between the author and another (very drunk) upper-class Salvadoran got off to a shaky start when the latter volunteered, 'I want to kill Jimmy Carter'" (p. 380).

Equally interesting, along methodological lines, are Paige's efforts to complicate a sometimes overly structuralist, class-driven analytical framework by applying to his interviewees' answers various other perspectives, ranging from Marx's concerns with ideological mystification to Hayden White's theories of narrative and historiography and even to Fredric Jameson's notion of the "political unconscious." In this way, Paige tries to enrich the application of Moore's thesis; thus, the answers to the interviews are sketched as part of the elites' distinct "collective social narratives," discourses of the 1980s that in turn are juxtaposed to elite narratives around the crisis of the 1930s. The turn to neo-liberalism is thus not only "deduced" from class politics, but grounded in the elite's narratives.

All this amounts to a very complicated book that deserves a much longer critical look than is possible here. Although the argument is elegantly presented, it is problematic from a number of angles. Perhaps the most critical problem is the inclusion of Nicaragua in the comparison, especially given the exclusion of Guatemala. Paige repeatedly asserts that Nicaragua, given the U.S. intervention of 1909, lacked a hegemonic landed coffee elite similar to those present in El Salvador and Costa Rica. But is this not a central aspect of the turn to neo-liberalism argument? Why not include Guatemala, which actually did have a powerful landed coffee elite? It seems that the Nicaraguan case is forced.

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SUSAN ELIZABETH RAMÍREZ. *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 234. \$45.00.

For almost twenty years, Latin American colonial history has seen an outpouring of ethnohistorical studies that fundamentally changed understandings and tellings of colonial history. Although Andean ethnohistory has not received the same level of attention as has Mesoamerica, a large number of high quality studies examine indigenous adaptations to Spanish colonial rule have been written. Susan Elizabeth Ramírez's brief yet dense and rewarding new book has much to commend it in this regard. Pains-takingly documenting northern Andean cultural patterns in the first decades after Francisco Pizarro's conquest, Ramírez eschews simplistic models of persistence or change. Instead she opts for the more complex strategy of explaining simultaneously Spanish action and native reaction (and Spanish reaction and so forth) within the context of the variegated environments, ethnicities, and cultural systems of northern Peru. Tackling the most difficult period, that of the immediate post-conquest era (1532–1570), Ramírez provides the reader with nuanced, highly revealing portraits of both native northern Andeans and Spaniards.

This is primarily a study of the emergence of a post-conquest political economy. The main chapters first take up the changing nature of political leadership among northern Andeans. Next, Ramírez examines the evolution of complex prehispanic forms of access to land (not easily defined or explained) toward a more unified conception of landed property delineated by clear boundaries and subject to rights of use and alienation far narrower than in the late prehispanic era. Changing patterns of tribute and taxation are then discussed, and here Ramírez shows how precolonial northern Andean notions of tribute as labor shifted over time to personal service or payments in goods (both of which would shift again to payments in money). These discussions are highly detailed, with the



author providing much evidence from her readings of early post-conquest local documentation. This carefully crafted description of political and economic institutions culminates in the book's most impressive chapter, "Huaca Looting on the Peruvian North Coast: A Tale from Two Perspectives."

Not only does this chapter tell a great story (about a hapless Spaniard who tried to grave-rob his way to fame and fortune and caused much cross-cultural mayhem in the process), but with great clarity it lays bare the fortune-hunting side of at least some local Spanish officials. Exposing their willingness to use legal and extra-legal processes to elbow aside the original fortune hunters, Ramírez also identifies native reactions and motivations in the complex chain of events and provides a detailed and insightful discussion of the Andean concept for sacred things or places, *huaca*.

Among the book's many contributions is its carefully documented look at the period of thirty to forty years immediately following Pizarro's conquest, which is less studied but probably more important than any other single three to four decades of Andean colonial history. The shape of Spanish institutions was in many ways determined at this time, and basic patterns of interaction between Andeans and Spaniards were also laid down. Ramírez's argument that this early period witnessed meaningful changes is both worthy of note and persuasive. Her careful work also shows that such exacting scrutiny of Spanish-language documents can yield a great depth of insight into Andean cultural patterns, even without many documents by Andeans written in native language. An example is Ramírez's documented and logically argued discussion of the uses and meanings of the term *huaca* (pp.139–48).

But even in this exemplary section, as elsewhere, Spanish sources and voices override native ones. Native voices, of course, did become muted in the processes of conquest and construction of colonial hegemony. In addition to the indigenous and *mestizo* chroniclers used here, however, testimony by native witnesses in the early colonial court cases Ramírez uses might have been highlighted even more. Such testimony can be tedious to wade through, but it is invaluable, because it sometimes records, almost unconsciously or accidentally, unparalleled insights into events, concepts, or processes of change. Native testimony is also significant because it often reminds us that there was no single native voice but instead several, often contradictory voices, opinions, versions. Thus, the notions of "emic" and "etic" that Ramírez uses repeatedly need complicating. No one could seriously question the notion that Andean and Spanish beliefs, practices, and perspectives were fundamentally different, but within each group, there were varieties of opinion, perspective, and action—an idea which sometimes gets lost in the rigid insider/outsider distinction underlying the author's definition of what is emic or etic. Such observations aside, this is a serious and impressive work of scholarship that will be of great

interest to historians and ethnohistorians of Latin America as well as scholars of colonialism more broadly.

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CATALINA BANKO. *Las luchas federalistas en Venezuela*. (Estudios: Serie Historia.) Caracas: Monte Avila. 1996. Pp. 223.

This is a study of the controversy over federalism versus centralism in Venezuela from the outbreak of the struggle for independence (and the constitution of 1811) to the end of the Federal War of 1859–1863. Catalina Banko traces both the concepts that lay behind this controversy and the use made of it by succeeding Venezuelan political leaders.

The first Venezuelan constitution established a federal form of government. In so doing, it reflected particularly the desire of local oligarchies in the various "provinces" to defend the control of their regions. This was to remain one of the two major sources of inspiration for support of federalism. The "first republic" of the 1811 constitution was short-lived, however, overcome by the Spaniards and Venezuelan royalists. Simón Bolívar held that one of the major reasons for the collapse of the first republic was its federalist constitution, and he stressed the need for a highly centralized republic to carry on the fight for independence and maintain order and stability. Bolívar became the outstanding Venezuelan avowed supporter of centralized government. In the early period, Santiago Marino was the outstanding convinced supporter of the "federation." Banko at one point credits these two with being the only sincere supporters of their respective formulas among the first generation of Venezuelan leaders.

The author traces the use made by those who waved the federalist banner to rally support for opportunistic reasons, only to abandon all such policies once they had seized power. She traces how José Antonio Páez used "federalism" in seeking to separate Venezuela from the highly centralized Republic of Colombia under Bolívar. She also discusses the subsequent use of the same slogan by José Tadeo Monagas in his struggle to unseat Páez. In both cases, federalism was forgotten once the men had obtained power.

As Banko presents the situation just prior to and during the Federal War, the concept of federalism underwent changes. It came to represent the basic ideas of democracy—universal adult suffrage (she does not mention whether "universal" included women), free and honest elections, and freedom of speech, press, and assembly—rather than regional government autonomy. This change in the definition of federation was a major factor in converting the Federal War into a social instead of just a political struggle.

Those who fought for the federalist cause between 1859–1863 were no more successful in obtaining what they had fought for than the federalists of earlier

generations. Banko states that they “experienced a new and profound frustration” and concludes that “the problem rests in the chasm existing between federalism as an ideal and as practical politics. The latter is expressed through the hegemonic power exercised by minority sectors of society . . . and ignores absolutely

the authentic popular wishes . . . This is the real cause which has until now impeded the application of the federal system in our country” (pp. 206–207).

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## Film Reviews

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BEAUMARCHAIS THE SCOUNDREL [*Beaumarchais, l'insolent*]. Produced by Charles Gassot; directed by Edouard Molinaro; screenplay by Edouard Molinaro and Jean-Claude Brisville (adapted from a play by Sacha Guitry). 1996; color; 101 minutes. Distributor: New Yorker Films.

To his *Marriage of Figaro* (1784), Pierre Caron de Beaumarchais appended the subtitle "A Mad Day." The play compressed the multifarious intrigues, deceptions, and loves of Figaro, Count Almaviva, and Cherubino into twenty-four hours. This was no less a "mad" enterprise than the attempt by Edouard Molinaro in his historical film *Beaumarchais the Scoundrel* to encompass in two hours a decade in the life of Beaumarchais himself.

The action begins in 1773, a time of "high ideas and low subjects," as an opening title declares. Louis XVI is waiting in the wings to succeed his father. Art and politics are in ferment. France is "dangerously behind the times." It is up to figures like Voltaire and Beaumarchais "to set the clocks right."

Beaumarchais (1732–1799) was indeed the son of a clockmaker, but his timing was nothing less than erratic. As the first fifteen minutes of the film admirably demonstrates, this gentle playwright, philanderer, intriguer, revolutionary, and swordsman led a hectic and complicated life. In a flurry of brief episodes, he instructs the actors rehearsing his *Barber of Seville* in the art of naturalistic performance, dashes off a pamphlet to his enemy, Gozman, fights a duel with the duc de Chaulnes, a man he has cuckolded, and cools his heels in jail, arrested on charges of sedition. And so it goes. Beaumarchais accepts it all with perfect equanimity. "I write better in prison," he says, settling down in his cell to write a new draft of *Barber*.

And that is only the beginning. Beaumarchais connives, flatters, and protests his way through the theaters and courts of Louis XV and XVI, running through as many litigious intrigues as wives (and spending almost as much time in jail as out). Along the way, he seizes opportunities for adventure as a French spy in London and a gun runner to American revolutionaries.

Meanwhile, Beaumarchais' plays help foment a revolution in drama, too. At first, he thinks his *Barber* is

too timid a critique of the monarchy; perhaps Voltaire was right when he quipped, "Beaumarchais will never be another Molière because he values his life too much." Reluctantly, our hero determines to bring back the character of the wily servant, Figaro, in a tougher play. *The Marriage of Figaro* is an astringent political satire that creates considerable sensation and notoriety. Figaro's rebellion against his master may be compared, according to the filmmakers—albeit rather simplistically—to Beaumarchais' own challenge to both traditional stagecraft and the institution of the aristocracy. Ironically, just as thunderous applause greets the play's premiere, the playwright is sent back to prison. But when the king relents and offers his release, Beaumarchais bargains with him: he will leave his cell only if the king and his attendants attend the next performance of his play.

As improbable, even bewildering, as most of this may seem to the uninitiated viewer, who may be tempted to dismiss it as pure Hollywood fabrication, the movie does a remarkable job of touching the requisite historical bases. Granted, at best this densely packed film can only suggest the complexity of the noisy polemics and endless intrigues, political and artistic, that surrounded Beaumarchais. Yet several extended scenes nicely convey Beaumarchais' windy legal battles with his *bête noire* Gozman, the complex motivations behind his American endeavors (perhaps stimulated as much by a passion for political intrigue and business opportunities as by a genuine regard for the American cause), and his ambivalent attitudes toward the aristocracy (wittily conveyed in a number of staged excerpts from *Barber* and *Figaro*).

The crazy-quilt episodic narrative structure of the film betrays the scattered nature of its source material, fragments of Sacha Guitry's unpublished play, but it is, nevertheless, a beautifully mounted and compelling historical drama with an outstanding French cast. Fabrice Luchini's Beaumarchais, particularly, is a wryly genial and charming rascal whose rather bland round face is punctuated with sharply peaked brows and dancing eyes.

Beaumarchais was probably not quite the impassioned revolutionary advocating the overthrow of the monarchy and its institutions that the film ultimately

suggests—the concluding title declaims, “The great men of this world applauded Figaro, without realizing they were also applauding the birth of the French Revolution”—but there is nonetheless enough historical smoke in the factual record to justify and fuel this cinematic fire. Wisely, the film concludes at this point, omitting the sad ironies of Beaumarchais’ later years, when the revolution resulted in the destruction of his fine home, a narrow brush with the guillotine, and years in exile.

In the final analysis, Beaumarchais is the perfect subject for a vivid, flamboyant pageant—a veritable succession of *tableaux vivants*—such as this. *Beaumarchais the Scoundrel* is a movie worthy to stand alongside other excellent French historical films such as Patrice Leconte’s comedy of manners and politics in the court of Louis XVI, *Ridicule* (1996), Yves Angelo’s adaptation of Balzac’s Napoleonic drama, *Colonel Chabert* (1994), and Patrice Chereau’s re-creation of the Catholic and Protestant disputes in late seventeenth-century France, *Queen Margot* (1994). Beaumarchais himself paved the way for any dramatic license in which *Beaumarchais the Scoundrel* indulges. He knew how to embellish the dry legalities of his extensive *Mémoires* with irony and wit, his spy missions with dubious accounts of action and swordplay, his comic plays with songs and dance. As one character in the film observes, “He’s fond of intrigues, as befits a good playwright.” If he is caricatured here, he himself was a master of caricature. “When my subject seizes me,” he wrote of his plays, “I call out all my characters and place them in a situation . . . What they will say, I know not at all; it’s what they will do that concerns me. Then, when they are fully come to life, I write under their rapid dictation.” One suspects that, had he the opportunity to pen a screenplay of his own life, Beaumarchais might have written just such a scenario as *Beaumarchais the Scoundrel*.

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**THE ORPHAN TRAINS.** Produced and directed by Janet Graham and Edward Gray; written by Edward Gray. 1996; color; 51 minutes. Distributor: PBS, *The American Experience*.

**RIDING THE RAILS.** Written, produced, and directed by Michael Uys and Lexy Lovell. 1997; color; 52 minutes. Distributor: PBS, *The American Experience*.

Both of these films examine the lives of children displaced from their families in an attempt to better their circumstances. *The Orphan Trains* concerns the experience of young children born into poor families in major cities of the northeastern United States, primarily New York, and their subsequent relocation to the nation’s interior between 1854 and 1929. The agency behind this project, the Children’s Aid Society, begun by Charles Loring Brace, sought to improve the lives of these children—popularly referred to as “street Ar-

abs” because of their nomadic wanderings in the city to find places to sleep or obtain money. In addition to taking children from the street, Children’s Aid went to orphanages, reform schools, and even the homes of poor families to find candidates for relocation. As an alternative to a projected future in jails and asylums, the children were placed on trains to the country’s heartland, usually a three or four-day trip. At their final destination, the children would be herded into a local gathering area, where Children’s Aid hoped they would be accepted by local Christian families. These families were expected to provide for the new arrivals’ welfare in the same manner as their own children.

Recent interviews with those who were relocated by Children’s Aid provide much of the descriptive information about the situations they encountered in their new homes. Some had positive experiences and were pleased to have better homes and greater opportunities than in the urban Northeast. Others, however, found foster parents eager to use them only as farm labor, particularly in southern areas during the period immediately after the Civil War, when whites had recently lost the labor of their slaves. Cultural and religious differences separated the orphans, many of whom were Catholic, from other children in these new locales. They were sometimes accused of having “bad blood,” suggesting that their biological parents were thought to have been prostitutes, drunkards, and the like. Those not accepted at their first destination would be sent on to another. In all, some 100,000 children were relocated to forty-seven states.

*Riding the Rails*, on the other hand, is a documentary about the lives of teenagers who left their homes during the Great Depression to “ride the rails” in search of adventure or economic betterment. It also makes use of participant interviews to tell its story. Some teens were simply runaways who left home after a dispute with a parent; others were sent away because of hard times and told to find their fortune elsewhere. In both cases, these young people, 250,000 at the height of the Depression, used freight trains to relocate. They faced dangerous circumstances as they raced to get on trains pulling out of yards heavily patrolled by railroad detectives. Those found trying to catch a ride on a freight car could be sent to jail. But, along the way, these young people found comrades as well as those who wanted to do them harm. Some joined the hobo jungles, areas across the country populated by those who had dropped out of society. Many eventually returned home, not having found better lives. Some found work in New Deal programs, especially the Civilian Conservation Corps, which put young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five to work fighting forest fires and soil erosion across the country.

Both of these short films help to elucidate the experiences of some young people in the United States and the role that the railroad played in their lives. Although historians have paid much attention to at-



tempts by reformers to aid poor children in American cities, relatively little has been done on aid societies sending young people to homes in rural areas. Nor has there been much written about teenage "hobos" who took to the rails as their elders did, often for similar reasons. Thus these documentaries serve to focus attention on the younger people who, through their own actions and those of others, used the railroad to improve their circumstances. On the whole, the presentation of *Riding the Rails* is more effective than that of *The Orphan Trains*. The latter attempts to encapsulate a seventy-five-year period into its discussion, which occasionally results in a disjointed presentation. Both films could be used in the classroom, but college-age students would probably identify more with the teens in *Riding the Rails*, who sought adventure and the chance for a new life.

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THE OTHER HALF REVISITED: THE LEGACY OF JACOB A. RIIS. Produced by Joel Sucher, Steven Fischler, and Sam Roberts; directed by Martin D. Toub. 1996; color and black & white; 59 minutes. Distributor: Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, Suite 506, New York, N.Y. 10019.

Martin D. Toub's documentary provides a useful introduction to the work of early American photographer Jacob A. Riis. It is less successful, however, in discussing his legacy. Jacob A. Riis (1849–1914) was, as the documentary explains, a Danish immigrant to the United States who became established as a police reporter for the New York press. This gave Riis protected access to the seamier side of tenement life in the city. He was appalled by the conditions in which poor New Yorkers—many of them immigrants—lived, and he sought to draw wider public attention to their plight.

Riis was also an early exponent of the power of the visual image in campaigning journalism. He began by taking photographer colleagues into the tenements with him but soon changed to taking the photographs himself. This he accomplished with the aid of the new-fangled flash-powder technology, which enabled him starkly to illuminate the dark interiors in which his (frequently startled) subjects lived and worked. In addition to publication in the *New York Sun* in 1888, Riis's campaigning zeal was manifest in his illustrated book, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890).

Riis's story is told in standard documentary terms, with a combination of film clips, illustrations, voice-overs, incidental music, and talking heads. It is a genre, however, that is not ideally suited to the study of photography. Photographs—and certainly historical photographs—need to be read at leisure and in depth. The moving camera is frequently afraid to dwell, and this does not lend itself to the scrutiny that the historian requires.

Although this film presents Riis in an overwhelmingly positive light, it does take a moment to question his relationship with his subjects and to wonder if there might be a voyeuristic element to such work. It discusses the tension between representation and advocacy in documentary photography and is somewhat critical of Riis's assimilationist ideology, often a feature of the text that accompanied his images of immigrant groups.

What of the legacy of Jacob Riis? Toub's documentary celebrates it, using the seemingly elegant device of counterpointing Riis's work of the 1890s with that of two contemporary New York photographers a hundred years later. Thus we follow Eli Reed as he documents the daily life of an urban drug user and Margaret Morton as she records the people of the former Bushville shantytown on the Lower East Side. Just like Riis, it is suggested, they are showing a comfortable public "how the other half lives." True enough, but such elegance also carries with it a misleading simplicity, for the whole picture is actually much more complex.

Riis, for example, was neither the first nor the only person to photograph poor housing conditions. Scottish photographer Thomas Annan (1829–1887) was probably the first photographer of slum dwellings, with his documentary study of the "wynds and closes" of Glasgow in 1868, commissioned by the Trustees of the Glasgow City Improvements Act. John Thomson (1837–1921) published *Street Life in London* in twelve monthly installments from 1877 to 1878. Furthermore, for the documentary to leap a hundred years from Riis to the likes of Reed and Morton is to overlook the intervening and important work of socially committed photographers such as the New York-based Photo League with their documents of Harlem and the Bowery in the 1930s. The Photo League's *Portrait of a Tenement* (1936) surely owes as much to the legacy of Jacob Riis as anything produced in the 1990s.

The absence of consideration of the photographers who worked with the Farm Security Administration in the 1930s and 1940s is a doubly significant omission. First, FSA photographers such as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Ben Shahn eloquently depicted the troubled lives of tenant farmers and migrant workers to the "other half" in the relatively comfortable East. Second, the FSA photographers, especially through the medium of the national picture magazines, gained an exposure of which Riis could only dream.

This is not simply a matter of circulation figures. What Toub's documentary fails to take into account is that very few of Riis's tenement photographs were actually published during his lifetime. The *New York Sun* article "Flashes from the Slums" was illustrated, not by Riis's photographs but by drawings made from them. Newspaper technology at the time did not permit the reproduction of photographs. Similarly, when *How the Other Half Lives* was published in 1890,

only seventeen of the illustrations were (poor quality, half-tone) photographs. The rest were again drawings based on them. Although Riis did show his photographs in "magic lantern" lectures in New York, the majority of his work could not have been seen by most of the public he sought to influence. The high-quality images we see today were mainly reprinted by Alexander Alland beginning in 1947.

The collection was saved by the City Museum of New York.

Jacob A. Riis remains a photographer of enormous importance to historians of urban America. The complex question of his legacy, however, is only thinly pursued by this documentary.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### GENERAL

OLE PETER GRELL and ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, editors. *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700*. (Studies in the Social History of Medicine.) New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. viii, 260. \$75.00.

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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

Warwick Anderson's article, "The Trespass Speaks: White Masculinity and Colonial Breakdown," in the December 1997 *AHR* [vol. 102: 1343–70], does a fine job of exploring the limits of colonial psychiatry, but it also contributes to the decontextualization of colonial medicine. The reader, in order to judge the significance of a phenomenon discussed in a historical article, must know its relative importance in its historical setting. For a discussion of colonial medicine, this implies a responsibility to report the relative frequency of the condition discussed, in this case, colonial neurasthenia. Surely Anderson had access to statistics relating to the incidence of various causes of invalidity in the U.S. colonial service in the Philippines. If neurasthenia was a relatively minor cause of disability, as one might well suspect, it is the author's responsibility to convey that information to his readers.

Otherwise, Anderson's article becomes an exercise in what the late William Best Heseltine called "the little Jack Horner school of historiography"—the analysis of charming documents without bothering to provide the reader with an adequate context. One would hope that the current editorial board would make sure that future submissions would be required to provide an adequate context.

BRUCE FETTER  
*University of Wisconsin,  
Milwaukee*

### WARWICK ANDERSON REPLIES:

Has it come to this? Must we now provide statistical frequencies for any disease that we study historically? What was the incidence of schizophrenia in England in 1840? What were the rates of anorexia nervosa in the United States in 1880? Of smallpox in Aboriginal Australia in 1790? Of headaches, nausea, and fatigue in China in 1990? Not even my more narrow medical colleagues have argued that the only way to provide an "adequate context" for disease is to state a figure.

As a practicing medical doctor, I have learned to treat most contemporary medical statistics with some skepticism. I have even more doubts about decontextualized "statistics" collected in a colonial setting ninety or more years ago. But Bruce Fetter demands reliable figures for nervousness, headache, dyspepsia, fatigue, and other vague symptoms. We cannot reliably quantify these ailments in the United States in 1998; should we trust figures from the colonial Philippines in 1908?

All the same, I did report (p. 1353 n) that Louis H. Fales, a physician in the Philippines, had estimated that 50 percent of women and 30 percent of men in the American community in Manila became neurasthenic.

Few reports on the healthfulness of the Philippines failed to warn of the dangers of tropical neurasthenia. It was a condition widely feared. Furthermore, the archives indicate that neurasthenia was, in fact, remarkably common among American males in the senior levels of the colonial bureaucracy.

I could go on, but it is all contextualized in the article.

WARWICK ANDERSON  
*University of Melbourne*

### TO THE EDITOR:

Joyce Appleby's presidential essay chips away at racism, sexism, and much else, leaving behind a new clarity [*AHR* 103 (February 1998): 1–14]. My Western Civilization and Black History students profited from her insights. After examining her article, my students were able to relate my presentations to what the profession is about much more clearly. Once we

elevate the legitimacy of black, female, and other identities, then what historians are unraveling becomes more evident. Thank you, editors, and Joyce Appleby for a useful article.

RAYMOND J. JIRAN  
Thomas Nelson Community College

Joyce Appleby appreciates the letter but does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

We write in response to Gerhard L. Weinberg's disparaging review of our book, *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing*, in the February 1997 issue of the *AHR* [vol. 102: 89–90]. It is unfortunate that someone with Weinberg's meticulous eye as a proofreader was not available to us before our book went to press. We can only admire his tenacious and unremitting search for spelling errors, typos, and other inconsistencies of the most trivial sort. To be sure, we did commit such egregious historical blunders as stating in one place that the Romans sacked and destroyed Carthage at the conclusion of the second Punic War rather than the third. We are, however, not credited by Weinberg for having correctly dated that disastrous event at 146 BC. We must also hide our heads in shame for carelessly overlooking an inexcusable and inexplicable reference to the Thirty Years' War as having taken place two centuries before it actually did. But again, where that war is analyzed and not a mere passing reference, the information we provide is absolutely accurate. We admit to having been caught with our pants down when on page 122 we misspelled Paul Von Hindenburg's name as Hindenberg.

What lies behind Weinberg's mode of attack? Does he really believe that a book that deals with mass murder on the scale of Auschwitz and Dresden can be easily discounted by exposing cosmetic blemishes here and there? It is difficult for us to ascertain whether Weinberg's crude evaluation of our book has been done out of ignorance or malicious intent. The opening sentence of the review may be revealing: "This is a sociology dissertation revised with the assistance of a historian of India" (p. 89). From his tone throughout, we sense that Weinberg does not feel that our type of interdisciplinary chemistry is conducive to producing a serious work on these vital subjects. We can only question why he never treats the substance of our argument but prefers to lance a pimple here and a pimple there on the surface of the text.

Perhaps Weinberg is dismayed because two nonspecialists in German history have dared to say something significant about Hitler and the Jews. Had Weinberg transcended his ethnocentrism and narrow specialization, he would have observed that we were not dab-

bling in German history but attempting to view total war and genocide in comparative world perspective.

We seem to have offended Weinberg, who appears unsympathetic to our contention that there is something grotesquely and horrendously similar about the bombardment of innocent civilians and the gassing of innocent civilians. Our references to genocide and war before or since World War II—especially when we speak of the Pol Pots and Stalins of this century—may have also provoked him. Perhaps he believes that comparing the Holocaust with the massacre of Armenians by Young Turks, or Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge, or the entire Soviet nation by Joseph Stalin could well diminish or even trivialize the evil of Adolf Hitler.

In the final analysis, we can only speculate on what secret rage lurks in the heart of Gerhard Weinberg. But we do know that we have tried to do things in our book that have not yet been done in the field of holocaust and genocide studies. The reader would never be aware of this from perusing Weinberg's review. For example, we have offered the reader the first-ever historiographic analysis of major writers on genocide in our century and assessed their contribution to the field in the context of the times they lived in. However, Weinberg belittles our effort as simply a "summarization of other authors' works" (p. 89).

We also place the Holocaust and strategic bombing in global perspective by presenting sixteen examples of genocidal massacres under wartime conditions that took place in different parts of the world between the years 1931 and 1945. For example, we discuss Japanese atrocities such as the Rape of Nanking, the Thai-Burma Railway of Death, the Bataan Death March, the Rape of Manila, and the infamous Unit 731, in which scientists conducted experiments on human guinea pigs for chemical and biological warfare. We also examine lesser-known genocides such as that attributed to the Croatian fascists, or Ustashi, who slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Serbs and tens of thousands of Jews and gypsies between 1941 and 1944. We view all these cases in relative terms. For example, the same Winston Churchill who heroically stood up to Hitler as a crusader for freedom was considered a flagrant tyrant by Indian freedom fighters such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, both of whom were arrested on Churchill's orders and spent the war years in prison. Churchill's cultural arrogance against Indians and his policies greatly contributed to what has been called the Bengal Famine of 1943, in which millions died of starvation.

In conclusion, the real problem between Weinberg and ourselves is not that we are unqualified to write the book on the Holocaust and genocide but that he and we represent two different approaches or perspectives to the subject. For Weinberg, the Holocaust is the paradigm for genocide studies, whereas we believe genocide is a human problem resurfacing again and

again in Rwanda, Bosnia, Cambodia, Bangladesh, and Tibet, as well as Nazi Germany.

DAVID KOPF  
University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis

ERIC MARKUSEN  
Southwestern University,  
Marshall, Minnesota

#### GERHARD WEINBERG REPLIES:

Since Kopf and Markusen cannot answer the criticisms in my review, they imagine miscellaneous motives that they then attribute to me. This approach has the same defect as their book: the thesis comes first, and the evidence must then be bent to fit.

Instead of wasting *AHR* space to answer their *ad hominem* charges, I prefer to call attention to an assertion in their letter that illustrates my original observation that the authors lack familiarity with the subjects on which they write. They now claim with reference to the Thirty Years' War that "the information we provide is absolutely accurate." They may still believe that a Protestant Cardinal Richelieu took a Protestant France into that war; few others will. And perhaps presenting a British tactical bombing as an American strategic bombing operation is merely one of their "cosmetic blemishes."

My review was in no way designed to discourage interdisciplinary work. It was to suggest that those who write on war and genocide would do well first to obtain a solid familiarity with these very important topics.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

#### TO THE EDITOR:

The *American Historical Review* has decided ("Other Books Received," February 1997: 276) not to review Peter Conn's *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* (1996). The *AHR*'s pedantic gesture ironically illustrates key themes in this acclaimed book. Buck bridged two cultures, and Conn's biography is therefore not just about the United States or about China—but rather about both and about their interaction. Perhaps this book does not fit into conventional academic pigeonholes.

Born to American missionary parents, Pearl Sydenstricker Buck spent most of her first forty years in China. She grew up completely bilingual, speaking and writing both English and Chinese. When writing about China in English, she first composed dialogue mentally in Chinese (pp. 113, 178). The defects of Buck's writing—a matter about which Conn is scrupulously fair and evenhanded—resulted in part from her inadequate grasp of idiomatic American usage and her wish to reproduce in English "the altogether different cadences of Chinese speech" (p. 178). Her "actual,

day-to-day world" (p. xiv) was China, but she felt herself an outsider in both cultures. No comparably prominent American writer so lacked an instinctive feel for American culture; no white American writer lived so long as an exotic minority in a nonwhite culture.

Though best known as a writer of fiction, Buck's most enduring literary legacy may well be of a different order. In China, her novels are now considered historically valid glimpses of early twentieth-century rural life. Conn calls attention to Buck's nonfiction—especially the dual biographies of her parents, which capture with "unparalleled" immediacy the audacity, the blindness, and the heartaches of missionary life in China (pp. xiii, 380).

Buck's cultural significance, though rooted in her writings, transcended the narrowly literary. She was arguably the most influential American interpreter of China during the fateful 1930s and 1940s. Her writings personalized the struggles of ordinary people, especially women, against the cruel constraints of tradition, nature, and politics. She became, in Conn's words, a "secular, feminist missionary" (p. 381) who attempted to awaken her readers to injustice, in both China and the United States. Her writings resonated especially among women.

By refusing to review Conn's book, the *AHR* has failed to inform its readers about a fascinating case study of cross-cultural encounter. Many members of the profession would prefer to see such matters addressed.

DANIEL W. CROFTS  
College of New Jersey

#### TO THE EDITOR:

In Michael Richards's review of *Revolution and War* (*AHR* 102 [December 1997]: 1447), it is said that the author, Stephen M. Walt, shows how the American Revolution did not "lead to war." I wonder if George Washington and General Cornwallis would agree, or Admiral de Grasse and Admiral Rodney, or the Spaniards who nearly captured Gibraltar. In fact, the American Revolution is often called the War for Independence, especially abroad.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER  
University of Maryland  
European Division

#### MICHAEL RICHARDS REPLIES:

Bernard Sinsheimer has a point, of course. What I wanted to get across in the review, and perhaps did not, is that Stephen Walt only takes an interest in a revolution after it comes to power and becomes a player on the international scene. For him, the fact that "the American Revolution is often called the War for Independence" makes no difference. He is not concerned with that aspect of the American Revolu-

tion. I think attention to this aspect would have made *Revolution and War* a stronger book, but it is, after all, the author's prerogative to define the topic.

MICHAEL RICHARDS  
*Sweet Briar College*

TO THE EDITOR:

Upon reading James S. Grubb's review of *Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law—The Case of Northern Italy* [AHR 103 (February 1998): 164–65], we were momentarily at a loss, wondering whether we had read the same *Straws in the Wind*. After a careful reading of his review, it becomes clear that Grubb read the introduction carefully and, shortly thereafter, to use his own words, became one of the readers who "already have given up" (p. 165).

The best way to approach Grubb's critique is to respond to his concerns in turn. First, he complains that we "have consulted virtually nothing written in the past fifteen years or in any language other than English" (p. 165) in our bibliography. But he overlooks the fact that we provided a "Select Bibliography," the intent of which was not to be exhaustive but only to address matters relevant to those presented. Numerous works, written in Latin, French, and Italian (which, by last reports, still are considered foreign languages) with publication dates ranging from the 1500s to 1994, are ignored.

Grubb quarrels with our selection of cities and, in particular, our decision to work with smaller cities. He, for some unexplained reason, denigrates our decision to concentrate on the local level, where we feel environmental issues were better represented by officials less concerned with larger, regional issues.

Grubb also complains about our introduction to the medieval urban scene, our statements regarding the decline of Roman transportation and water systems, and apparently about the headings in Chapter 5. A closer reading of the text would have indicated that the medieval response to the development of transportation and water systems was not a slavish adaptation of Roman models but rather a uniquely medieval response. In Chapter 5, waste elimination procedures were organized under categories, such as guilds, leather workers, etc., because each provided municipal leadership a unique set of problems. But, then, the reader would have to read the chapter to figure that out.

Grubb's concerns regarding line-by-line scansion, whatever that might imply, are equally petty. For example, what is the difference to the inhabitant of a medieval city whether his lungs were being irritated by the smoke or the smog that shrouded those cities? Grubb's complaint about our elimination of the possibility of "acquired citizenship" rests on his deliberate omission of the phrase "and had to pass stiff qualifications," a phrase that clearly provides for "acquired

citizenship" (p. 164). This deliberate omission leaves open the question of what the reviewer's intent or level of objectivity is. Furthermore, his questioning of the inclusive nature of canon body of law, as implemented over the centuries, raises the question of whether he has read that body of law with the same precision that he has read our work.

Grubb also expresses concern about "vague, ahistorical definitions" (p. 164). He appears unable to square our purpose in writing this book with his vision of what we should have written. Our purpose was to show a generalist audience that many medieval citizens wanted to maintain an acceptable quality of life within their towns and acted through their legislation to accomplish this. They shared in "the human quest to create a decent world in which to live, to maintain a clean and nurturing environment in which to raise children, and to perpetuate a self-renewing inheritance to pass on to future generations" (p. 8). We have made no grandiose claims to be all-inclusive or to write for a specialist audience. We do not deny that the medieval elites may have acted out of "empiricism and pragmatism." But we do say they employed a conceptual framework, which enabled them to codify their response to the impact of offensive offal, "stinking streets, fetid waters, and inadequate food." Unwilling to rely on the haphazard efforts of individuals offended by a particularly offensive cesspool outfall or streets rendered impassable by decaying butcher shop wastes, they used their law codes to encapsulate the concepts of stewardship and planned abodes offered by the ancient and medieval spokesmen so cavalierly dismissed by Grubb. While the municipal elites could not analyze microscopic bacteria infesting the local latrine to develop a disease-preventing vaccine, their culture demanded that they act responsibly and institutionally to ensure the quality of life to the extent that their science and technology allowed. That response is what this book is about.

RONALD EDWARD ZUPKO  
*Murquette University*

ROBERT A. LAURES  
*Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

JAMES GRUBB REPLIES:

I urge historians to reread the review, and to read the book, and to form their own judgments.

JAMES S. GRUBB  
*University of Maryland,  
Baltimore County*

TO THE EDITOR:

In her review of *Felipe Carrillo Puerto: Actuación y muerte del Apóstol "Rojo" de los Mayas: Con un ensayo*



sobre hagiografía secular en la Revolución Mexicana (AHR 103 [February 1998]: 304–05), Linda B. Hall has vastly overestimated the originality of the author: she claims that he “invests Carrillo with the mantle of martyrdom.” In reality, Carrillo had been invested with that mantle ever since 1924 (*Boletín de la Universidad Nacional del Sureste* 4 [July 1924]: 25; Miguel Civeira Taboada, *Felipe Carrillo Puerto, mártir del proletariado nacional*, 1986). She attributes to me “identifying” Carrillo with . . . other redeeming heroes,” . . . “from Kukulcán to Jesus Christ, . . . a savior who has left but . . . does return,” although in reality I make no such identification, only a long series of quotations of archetypal associations (in the sense of Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531–1813*, 1976) beginning in 1924, quotations that are natural in a study about hagiography. Hall has forgotten to explain how an essay on hagiography can avoid “the inclusion of much material . . . not necessarily germane to a reasonable historical argument.” (Hagiography is rarely reasonable.) Instead, she enriched the number of known Maya deities by one, promoting the famous seductress Xtabay to “Mayan goddess,” a goddess unknown heretofore to anthropology.

MANUEL SARKISYANZ  
University of Heidelberg

LINDA HALL REPLIES:

I stand by my review.

LINDA B. HALL  
University of New Mexico,  
Albuquerque

TO THE EDITOR:

Responding to misrepresentations of one's work is always an unpleasant and embarrassing task, but Sharon Kettering's tendentious review of my book, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (AHR 103 [April 1998]: 526–27), has convinced me of the need to respond to at least some of her mischaracterizations of my work. Before discussing her general assessment of the book, however, let me begin by commenting on some specific distortions of my argument and approach.

Kettering claims that I am “challenging older views of ‘the centralizing state as having been a key agent of change’” in early modern France. This statement badly misrepresents my perspective. On the very page she quotes (p. 5), I announce my own interest in the process of state formation and I refer approvingly to the unshakable consensus that the state played a central role in the creation of an “increasingly impersonal political culture.” My modest “challenge” to this well-founded consensus appears on the next page, where I declare—with reckless abandon?—that “cer-

tain elements in this long and complicated story remain unexplored.” Kettering was miffed, perhaps, that I singled out her own work to exemplify one of the deficiencies found in current approaches to the state.

Even more puzzling is Kettering's claim that I present “a study of power relations and royal service without mentioning individuals in power.” Large portions of my third chapter are devoted to a rereading of the policies and attitudes of Richelieu and Mazarin; all of the pivotal fourth chapter is focused on Louis XIV and his conception of service relationships; key segments of my last chapter focus on Louis XV (pp. 235–38) and the military reformer Guibert (pp. 253–57). I can only ask in exasperation: which “individuals in power” does Kettering have in mind?

Two other descriptions require brief comment. She asserts that my argument is based on “comparatively few archival sources.” Although this is a reasonably accurate description of my chapters on the seventeenth century, Kettering somehow neglects to mention that my analysis of eighteenth-century problems is based exclusively on archival sources. The exact ratio of published to non-published sources is really beside the point, of course, but her suggestion that my book is under-researched is both irresponsible and misleading. Finally, Kettering wonders if an analysis of absolutism's culture of royal service should be “based primarily on a Foucauldian understanding of power.” Her allergic reaction to the mention of Foucault's name apparently blinded Kettering to my own extensive critique of Foucault's treatment of power in history (pp. 158–64, 178–79). In any case, my willingness to draw from Foucault's insights in my reconsideration of the French state proceeds from an assumption that, for most historians, would seem fairly uncontroversial: Foucault's work “shows clearly that specific modes of ‘seeing’ and judging are invariably integrated into systems of power” (p. 163).

Differences of interpretation are an expected and welcome part of the process of intellectual exchange, but engagement in dialogue is not what interests Kettering. Her systematic misreading of my book proceeds from her knee-jerk hostility to the entire project of cultural history. As an unreconstructed Rankean positivist, Kettering assumes that truth can be revealed only after one has pored over “hundreds of pages” of administrative documents and personal papers that presumably allow one to penetrate the smoke screen of “public sources” and capture the reality of “money,” “politics,” and “bureaucracy.” In place of this documentary fetishism—which, incidentally, never characterizes the best archival research—I, like many other cultural historians, scrutinize closely the language found in a wide variety of archival and printed sources to throw light on the contemporary meanings ascribed to historical experience. Because she stays resolutely focused on the *realities* of money and politics, Kettering naturally found it “difficult to relate [Smith's] concept of ‘the sovereign's gaze’ to anything” she had encountered in her own research. I think that

Kettering's vision problem, and her refusal to judge the legitimacy of my concept on the basis of evidence presented in my book, mainly reflects her own inability to appreciate or comprehend the work of cultural historians. Her closing complaint about the "narrowness" of cultural approaches is a sadly ironic but entirely appropriate conclusion to a bizarre and hopelessly biased review.

JAY M. SMITH  
National Humanities Center

one of Michel Foucault's most important insights. I stated in the review that I wondered if a discussion of a noble "culture of power" should be based on a Foucauldian understanding of power, and I still wonder if it should, which is a value judgment. In this case, I quoted directly from the book and used the author's words, not my own. I did not paraphrase. I have never intentionally misrepresented anyone else's work.

SHARON KETTERING  
Montgomery College

#### SHARON KETTERING REPLIES:

I am going to reply to the four issues of fact in Jay Smith's letter. As he notes, the review states that he "has written a study of power relations and royal service without mentioning individuals in power." Smith points out that he discusses five such individuals in his book, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis XIV, Louis XV, and the military reformer Guibert. State formation is generally understood to include the development of a royal bureaucracy. Bureaucrats such as the intendants, however, or other officials in royal service, are not discussed in the book. Smith has written about royal service but has discussed very few men actually in royal service. If the kings are deducted, there are only three such individuals by his count, and two were chief ministers.

Looking at his bibliography, I stand by my statement that the book is based on comparatively few archival sources. There are two pages of archival manuscript sources listed, six pages of published primary sources, and fourteen pages of secondary sources.

From the author's statements on pages 5 and 6 in his introduction, and from the subtitle, "Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789," I understood that he was advancing his own interpretation of the process of state formation, and thereby challenging, in the sense of calling into question, some of the older existing interpretations, which I said in the review. This is a dialogue as I understand the term, a discussion among two or more persons. That he is dismissive of some of these other interpretations is quite clear from his letter.

Again, in the introduction on page 6, Smith distinctly states that he has incorporated into his analysis

#### ERRATA

The frontispiece for the article by Sharon Farmer in the April 1998 issue (vol. 103: facing page 345) was given the wrong caption. It is actually a scene from a manuscript of Guillaume de Saint-Pathus' *Life and Miracles of Saint Louis* featuring Nicole of Rubercy, a widowed laundress who had migrated to Paris from Normandy. In 1272, she fell victim to some sort of paralysis but survived the resulting long-term disability because she was assisted by close female companions. She is shown on the left lying in bed while three companions look on. One of these would be her friend Contesse, who lived in Nicole's hostel and cared for her for two months. On the right, Nicole rides in a cart to the tomb of St. Louis, where she hoped to be cured. The cart was paid for by another of her friends, Perronnele the Smith. Behind the cart is the tomb, surmounted by an effigy of the saint. Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. fr. 5716, p. 517.

The review by William A. Percy of *The Invention of Sodomy* by Mark D. Jordan (April 1998: 496–97) should have contained the following last four lines, instead of those that appeared: "no future treatment of the subject will be able to ignore the information that Jordan has unearthed in this work, which is better than any in the parallel but very politically correct Columbia University Press series on lesbian and gay studies."

In the film review by Darién J. Davis (April 1998: 632–34), the administration of Fernando Collor de Mello was listed as lasting from 1980 to 1992. The correct dates are 1990–1992. The *AHR* regrets all these errors.

THE EDITORS

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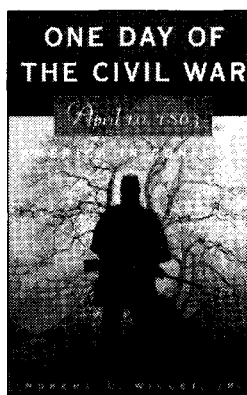
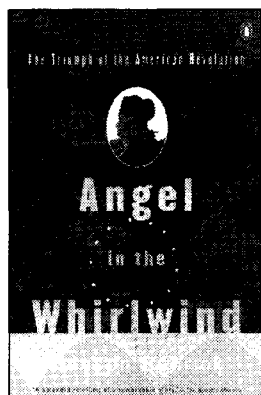
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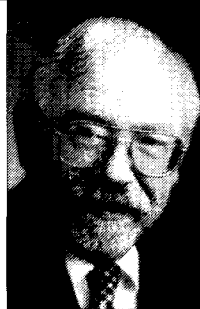
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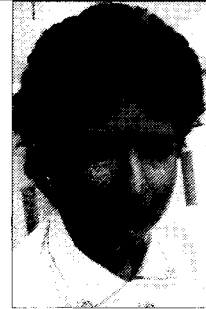
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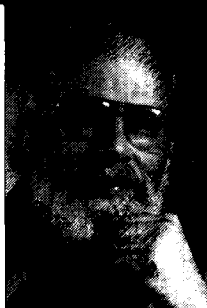
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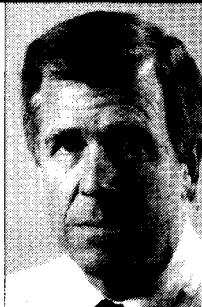
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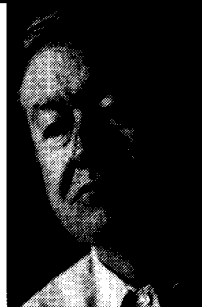
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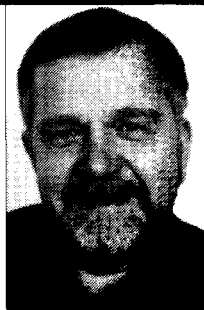
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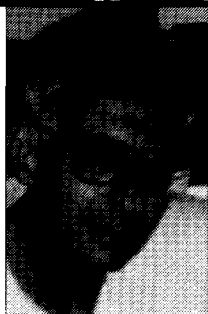
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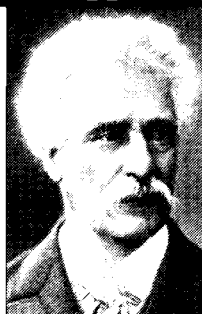
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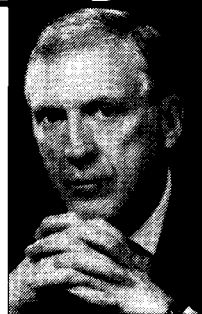
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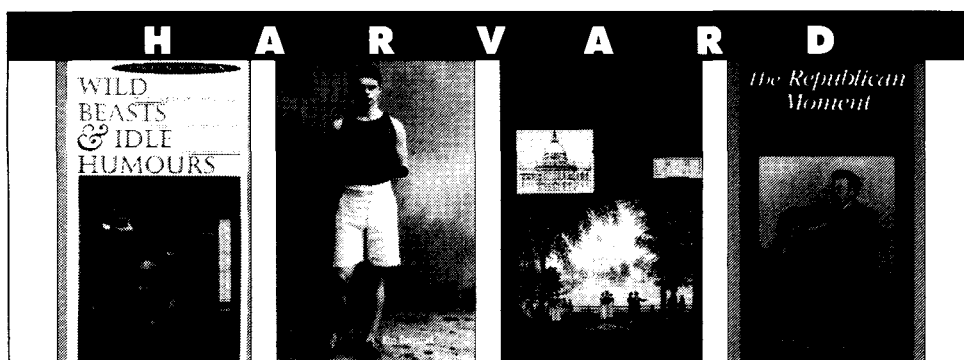
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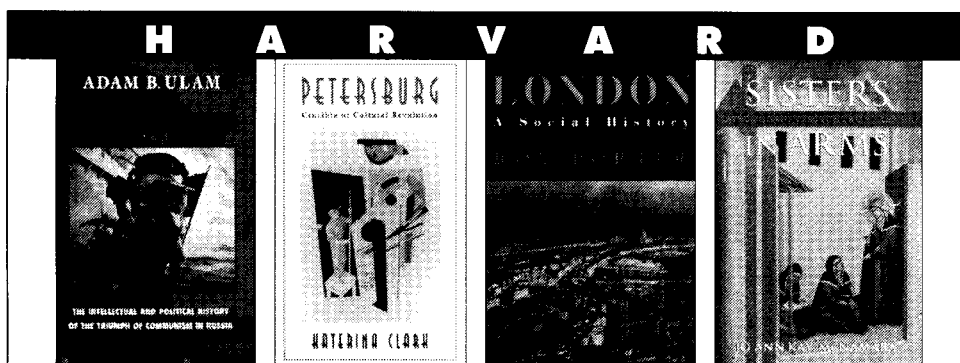
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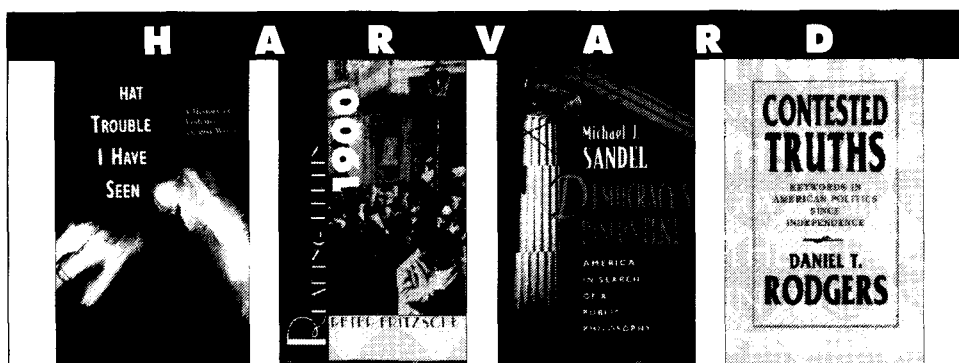
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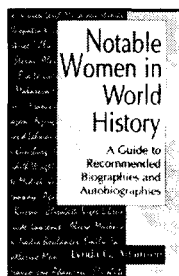


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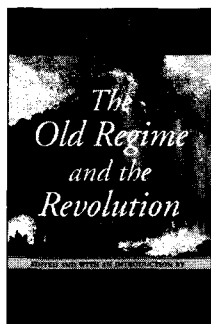
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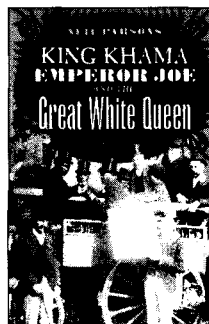
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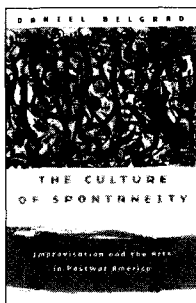
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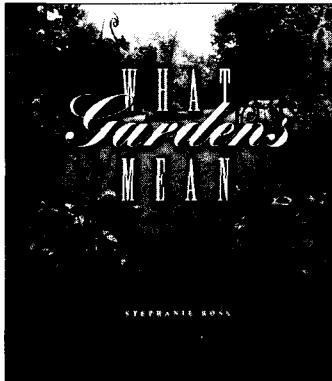
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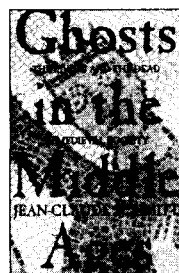
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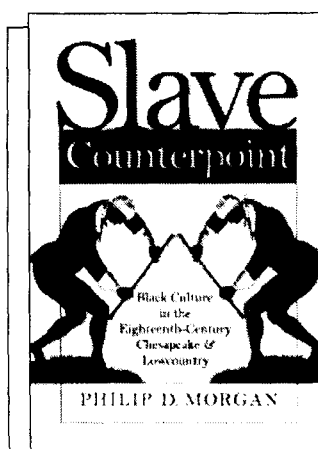
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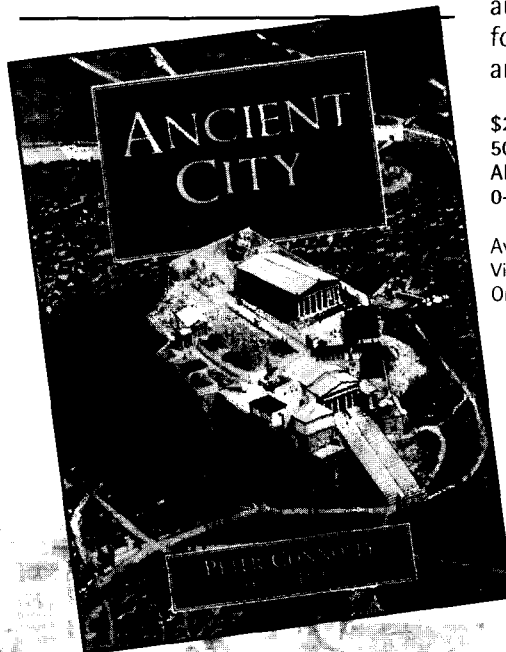
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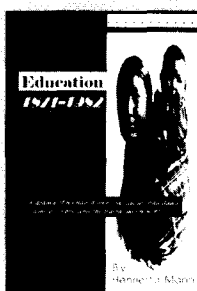
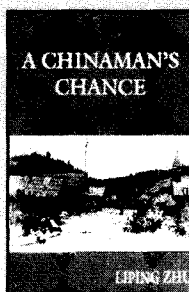
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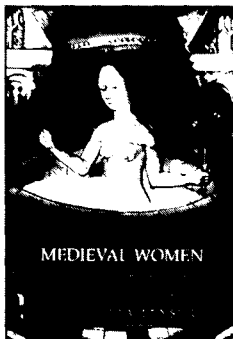
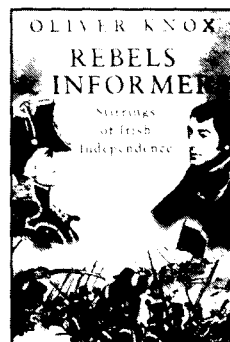
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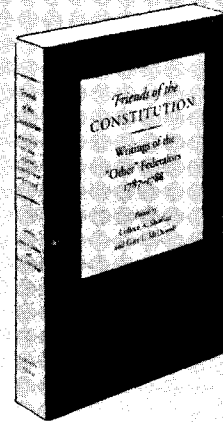
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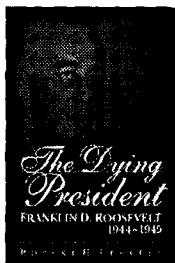
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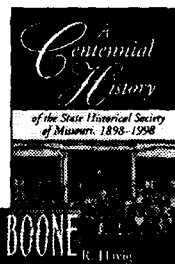
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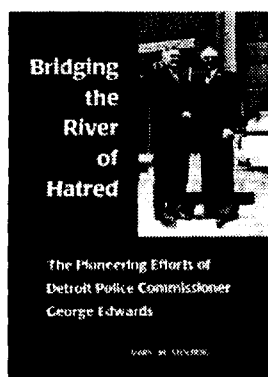


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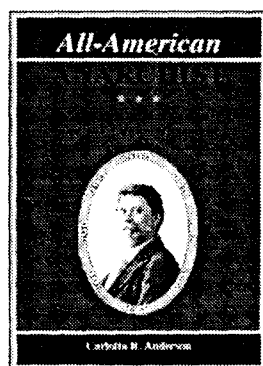
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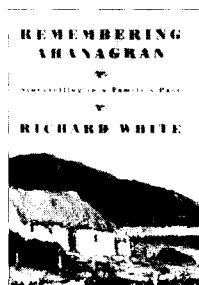
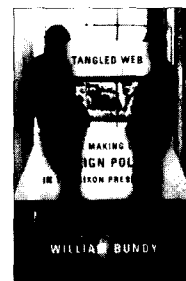
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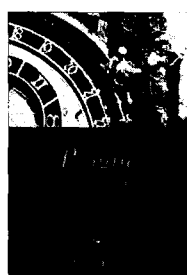
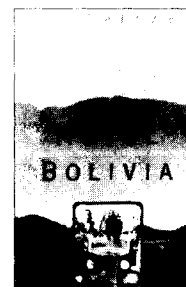
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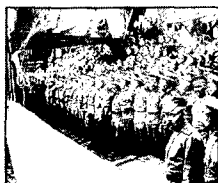
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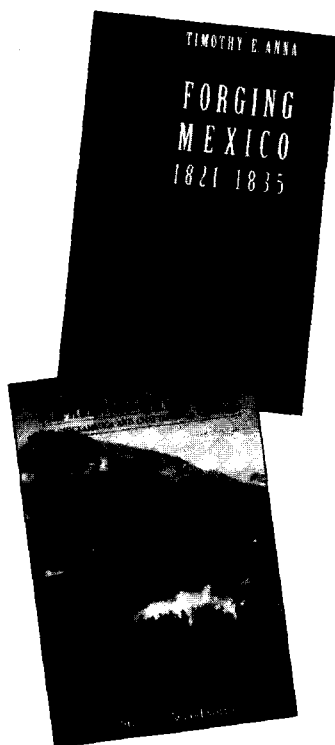
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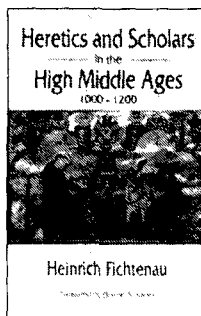
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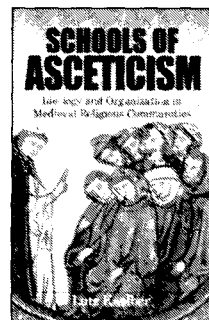
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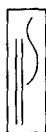
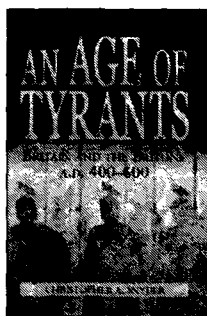
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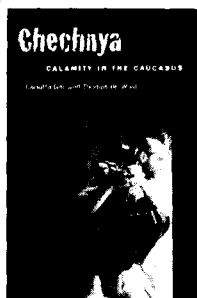
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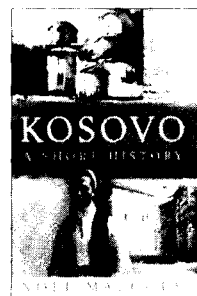
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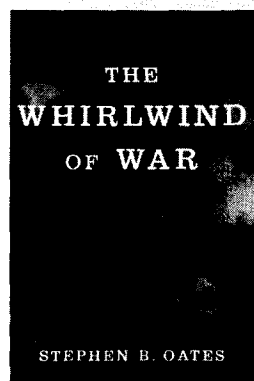
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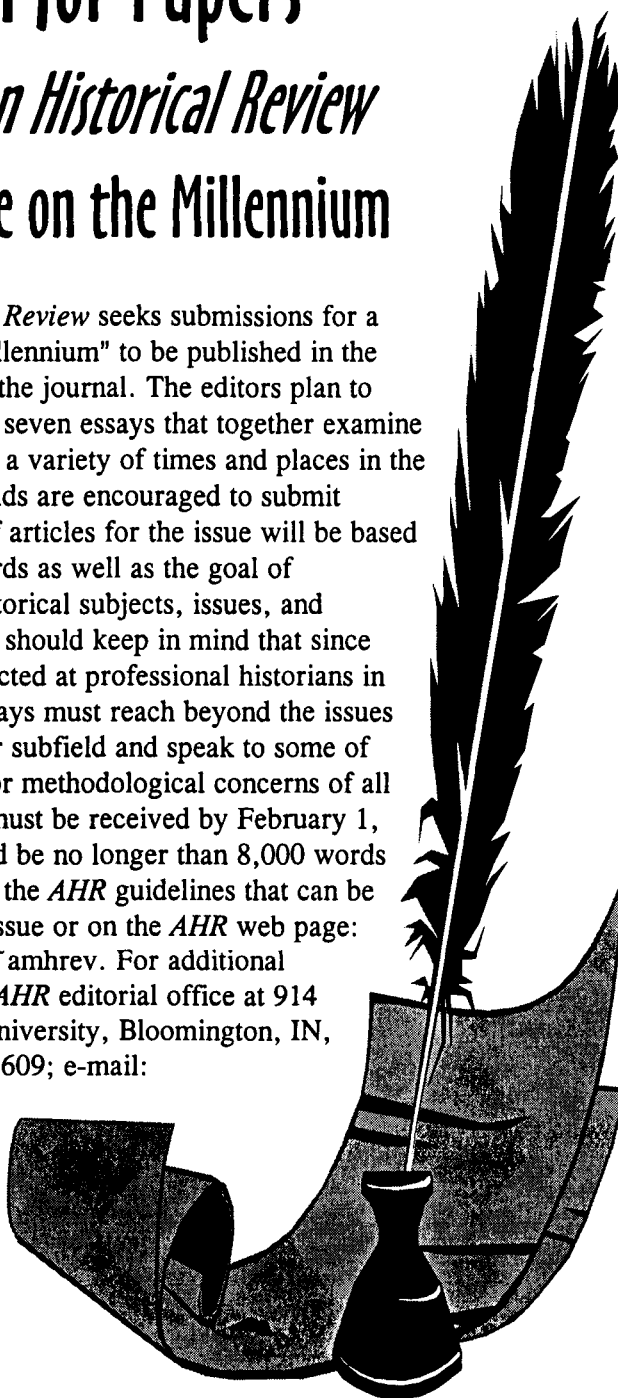


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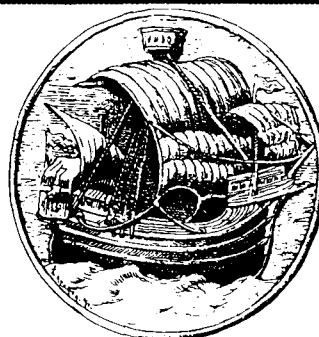
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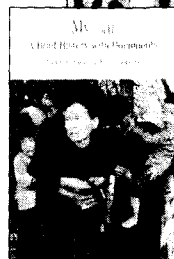
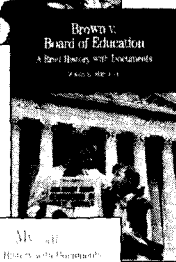
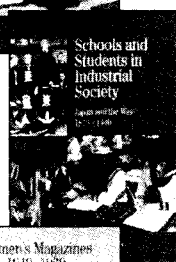
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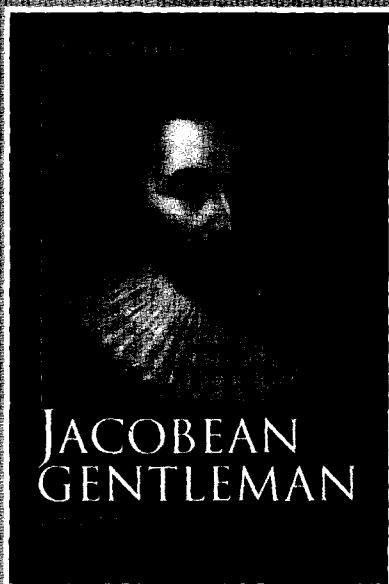
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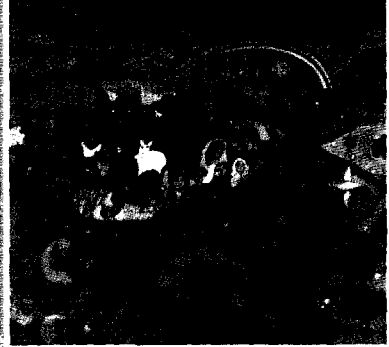
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